United States and NATO inspired 'psychological warfare operations' against the 'Kurdish communist threat' in Turkey

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The sheer extent to which the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) have been responsible for consciously and structurally providing aid, training and technical expertise to Turkish contra-guerrilla death squads, repressive state forces and far right fascist groups makes for chilling reading. In pursuit of US governmental and NATO Cold War and post Cold War agendas, secretive and often publicly unaccountable initiatives have been undertaken in order to organise, protect and support repressive and antidemocratic Turkish state military mechanisms in their targeting actions against the internal ‘communist threat’. The internal ‘communist threat’, observes Chomsky, is “used here in the technical sense of a political threat” in a manner which “in Ame

rican political discourse, referring to labour leaders, peasant organisers ... organising self-help groups, and anyone who has the ‘wrong’ priorities and the ‘wrong’ values” (i.e. Kurdish nationalist and/or query the ‘colonial/neo-colonial/pro-

American/cultural/political rights within the region, and/or query the ‘colonial/neo-colonial/pro-

NATO/repressive’ orientation of the militarised Turkish state, have similarly been targeted as ‘communist threats’).

The Truman Doctrine, the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) and psychological warfare initiatives.

With the Truman Doctrine of 1947, millions of dollars worth of military equipment assistance was provided to the Turkish terror state to counter the internal and external ‘communist threat’. As President Truman’s address to Congress on March 12th, 1947, made all too clear: “I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures ... Should we fail Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East. We must take immediate and resolute action.”

By the end of fiscal year 1950, resolute action had been undertaken: Over US $ 200 million in military aid had been received by Turkey, “along with 1,200 US military advisers.” Between 1950 and 1979, a further US $ 5.8 billion in official military aid was forthcoming: “Arms supply and training programmes helped to integrate the Turkish military, police and intelligence services into those of the United States. Under the Military Assistance Programme, 15,193 Turks received US training between 1950 and 1979.” Lord Kinross, indeed, suggests that a much higher number of Turkish troops were, in fact, trained. By 1954 alone, “the American Military Mission claimed to have trained, in the Turkish army, a force of thirty thousand technicians.”

US advisors also assisted Turkish authorities with their covert monitoring activities of Kurdish political prisoners. Musa Anter, for example, confirms—in his Mimar’s— that a ‘Special Team’ from the US was sent in 1959 to the Turkish prison he was in, to assist the authorities with the decoding of messages between Kurdish prisoners. Turkish

Interior Ministry reports further reveal that Turkish governing circles clearly understood that they would be provided with economic support and US military and ministerial government in their implementation of the on-going Kurdish genocide as long as they could keep official ‘Kurdish’ terror as official ‘Kurdish’ terror was officially banned on religion.”

American authorities as a ‘Communist Kurd Movement’. To the relatives of the suspects (targeted), the event should be explained as a ‘Communist Movement’ (despite the fact that) ... so far, there’s no evidence that can be used against the suspects.”

Ghassan Iliou and Kendal have also established that the US government, which was “in control of all (the military decisions)” of a Cold War Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) Pact between Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Britain, had decided that a central purpose of this pact was to assist the Turkish and Iranian governments with their psychological warfare operations against any attempts on the part of the Kurdish people.”

As Randal has confirmed: “In the 1990s, the Baghdad Pact—rechristened CENTO when Iraq dropped out following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958—amounted to Western approval of anti-Kurd animus, enshrined in the Saadabad Treaty of 1937.”

Besikci further argues that US government supported ‘psychological’ research projects were conducted in the 1960s in order to strategically assist the Turkish state with its assimilation and anti-Kurdish policies: “In 1962, Professor Frei, an American, carried out a survey throughout Turkey, in conjunction with the Bureau of Research and Testing at the Ministry of Education, and the US government’s Agency for International Development (AID) ... From the information provided at the end of the research project, it became clear that American government officials proposed to the Turkish government that the best way to fight against the spread of the Kurdish struggle was through the creation and institution-alisation of a new organisation.”

Besikci confirms, this advice “was taken seriously by the Turkish government.”

There was also an apparent offer by the US government in 1962 to establish a ‘Kurdish’ radio station—costing US $33 million—which would broadcast psychological warfare propaganda which would be anti-communist, anti-Kurdish nationalist in nature, and in keeping with “the USA and Turkey’s ideology.”

The CIA’s role in covert action operations.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), moreover, began to covertly fund and train fascist paramilitary right wing gangs and virulently anti-Kurdish organisations in Turkey—including the Organisation to Fight Communism and the National Action Party (NAP/MHP)—along the ‘successful’ lines of the Bicchieria ‘anti-communist’ paramilitary gang in Italy. As Christopher Simpson has ascertained, “the role of this (Bicchieria) band”—which was financed by the CIA using ‘black currency’ which “came from captured German Nazi assets, including money and gold that the Nazis had looted from the Jew ever—was that of left wing candidates and activists, breaking up political meetings and intimidating voters. Bicchieria’s troops became the frontline of terrorist actions against the regime.”

The CIA’s psychological warfare initiatives which were perceived to be inimical to US interests.

The ex-Director of the CIA, William Colby, has further conceded, when pressed, that “there is a possible CIA backing of (such) anti-communist organisations to stop Turkey falling into the hands of communism.” Clearance to actively proceed with covert ‘psychological’ warfare of this nature was provided at the highest level. Through National Security Council (NSC) Directive 4-A in 1947, the CIA was “secretively authorised ... to conduct these officially non-existent programmes and to administer them.”

As Simpson clarifies, “the NSC action removed the US Congress and public from any debate over whether to undertake psychological warfare abroad. The NSC ordered that the operations themselves be designed to be ‘deniable’, meaning ‘planned and executed (so) that any US government responsibility for them is not evident to unauthorised persons and that, if uncovered, the US government can positively deny any responsibility’.”

National Security Council Directive 152 (NSC 152), which replaced NSC 4-A in 1947, similarly authorised the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) “the covert action arm of the CIA” to “carry out any covert activities related to propaganda, preventative direct action including sabotage ... (and) assistance ... (in) support of indigenous anti-Communist elements in threatened countries of the free world.”

As Frank Wisner, the head of OPC (dubbed the United States Psychological Warfare Organisation by the NSC) has since conceded, these operations were “conducted in a covert or clandestine manner to the end that official US interest or responsibility” in these terrorist ‘anti-Communist’ actions could be “plausibly denied by this government.”

The OPC’s psychological warfare objectives, according to Wisner, included:

1. Political warfare including ... support of indigenous anti-Communist elements in threatened countries of the free world.
"It is important at this juncture to also clarify just what 'psychological warfare', as termed above, actually meant. To Christopher Simpson, who has analysed much declassified material related to the above issues: the primary object of US psychological operations during this period was to frustrate the ambitions of radical movements in resource rich developing countries seeking solutions to the problems of poverty, dependency and the entrenched corruption. At heart, modern (US) psychological warfare has been a tool for managing empire, not for settling conflicts in any fundamental sense. It has operated largely as a means to ensure that indigenous democratic initiatives in the Third World and Europe do not go 'too far' from the standpoint of US security agencies. The problem with (US) psychological warfare is... its consistent role as an instrument for maintaining grossly abusive social structures.

Several points should be underlined. First, psychological warfare is a concept that has consistently made use of a wide range of violence, including guerilla warfare; assassination, sabotage and more fundamentally, the maintenance of manifestly brutal regimes in client states and societies; and, it has also involved a variety of propaganda or media war, ranging from overt (white) newscasting to covert (black) propaganda... Re-examination of (the US) record, even as it applies to Turkey, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Philippines, Indonesia and Panama, inescapably leads Simpson in short order to a heretical conclusion:

"The role of the United States in world affairs during our lifetimes has often been rapacious, destructive, tolerant of genocide and willing to sacrifice countless people."

In the case of Turkey, there are clear indications that the US government directly facilitated the Turkish government's genocidal programme against the Kurds through its endorsement of the Giaroto part, its provision of military equipment and its training of state backed 'anti-Kurdish' psychological warfare death squads, intelligence gathering organisations and 'commando' groups.

Marcus Raskin, an NSC staffer, has conceded that these psychological warfare 'activities around the world... were criminal by other nations' standards as well as criminal by our own." To George McGovern, US senator between 1963-81.

"We were involved in assassinations, assassination attempts. We were operating paramilitary operations, with mercenary forces hired in other people's countries with no knowledge on the part of our own Congress, our press or the American people. All of these things are with no knowledge on the part of our own Congress, with mercenary forces hired in other people's countries at attempts. We were operating paramilitary operations."28

According to Philip Agee, a former senior CIA secret operations officer, CIA stations regularly used "offensive weapons of psychological and paramilitary operations" which involved surveillance measures and "includ[ed] the placing of anti-Communist propaganda in the public media, the frame-up of... officials for police arrest, the publishing of false propaganda attributed to the revolutionary group in such a way that it will be difficult to deny and damaging as well, the organizing of goon squads to beat up and intimidate... American citizens, devices to break up meetings, and the calling on liaison services to take desired repressive action."34

"Within the US governmental bureaucracy itself... notes Peter Sontag, "intelligence agencies and special warfare elements have recurrently exploited," trained and even protected "drug traffickers and their corrupt political allies" to facilitate these types of 'anti-Communist and anti-subversive operations."35

As Adams has concluded in 'Secret Armies', the US military and "the CIA... under the single umbrella... managed to embrace every aspect of covert warfare from espionage to psychological operations and subversion."36 Widespread and chilling actions and atrocities against Kurdish communities and 'radical' human rights and 'leftist' activists in Turkey/North West Kurdistan were clearly committed as a consequence of these 'anti-communist' inspired US-CIA-NATO linked 'psychological warfare' training and operational programmes. To effrey Bale, writing in the Berkley Journal of Sociology and Lobster, the CIA was "instrumental in establishing the contra-guerilla" death squads in Turkey.37 By 1969, moreover, Turkish "commandos, who had been trained by American specialists in counter-insurgency," were despatched into Kurdish regions "under the pretext of a general 'arms search'" to terrorise the population.38 These commando actions "rapidly became associated with arbitrary brutality and torture that had marked the suppression of Kurdish four decades earlier."39

According to the Journal Derwin, one communado report which focused upon its anti-Kurdish psychological warfare operations, ran along the following lines: "Since the end of January, special military units have undertaken a land war in the (Kurdish) regions of Diyarbakir, Mardin, Sirt and Halabja under the guise of hunting bandits. Every village is surrounded at a certain hour, its inhabitants rounded up. Troops assemble men and women separately, and demand the men to surrender their weapons. They beat those who deny possessing any or make other villagers jump on them. They strip men and women naked and violate the latter. Many have died in these operations, some have committed suicide. Naked men and women have cold water thrown over them, and they are whipped. Sometimes women are forced to tie a rope around the penis of their husband and then to lead him around the village. Women are likewise made to parade naked through the streets of the village. They rape the women. 'Suspects' are hanged by their feet from a gallows. Sometimes strings are attached to the genitalia of naked men whom the women are then forced to lead through the streets in this manner. Many die under torture."42

Kendal confirms that these targeting actions continued throughout the 1970's: "During the more or less fascist period which followed the collapse of the military coup on March 12th, 1971, the commandos' activities were considerably extended and became a real 'Kurd hunt'. The troops raked through the Kurdish provinces one by one; several thousand peasants were pursued, arrested and tortured... in counter-insurgency centres which had been set up by Turkish officers trained by the US in Panama... (When) Demirel... became president of Turkey... returned to power... commando operations started up with renewed intensity in Kurdistan. In the towns, the state police and the fascist militias assassinated sixty people from March 1975, to April 1976... Even under the 'democratic parliamentary regime' of the late seventies, the commandos were still at work in Kurdistan. There were more than twice as many of them patrolling the frontier province of Hakkari from October to December 1975."

Despite being aware of such atrocities, US-NATO funding, active training and protection of racist and fascist, genocidal, anti-Kurdish psychological warfare teams and militias continued. One such militia was "the CIA-backed 'anti-Kurdish' psychological warfare death squads, KURD/DRUG link"... troublemaker... the 'paramilitary arm' of the National Action Party (NPA/MHP). According to Bergher, "attacks by the CIA trained and equipped death squads of the fascist NAP intensified during 1979."40 A report by the Turkish Internal Ministry acknowledges that these NAP death squads were ideologically "akin to Hitler's Nazi organisation... NAP supporters, for instance, were clearly encouraged in a 1977 party leaflet to act in the following fashion: 'Those who destroyed (the Ottoman Empire) were Greek-Armenian-Jewish converts, Kurds, Circassians, Bosnian and Albanians. As a Turk, how much longer will you tolerate these dirty minorities? Throw out the Circassian, that he may go to Caucasus, throw out the Armenian, throw out and kill the Kurd, purge from your midst the enemy of all Turkdom.'41

As Kendal has clarified, "the NAP is violently and militantly anti-Kurdish... The liquidation of the Kurds is thus an integral part of their agenda."

Investigative research by Collin has uncovered the following details: "The intelligence services of NATO ally Germany and other European coun-
tries... protected the NAP/MHP.\textsuperscript{49} despite being fully aware of the ideological slant and character of the organisation. "This protection continues to this day. The CIA openly protected the NAP/MHP in Germany... One of the 'protectors' was the CIA man Ruži Nazar; who had previously "collaborated with German Nazi occupation forces in the Second World War... NAP/MHP militants were used in hundreds of murders, became very professional, and were used by the CIA in international terrorism."\textsuperscript{51}

According to Counterpunch,\textsuperscript{2} the CIA—as part of its ongoing psychological warfare training strategy in Turkey—"assisted Milli Istihbarat Teskilati (MIT),"\textsuperscript{3} the notorious Turkish national intelligence agency, "in 1960-69 in drafting plans for mass arrests of opposition figures similar to the pattern followed in Thailand, Indonesia, and Greece. In a single night, generals ordered 4,000 professors, students, teachers and retired officers (to be) arrested. They tortured (many)... The coup in 1971 was carried out by counter-guerrilla, the CIA, the Turkish military and Turkish military intelligence (MIT)."\textsuperscript{52} From its station in Athens, Greece, the CIA Technical Services Division (TSD) support group provided particular psychological warfare operational expertise to its staff operating in Turkey. "TSD arsenals"\textsuperscript{47} Roubatis and Wynn conclude, "include electronic monitoring devices, various gadgets for surveillance, special weapons for clandestine operations, drugs for use in such operations, forged documents and other similar material... The TSD activities involved aggressive operations."\textsuperscript{13}

The CIA's role in assisting MIT in targeting actions against the 'Kurdish' and other 'internal communist' threats was publicly exposed in 1977 when Sahabattin Sasavanan, the deputy director of MIT, acknowledged that "the CIA has a delegation of at least 20 people who cooperate in the MIT with the CIA and who occupy high positions inside the MIT. They supply information, contacts and they participate in operations... All technical equipment is supplied by the CIA. A lot of personnel was trained by the Americans in courses abroad, the buildings were constructed by the CIA, the instructors were supplied by the CIA... The employees have been working for years as CIA agents for the benefit of the American secret service."\textsuperscript{53} He further stated that "MIT personnel have been accepting payments and taking part in operations with the CIA for years."\textsuperscript{14}

Zurcher confirms that MIT's operations against 'internal threats' during this period were clearly and publicly known to be of a brutal nature: "Widespread reports of torture" of Kurds and other 'communist activists' "in so-called 'laboratory, torture chambers of the MIT,'"\textsuperscript{56} Aldrich Ames, a former CIA officer who was stationed in Turkey, has also acknowledged that "the Turkish intelligence service (MIT) was cash-strapped, so we gave it half a million dollars worth of wiretap equipment and taught its people how to use it in Turkey's 'internal threats.'"\textsuperscript{15}

According to MIT officer General Ziya Selçuk, confirmed in 1962 that its internal "communist" threats even included "all Kurds who were studying."\textsuperscript{44} It should also be noted at this point that Saat Eci, who was the leader of the underground Kurdistan Democratic Party—Turkey (KDP-T) during the late 1960s, had been declared a terrorist by the American military "before his assassination ... Dr. Salt 'Sivan' Kimriztoprak—accused the latter of acting as a Kurdish double-agent for the CIA. Eci was convinced that Dr. Salt 'Sivan' Kimriztoprak was working to fulfill the agendas of a joint CIA/MIT operation.\textsuperscript{55}

J effrey Bale further confirms that "there are numerous connections between the CIA and (the fascist) MHP (NAP), both in Turkey and Europe. It seems clear that the CIA and US military intelligence—via these 'collaborative' psychological warfare operations with the virulently anti-Kurdish MHP—'made use of civilian 'idealists' (fascist hard-liners) by recruiting them into the contra-guerrilla (death squad) organisations, and former Turkoman SS man Ruži Nazar has been identified by several investigators as the liaison between CIA personnel, including Henze (CIA Turkey Station Chief) himself and the MHP Leadership in West Germany.\textsuperscript{60}

It is also worth noting at this point that the successive CIA directors were involved in investigating and overseeing these disquieting psychological warfare operations were well suited to their additional tasks of "covering up" these actions from the public gaze. According to Lofthus and Aronson, for example, CIA Director Allen Dulles\textsuperscript{46} "State Department files show that he was the man (previously) assigned to cover up the Armenian massacre (genocide)... Simpson's research\textsuperscript{47} (also) fully documents the equally repugnant cover-up engineered by Dulles and his sources during the Jewish Holocaust of World War II.\textsuperscript{63}

The Pentagon and NATO's 'stay behind' network

Under the Pentagon's confidential 1948 plan for the formation of a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) styled structure, it is also instructive to note that one of the five major objectives of the emerging military alliance would be to ensure that no internal or external threat to the 'political independence (sic) or territorial integrity of Turkey' would be entertained. Kurdish aspirations for basic cultural and political rights—within a democratic, federal, Turkish or independent Kurdish structure—would clearly, under these criteria, have been considered psychological 'threats' which needed to be eradicated using all necessary means.

With the eventual formation of NATO in 1949 and Turkey's membership of the alliance in 1952, Turkey's military forces and several right wing fascist organisations were concretely provided with even greater covert support in their 'anti-communist' war against Kurdish political and cultural rights and other pro-democratic 'liberal', 'leftist' and trade unionist movements. General Sir Walter Walker, former NATO Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces, Northern Europe, confirms that 'Kurdish activism' was, indeed, being identified as 'Mannist communist' 'internal threats' to the 'territorial integrity' of the Turkish Republic: 'Turkey's Kurdish leaders have refused to be assimilated. The (Kurdish) revolt in the last two years was the single most challenging security problem in the country, and in addition to that, it was notable that Kurds were playing a leading role in opposition groups that were ideologically backed...'

Through the protective curtain and secretive cover of a wider 'anti-communist' NATO 'Gladio' styled 'Operation Pandora'—Psychological Warfare network—which was "sparedheaded by the CIA... (and) conceived by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff according to a 1976 senate report on the CIA by Frank Church which first revealed its existence"\textsuperscript{46}—a 'contra (counter) guerrilla' force called Seferberlik Taktik Kurulu (STK—Tactical Mobilisation Group) was funded, organised and allowed to operate from the same Ankara building that housed the US Military Aid Mission.\textsuperscript{67}

According to Roth and Taylan, the training of officers assigned to this Psychological Warfare Group "begins in the US and continues inside Turkey under the direction of CIA officers and military advisers."\textsuperscript{46} By 1959, a further military accord between the US and Turkey agreed upon the 'use' of the contra-guerrillas "as also in the case of an internal rebellion against the regime."\textsuperscript{46} Six years later, with the restructuring of the STK into the OHD (Ozel Harp Dairesi—Special Warfare Department),\textsuperscript{47} the contra-guerrilla psychological warfare and death squad structures were placed under the authority of the president of General Staff.\textsuperscript{51} Significant US funding of this structure, at least until 1974, was confirmed by the current Turkish Premier Bülent Ecevit, who additionally stated that "partizan volunteers were members of the group. They were trained specially to launch a counter guerrilla operation."

These 'operations', Turkish army spokesmen have recently conceded, were "invisibility involved in anti-Kurdish actions."\textsuperscript{71} A directive by General Sabri Yılmaz stated: "There is also such an organisation (Gladio—Stay Behind) in Turkey."

General Dogan Beyazıt (President of Turkey's General Staff) and General Kermal Yılmaz (Commander of its psychological warfare 'Special Forces'), were forced to confirm that this secretive and 'special' NATO organisation—which had been planned by Turkish officialdom and military sources until 1990—did exist.\textsuperscript{51} Ecevit further revealed on November 13th, 1990, that "it was told that it was financed by the United States."

With ex-CIA director Willi Henze's admission that "there is also such an organisation (Gladio—Stay Behind) in Turkey,"\textsuperscript{64} Dogan Beyazıt confirmed that the organisation had secret weapons depots. Its members were trained in special warfare techniques.\textsuperscript{51} In more recent interviews with J. Julie Flint, Ecevit clarified that other cartels, such as the Contra-Guerrilla network and other clandestine organisations, were used by the CIA and other groups to support the anti-communist organisations in Turkey.\textsuperscript{64} In another interview with J. Julie Flint, Ecevit clarified that the organisation had secret weapons depots. Its members were trained in special warfare techniques.\textsuperscript{51} In a more recent interview with J. Julie Flint, Ecevit clarified that other cartels, such as the Contra-Guerrilla network and other clandestine organisations, were used by the CIA and other groups to support the anti-communist organisations in Turkey.\textsuperscript{51}

As Celik and others have ascertained, training of death squads was clearly undertaken by the OHD-CIA-NATO linked structure, and US psychological warfare contra-guerrilla manuals were used—"as were they in other 'Gladio - Stay Behind' structures elsewhere in Europe—after having been translated into Turkish: 'The 'special war methods' which (were) taught supposedly for the prevention of a communist occupation include among others 'assassinations, bombings, armed robbery, torture, attacks, kidnap, threats, provocation, militia training, hostage taking, arson, sabotage, propaganda, disinformation and extortion.'"\textsuperscript{51}

However, research has also established that "selected elements of the(se) Turkish contra-guerrillas, together with the generals, were all trained in contra-guerrilla" and psychological warfare training.\textsuperscript{51} In their own words, "During the period when the contra-guerrilla forces... learn how to handle explosives under the supervision of General Berets in Matamoros near the Mexican border, and they are taken to dock, or strange public places, nobody enjoys, etc... Other places where Turkish officials are trained are the Escuela de los Americas in Panama, which is attached to the US base in Southern Comfort, the Police Academy near Washington and the Schongau and Southern Comfort, the Police Academy near Washington and the Schongau and Oberammergau bases in Germany."\textsuperscript{51} According to a report by Republican Party (TRP) deputy, Fikri Saglar, "the links between the illegal right wing organisations and the Turkish security should be traced back to Gladio."\textsuperscript{64}
The intelligence service of Turkey's NATO partner, West Germany, regularly liaised with MIT and held meetings in West Berlin. In 1990, it was agreed to host and Ankara to discuss and evaluate operational matters and Turkey's "internal" problems. In NATO countries, moreover, have apparently actively engaged in the training of anti-Kurdish "death-teams" of SFC. This was suggested by recent Cevat investigation uncovered the following:

"In 1984, a force was set up to counter Kurdish guerrilla warfare. It was known as the 'Special Team'. Even at the beginning, they were secrets... For a month, the personnel were trained in the use of the most effective weapons and in the use of guns, torture, sabotage, plotting, interrogation, camouflage and learning about the culture of the people in the region they were to serve in... Some Special Team members were trained in other NATO countries such as Germany... An army officer from Germany, High Commissioner Weggold, was interviewed by a Turkish newspaper called 'Symposium' on 1st February, 1984. He informed the paper that he had 'trained 2 groups of Turkish Special Team units at St. Augustine in GSG-9 camp, near Bonn. The German newspaper, 'Suddeutsche Zeitung', in its 1st March-1st April, 1984 edition, also stated that 3,000 Special Team members from Turkey—also known as 'Black Insects'—were trained in West Germany... The personnel were trained ideologically and in military terms to look upon Kurdish people as enemies... In their manifestos, Special Teams are described as 'Special Activity Teams'. They may join in with Turkish army units in operations. They also had other different assignments. An army unit might surround a group of guerrillas in a village but the Special Teams were trained to then take over the operation. It was usually their job to carry out extermination operations... or... mine... or set traps on roads, interrogate, torture and lead operations in disinformation. There are hundreds of people in Kurdish disabled as a result of the treatment and operations of the Special Teams... Special Teams have also executed guerrillas even though it was clearly impossible to arrest them. In their fits, they have raped women, seized gold and money and treated people brutally."

Randal confirms that "the so-called Special Teams, whose members often wore civilian clothes... were feared as the cruellest of the cruel..." Turkish state collusion with anti-Kurdish, fascist and Naxist collaborationist gangs also appears to have been actively encouraged and portrayed by the US and NATO "Glossy-styled" Stay Behind Network. As Simpson's study, "Blackvax: America's Recruitment of Nazi's and its Effect on the War" notes, Abdullah Cattli, a German author, has claimed in his book, "Greece in its German connection..." that MHP (NAP) has been able to gain support and protection from the intelligence agencies of NATO countries: "With very few exceptions, no cases have been opened against the Party in Western European countries. It is protected in Europe, even though it is at the centre of the drugs trade. This protection during is particular by US anti-Kurdish Right-wing German politicians, especially those in Bavaria, protect the Party. It is impossible that German intelligence should be ignorant of this, since it has been also been proven that they gave support to the Party in the 1970s. The Turks used Germany as his base before he died, visiting it several times a year and holding big meetings there. Meet- ings have been held at the headquarters of the German Government, at the Federal Interior Ministry and at the Ministries of Defence and Justice."

Despite clear awareness of his pro-Nazi past and highly disturbing, fascist and racist anti-Kurdish leanings, it is instructive to note that NATO welcomed and did not seek to dispute his placement as Head of the NATO Department of the Armed Forces Headquarters in Turkey by 1983, or his role as a principal liaison officer between the Turkish General Staff and NATO in its operational activities. CIA inspired support for the NAP and Grey Wolves' "death-squads" and murderous "terrorist activities" have been subject to a number of investigative reports. Brothede, Friel and Herman, for example, draw upon a number of reports detailing the way in which "Frans Terpil, the CIA agent and international arms dealer, had supplied the NAP and the Grey Wolves with weapons and explosives in the mid-1970s" to proceed with their "terrorist activities", indeed, activities that could have resulted in the murder of over 200 Kurdish and Turkish "leftists" students by 1978, as well as a number of trade unionists, teachers and 'leftist thinkers. NAP, in return for this type of "psychological warfare support" in its anti-Kurdish and "anti-communist" offensive, had, not unexpectedly, "pledged to abide by" international treaties, agreements and other Cold War initiatives. As Harris has ascertained, events in "Greece in its German connection..." or "in Latin America, Southeast Asia and other Cold War battlegrounds."

Cevat has also ascertained that "the German writer Jürgen Roth had information obtained from the German police and claimed in his book, "Die Verbrennung, Holding" that MHP (NAP) was a branch of the Turkish (CIA-NATO) Gladio Organisation." In this capacity, MHP/NAP has been able to obtain support and protection from the intelligence agencies of NATO countries: "With very few exceptions, no cases have been opened against the Party in Western European countries. It is protected in Europe, even though it is at the centre of the drugs trade. This protection during is particular by US anti-Kurdish Right-wing German politicians, especially those in Bavaria, protect the Party. It is impossible that German intelligence should be ignorant of this, since it has been also been proven that they gave support to the Party in the 1970s. The Turks used Germany as his base before he died, visiting it several times a year and holding big meetings there. Meet- ings have been held at the headquarters of the German Government, at the Federal Interior Ministry and at the Ministries of Defence and Justice."

Recent revelations after the Susurluk car incident further point to a "Turkish Gladio" US-NATO connection with the late Abdullah Catli, a Grey Wolves/NAP-"anti-Kurdist" anti-Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) guerrilla/OHOD death squad organiser, who was also a convicted drug smuggler and dealer, and to the European Gladio and Agiotis Presser terrorist, Stefano Dell' Oste Chalk. According to an Italian investigative journalist who had helped uncover the international Gladio network, "Catli was affiliated with the broken figures of Italy's notorious (CIA-NATO) Gladio organisation. Catli, Agca and Celik... an old friend of Abdullah Catli who had been implicated in several cases of political killings along with Mehmet Ali Aga, 'the man who shot the Pope'... were operating under CIA guidance."

US-NATO 'psychological warfare' connections with anti-Kurdish agencies, 'death-teams' and fascist organisations

MIT Deputy, Sahibattin Savas, has confirmed that...
mined beyond any doubt that Abdullah Catli and Oral Celik ... had been used by Western secret services. He said that Catli and Celik had been doing business with another Turk, Bekir Celenk, who in turn was working with Henry Arsan, a man who co-operated with the CIA and with a number of secret organisations, fascist groups and terrorist gangs.112 CIA agent Frank Terpil is also reported to have co-operated with the CIA and with a number of security agencies that had been involved in helping to illegally release the extremist Grey Wolf, Agca.113

According to Herman and Brodhead, there can be no denying that “there was a close tie between the counter-guerrilla and the CIA. Deger charged further that the CIA, acting through MIT and the coalitions, was preparing an ‘anti-Kurdish’ targeting actions. Seferoglu has subsequently psychological warfare ‘anti-radical’, the US Secretary of Defence, Weinberger, in response to these and other positive assurances, increased the number of high-level meetings in Washington in the week of the coup. In the case of the PKK itself, 122 suspected members of the clandestine Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) were captured, including several members of its central committee,129 and several “leading PKK members were killed in detention.”130 “In the case of the PKK itself, 122 death sentences were passed and some 150 were demanded.”131 Legislation, moreover, was passed which clearly sought to intensify the process of cultural genocide of Kurds.132 In response to these targeting actions, Weinberger, US Secretary of Defence, noted with satisfaction that “the US government has fulfilled its highest expectations. We particularly admire the way law and order has been restored.”133

Notes
1. Desmond Fernandes lectures in Human Geography and Tourism Studies at De Montfort University, Bedford, England. He has written extensively on issues relating to Turkish state territory, genocide, ‘deep politics’, tourism and the environment. He is the author of the book (Reading, Taderon, forthcoming) and editor of Ismail Besikci’s International Journal (Reading, Taderon, forthcoming). Besikci, a Kurdish analyst and has translated Musa Anter’s Hatiralarım (My Memoirs) and Selahattin Celik’s Olum Makinasi: Turan Kontr-Gerilisi (Death Mission: The Turkish Counter-Guerrilla) into English.


6. Herman and Seidman, The Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection, p. 61.

7. Lord Kinross (1954)


screened on Discovery Channel, 1999.


32. As cited in Simpson, The Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, p. 12. Simpson interestingly notes that the army's definition of 'psychological warfare'—quoted here—"was classified as top secret at the time it was promulgated (early 1948) and remained officially secret until (as late as) the early 1980's," p. 12.


41. Devrim, no. 36 (23rd June, 1970), and quoted in Mc Dowall, A Modern History of the Kurds, p. 409.


47. As quoted in Poulton, Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic, p. 153.


51. Counterspy, Summer 1980, p. 14, as cited in the ‘CIABASE files on Death Squads supported by the CIA’ as compiled by Ralph McGehee, 10/11/95.


58. Anter notes, for instance, that “the leader of MIT, General Ziya Selisik, sent a letter ... in 1962 ... to Yon (‘The Way’) magazine to be published as a way of warning to ‘left-wing groups’ to rethink. He pointed out that all Kurds who were studying were viewed by the state as communists!” —See Anter, Hatralarim, p. 217 (As translated into English by Iskender Ozden).

59. It should be noted here, however, that doubts have been expressed in some quarters concerning the accuracy of Eic’s claims. For a detailed discussion of this affair, refer to Anter, Hatralarim, p. 210-216 (As translated into English by Iskender Ozden).


61. Who was CIA director between 1953 and 1961.

67. As revealed to former Prime Minister Ecevit and as cited in the February 1993 edition of InfoTurk and Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69. Refer also to Celik’s Turkey’s Killing Machine The Contra-Guerrilla Force (http://www.hatford-hwp.com/archives/51/017.html); Roth, J. and Taylan, K. (1981); Counterpoint Vol VI, No 2, February-April 1982; p. 23–25 and Herman and Brodhead’s The Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection, p. 61.
70. In effect a parallel structure to the CIA-NATO inspired ‘Gladio’ paramilitary organisation in Italy, ‘Schwert’ (’Sword’) in Austria, ‘SDR’ in Belgium, ‘Glaive’ in France, ‘Operation Sheeskin’ in Greece, ‘Sveaborg’ in Sweden, ‘P-26’ in Switzerland and others in Denmark, Germany, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain and the UK.
77. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
78. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
79. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
80. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
81. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
82. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
83. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
85. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
86. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
87. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
88. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
89. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
90. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
91. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
92. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
93. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 71.
94. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 71.
95. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 71.
96. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 71.
97. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 71.
100. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
103. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
104. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.
105. As cited in Fernandes, Beyond the Paraphrase of Infinite Colours; Turkish State Terror, Tourism and the Kurdish Question, p. 69.