

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	U.S. government report (1 page)	12/19/1995	P1/b(1)
002. report	U.S. government report (1 page)	03/19/1996	P1/b(1)
003. report	U.S. government report (1 page)	03/19/1996	P1/b(1)
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006. report	U.S. government report (1 page)	03/20/1996	P1/b(1)
007. report	U.S. government report (1 page)	03/20/1996	P1/b(1)
008. report	U.S. government report (1 page)	03/20/1996	P1/b(1)
009. report	Re: Turkey (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)
010. report	Re: courtesy call (2 pages)	n.d.	P1/b(1)

**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 First Lady's Office  
 Melanne Verveer  
 OA/Box Number: 15622

**FOLDER TITLE:**

Greece, Turkey and Germany [binder] [1]

2013-0534-S  
ry1721

**RESTRICTION CODES**

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

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**Files of Melanne Verveer, Assistant to the President and Chief of  
Staff to the First Lady  
Box 8: Books and Files**

**Archived from OEOB 102 by Eric Woodard on April 7, 2000**

- Beijing Conference (**BEIJING**)
- UN Fourth World Conference on Women 1995 (**BEIJING**)
- Greece, Turkey, and Germany

**ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS**

**15622**

*NAA 13101*

GREECE, TURKEY + GERMANY



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

**MARC GROSSMAN**

President Clinton nominated Marc Grossman to be Ambassador to Turkey on September 12, 1994.

Marc Grossman became Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and the Executive Secretary of the Department of State on January 22, 1993. Prior to assuming these duties, he was the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Political Military Affairs. He was Deputy Chief of the United States Mission in Turkey July 1989 to June 1992. He had served as Executive Assistant to Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead from September 1986 to January 1989.

From June 1984 to July 1986, Mr. Grossman was the Deputy Director of the Private Office of the Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Lord Carrington.

Mr. Grossman served as a Political Officer at the United States Mission to NATO in 1983. From September 1981 to 1983, he was the Country Officer for Jordan in the State Department. He had previously served as the Legislative Management Officer responsible for the Near East and South Asia in the State Department's Office of Congressional Relations, and as the Chief of the Professional Staff for the State Department Transition Team after the November 1980 election.

From May to November of 1980, Mr. Grossman was Deputy Special Advisor to President Carter. From July 1979 to May 1980, he was a Staff Assistant in the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. From April 1977 to June 1979, he was a Political Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan.

Mr. Grossman was born in Los Angeles on September 23, 1951. He has a B.A. from the University of California, Santa Barbara, and an M.Sc. in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Mr. Grossman is married to Mildred Patterson, who is also a Foreign Service Officer. They have a daughter, Anne.

September 1994

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# background notes

# Turkey



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

January 1991



**Official Name:**  
Republic of Turkey

## PROFILE

### Geography

Area: 766,640 sq. km. (296,000 sq. mi.); slightly larger than Texas. Cities: *Capital*—Ankara (pop. 3.69 million). *Other cities*—Istanbul (6.82 million), Izmir (2.61 million), Adana (1.93 million). *Terrain*: Narrow coastal plain surrounds Anatolia; an inland plateau becomes increasingly rugged as it progresses eastward. Turkey includes one of the more earthquake-prone areas of the world. *Climate*: Moderate in coastal areas, harsher temperatures inland.

### People

**Nationality:** *Noun*—Turk(s). *Adjective*—Turkish. **Population** (1989 est.): 55.3 million. **Annual growth rate:** 2.2%. **Ethnic groups:** Turkish, Kurdish, other. **Religions:** Muslim 98%, Christian, Jewish. **Languages:** Turkish (official), Kurdish, Arabic. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—6. *Attendance*—95%. *Literacy*—89%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—62/1,000. *Life expectancy*—66 yrs. **Work force** (18.7 million): *Agriculture*—50%. *Industry and commerce*—21%. *Services*—29%.

### Government

**Type:** Republic. **Independence:** 1923.  
**Constitution:** November 7, 1982.

**Branches:** *Executive*—president (chief of state), prime minister, Council of Ministers (cabinet). *Legislative*—Grand National Assembly (450 members) chosen by national elections at least every 5 years. *Judicial*—constitutional court, court of cassation, council of state, high council of judges and prosecutors.

**Political parties:** Motherland Party (ANAP), Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP), Correct Way Party (DYP), democratic Left Party (DSP), several smaller parties. **Suffrage:** Universal, 21 and older.

**Central government budget** (1989 est.): \$15.5 billion (32,933 billion Turkish lira).

**Defense:** 2.8% of 1989 GDP or 13.2% of 1989 budget.

**National holiday:** Republic Day, October 29.

**Flag:** White crescent and star on a red field.

### Economy

**GNP** (1989 estimate): \$80.5 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1983-89): 5.3%. **Per capita income** (1989 estimate): \$1,433. **Avg. annual inflation rate** (1989): About 68.8%.

**Natural resources:** Coal, chromite, copper, boron, oil.

**Agriculture** (15% of GNP): *Major cash crops*—cotton, sugar beets, hazelnuts, wheat, barley, and tobacco. Provides more than 55% of jobs, 25% of exports.

**Industry** (32% of GNP): Major growth sector. *Types*—Food processing, textiles, basic metals, chemicals, and petrochemicals.

**Trade** (1989): *Exports*—\$12 billion: tobacco, cotton, textiles, cement, raisins, nuts, leather, glass, ceramics. *Imports*—\$1.5 billion: petroleum, pharmaceuticals and dyes, iron and steel, machinery, plastics and rubber, transport vehicles. *Major partners*—France, Germany, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, UK, US, USSR.

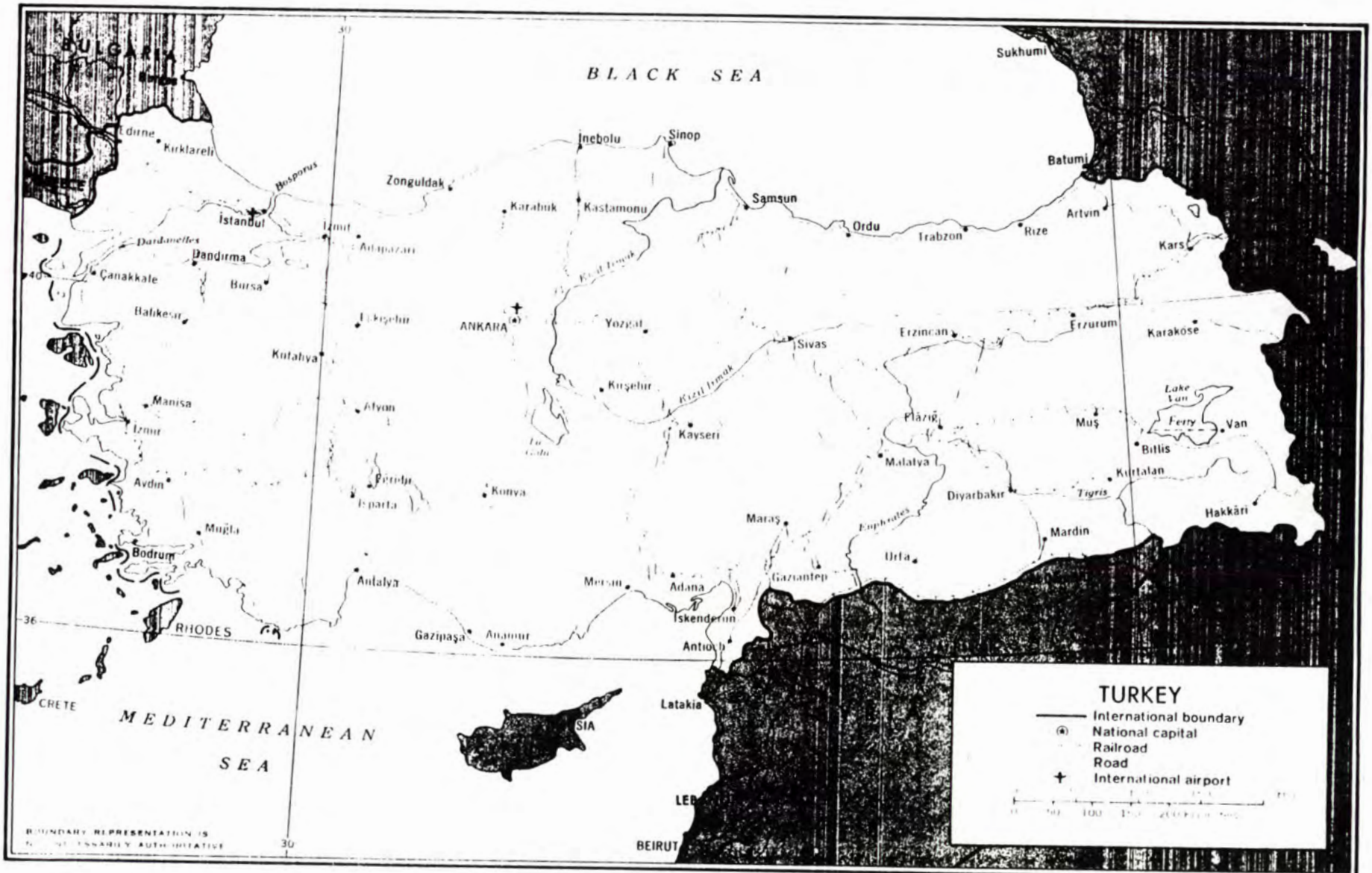
**Fiscal year:** Calendar year.

**Official exchange rate** (Feb. 1990): 2408 Turkish lira=US\$1 (adjusted daily).

**US economic aid** (FY 1946-90): \$4.3 billion. **US military aid** (FY 1946-90): more than \$14 billion.

### Membership In International Organizations

UN, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Council of Europe, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Islamic Conference Organization (OIC), European Community (EC) associate member, ITELSAT.



**BULGARIA**

**BLACK SEA**

Sukhumi

Batumi

Artvin

Rize

Kars

Karaköse

Van

Billis

Hakkâri

Mardin

Urfa

Diyarbakir

Malatya

Plazığ

Erzurum

Erzincan

Sivas

Kayseri

Kuşehir

Yozgat

ANKARA (⊙)

Konya

Antalya

Mersin

Adana

İskenderun

Antioch

Gaziantep

Maras

İzmit

Atapazarı

Kütahya

Afyon

İsparta

Perişi

Burdur

Muğla

Bodrum

Avdın

Manisa

Balıkesir

Bursa

Dandirma

Çanakkale

Dardanelles

Bosphorus

Istanbul

Kırklareli

Edirne

Zonguldak

Inebolu

Sinop

Samsun

Ordu

Trabzon

İzmir

Crete

RHODES

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Latakia

LEB

BEIRUT

SIA

Tigris

Euphrates

Lake Van

Ferry

Sea of Marmara

Sea of Izmir

Sea of Aegean

## PEOPLE

Bridging Europe and Asia Minor, Turkey is a land of geographic, economic, and social contrasts. Slightly larger than Texas, modern Turkey spans bustling cosmopolitan centers, pastoral farming villages, barren wastelands, peaceful Aegean islands, and steep mountain regions. More than half of Turkey's population—expected to reach 83 million by 2005 if its annual growth rate of 2.2% continues—live in urban areas that juxtapose Western life-styles with squatter dwellings that increasingly ring the cities' edges. Most Turks, however, work on farms. Although Turkey is still a developing country, recent improvements in services have resulted in the proliferation of electricity nationwide and telephone connections for all its 34,500 villages.

Although 98% of the population is Muslim, Turkey has been officially secular since the early 1920s. Most Turkish Muslims belong to the Sunni branch of Islam. The state exercises no legal discrimination against its non-Islamic minorities, primarily Armenian and Syrian Christians, and Jews.

Turks of Kurdish origin constitute an ethnic and linguistic group. Estimates of their population range up to 10 million. Although an increasing number have migrated to the cities, the traditional home of the Kurds is in poor, remote areas of the east and southeast, where incomes are less than half the national average and economic development lags.

### Culture

Turkish culture, rich in Ottoman and folkloric elements, is traditional and modern. Turkish carpet weaving is one of the oldest crafts in the world. Ceramics and other Ottoman-era crafts retain their varied regional character.

Modern Turkish cultural life dates from the 1923 founding of the republic and early efforts to Westernize Turkish society. As a result, the arts, literature, drama, and classical and contemporary music have flourished. State support of cultural activities is extensive and encompasses a national network of theaters, orchestras, opera and ballet companies, university fine



Remains of ancient civilizations dot the Turkish countryside, where rural lifestyles contrast those of Turkey's bustling cities.

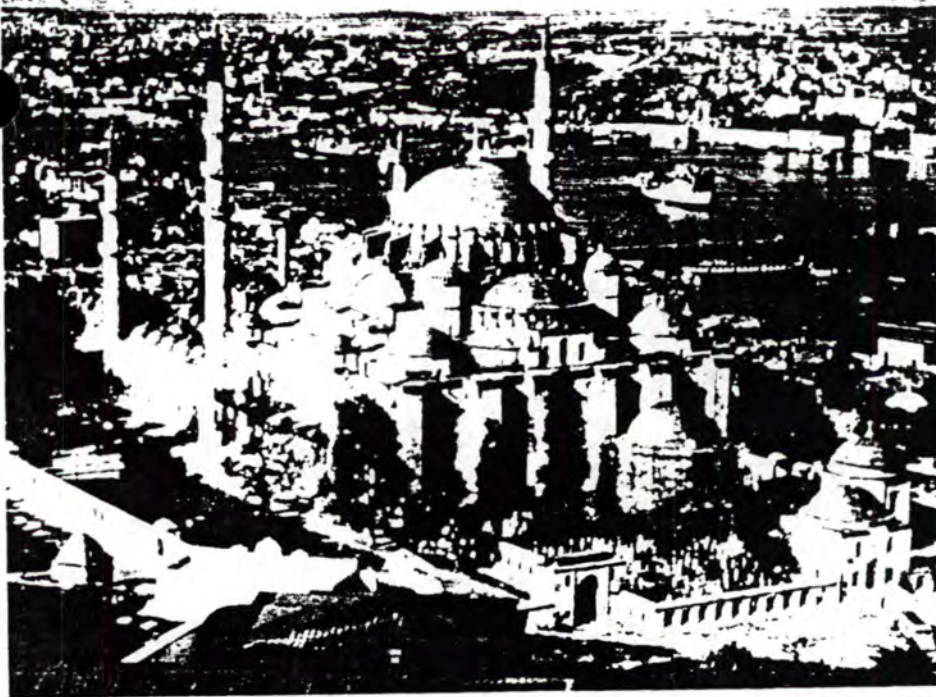
arts academies, and various conservatories. Public funds also are used to provide partial support for private theater groups and for major art exhibitions and festivals.

### HISTORY

The legendary Mustafa Kemal, a Turkish World War I hero later known as "Ataturk" or "father of the Turks," founded the republic of Turkey in 1923 after the collapse of the 600-year-old Ottoman Empire. The empire, which at its peak controlled vast stretches of northern Africa, southeastern Europe, and western Asia, had failed to keep pace with European social and technological developments. The rise of

nationalism impelled several ethnic groups to seek independence, leading to the empire's fragmentation. This process culminated in the disastrous Ottoman participation in World War I as a German ally. Defeated, shorn of much of its former territory, and partly occupied by forces of the victorious European states, the Ottoman structure was repudiated by Turkish nationalists who rallied under Ataturk's leadership. The nationalists expelled invading Greek forces from Anatolia after a bitter war. The temporal and religious ruling institutions of the old empire (the sultanate and caliphate) were abolished.

The new republic concentrated on Westernizing the empire's Turkish core—Anatolia and a small part of



The mosque of Suleyman the Magnificent stands in the midst of modern day Istanbul. The four minarets signify that he was the fourth sultan after the fall of Byzantium.

Thrace. Social, political, linguistic, and economic reforms and attitudes introduced by Ataturk before his death in 1938 continue to form the ideological base of modern Turkey. Referred to as "Kemalism," it comprises secularism, nationalism, and modernization and turns toward the West for inspiration and support. The continued validity and applicability of Kemalism are the subject of frequent discussion and debate in Turkey's political life.

Turkey entered World War II on the Allied side shortly before the war ended and became a charter member of the United Nations. Difficulties faced by Greece after World War II in quelling a Communist rebellion and demands by the Soviet Union for military bases in the Turkish Straits caused the United States to declare the Truman Doctrine in 1947. The doctrine enunciated American intentions to guarantee the security of Turkey and Greece and resulted in large-scale US military and economic aid. After participating with United Nations forces in the Korean conflict, Turkey in 1952 joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

#### Military Coups and Coalitions

One-party rule (Republican People's Party—RPP) established by Ataturk in 1923 lasted until elections in 1950. The Democrat Party then governed Turkey until 1960, when growing economic problems and internal political tensions culminated in a military coup. A new constitution was written, and civilian government was reinstated with the convening of the Grand National Assembly (GNA) in 1961. In addition, the new constitution established a National Security Council (NSC) composed of the chief of the Turkish general staff and representatives of the army, air force, and navy.

Coalition governments, dominated by the RPP, ruled Turkey for the next 5 years. In 1965 and 1969, the Justice Party (JP), led by Suleyman Demirel, won sizable majorities of GNA seats and ruled alone.

Political agitation surfaced in 1968 and increased as left- and right-wing extremists took to the streets. In March 1971, senior military leaders grew dissatisfied with the JP's inability to cope with domestic violence. In a so-

called "coup by memorandum," they called for the JP's replacement by a more effective government.

Demirel's government resigned and was replaced by a succession of "above party" governments, which ruled until the October 1973 general elections. Those elections saw the RPP reemerge as the largest party and its chairman, Bulent Ecevit, become prime minister of a coalition government composed of the RPP and the conservative, religiously oriented National Salvation Party. In 1974, the coalition faltered. Ecevit resigned, early elections were called, and a prolonged government crisis ensued.

From 1975 to 1980, unstable coalition governments ruled, led alternately by Demirel and Ecevit. By the end of 1979, an accelerating decline in the economy, coupled with mounting violence from the extreme left and right, led to increasing instability. Demirel's government began an economic stabilization program in early 1980, but by summer, political violence was claiming more than 20 victims daily. A severely divided GNA was unable to elect a new president or to pass other legislation to cope with the crisis.

On September 12, 1980, the NSC, led by General Kenan Evren, moved successfully to restore public order. Thousands of terrorists were captured, along with large caches of weapons and ammunition. While political activity was banned and the former political parties dissolved, the NSC initiated steps to restore democratic civilian rule by 1983. These measures included a national referendum on November 7, 1982, which resulted in overwhelming public approval (91%) of a new constitution drawn up by the 160-member Consultative Assembly and modified by the NSC. The referendum simultaneously approved General Evren as president for a 7-year term. A temporary article banning former political party leaders from politics for 10 years also went into effect.

New political parties were allowed to form in 1983 as long as founding members were not leaders or members of parliament attached to any pre-1980 political parties. Prior to the deadline

for participation in the 1983 national elections, three political parties—the Nationalist Democracy Party, the Motherland Party, and the Populist Party—were authorized.

In the 1983 elections, the Motherland Party (founded by Turgut Ozal, deputy prime minister between 1980 and 1982 and architect of Turkey's successful economic austerity program under the military government) won an absolute majority in the 400-member Grand National Assembly (GNA). The Populist Party came in second, and the Nationalist Democracy Party third. The new government took office in December 1983.

The Ozal administration, the first civilian government since the early 1970s to rule without coalition partners, made economic reform its priority. In September 1987, a referendum lifting the 10-year ban on former politicians passed by a small margin. Ozal called immediately for national elections, the first since 1980 in which all legal parties were allowed to participate. The elections were held in November, and

Ozal won a second 5-year term and a comfortable majority in parliament (292 of 450 seats based on a weighted proportional system). The Social Democrat Populist Party won 99 seats and became the main opposition party. Former Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel's Correct Way Party won 59 seats. No other party reached the 10% level necessary to enter parliament. The Democratic Left Party of former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit won only 8% of the vote. The next parliamentary election is due in 1992.

In 1989, Ozal was elected president. Ozal's Motherland Party suffered a setback in March 1989 municipal elections, receiving only 22% of the votes cast; down from 36% in 1987. The opposition has since called repeatedly for early parliamentary elections.

### GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The 1982 constitution preserves a democratic, secular, parliamentary form of government with a strength-

ened presidency. It provides for an independent judiciary and safeguards internationally recognized human rights. These rights, including freedom of thought, expression, assembly, and travel, can be limited in times of emergency and cannot be used to violate the integrity of the state or to impose a system of government based on religion, ethnicity, or the domination of one social class. The constitution prohibits torture or ill treatment. Labor rights, including the right to strike, are recognized in the constitution but can be restricted. The president and prime minister share executive powers. The president, who has broad powers of appointment and supervision, is chosen by the GNA for a term of 7 years and cannot be reelected. The prime minister administers the government. The prime minister and the Council of Ministers are responsible to the GNA.

The 450-member GNA carries out legislative functions. Election is by proportional representation. To participate in the distribution of seats, a party must obtain at least 10% of the votes cast at the national level as well as a percentage of votes in the contested district according to a complex formula. This "double threshold" or "barrage" mechanism is intended to reduce the likelihood of coalition governments by reducing the number of smaller parties in parliament.

The president is to enact laws passed by the GNA within 15 days. With the exception of budgetary laws, the president may return a law to the GNA for reconsideration. If the GNA reenacts the law, it is binding. Constitutional amendments require a two-thirds majority for approval. They also may be submitted to popular referendum.

The 1982 constitution preserves the judicial system previously in effect and provides for a system of state

The Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul, the only city to span two continents, is the fourth largest in the world. The bridge connects Europe with Asia Minor.





Ottoman, Byzantine, and Roman civilizations are reflected in the gardens and fountains of Sultan Ahmet Square in Istanbul. In the foreground is the famous Blue Mosque and the church of Sancta Sophia, built by Justinian in the sixth century.

security courts to deal with offenses against the integrity of the state. The high court system remains in place with its functional division, common in European states, including a constitutional court responsible for judicial review of legislation, a court of cassation (or supreme court of appeals), a council of state serving as the high administrative and appeals court, a court of accounts, and a military court of appeals. The High Council of Judges and Prosecutors, appointed by the president, supervises the judiciary.

Only the Motherland Party remains of the three parties that competed in the 1988 elections. The Nationalist Democracy Party dissolved itself, and the Populist Party merged with the Social Democrat Populist Party, a new center-left party.

## DEFENSE

Turkey's armed forces, with more than 700,000 members, are the largest in NATO after those of the United States. Turkey entered NATO in 1952 and serves as the organization's vital eastern anchor, sharing a long sea and land border with the Soviet Union and controlling the straits leading from the

### Principal Government Officials

President of the Republic—  
Turgut Ozal  
Prime Minister—Yildirim Akbulut  
Minister of Foreign Affairs—  
Ahmet Kurtcebe Apetemozin  
Ambassador to the United States—  
Nuzhet Kandemir  
Ambassador to the United Nations—  
Mustafa Aksin

Turkey maintains an embassy in the United States at 1714 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC, 20036 and consulates general in Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and Houston.

Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Two NATO headquarters are located in Izmir. More than 10,000 US military personnel and their dependents are stationed at installations in Turkey, including a major air base at Incirlik, near Adana, several communications and electronics facilities, and a number of smaller installations. Major American military organizations in Turkey include the Joint US Military Mission for Aid to Turkey and the US Logistical Group, each headed by a US major general. With assistance from the

United States and other NATO allies, the Turkish military is undergoing major modernization.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

Besides its relationships with NATO and the European Community (EC), Turkey is a member of the OECD and the Council of Europe. Its primary political, economic, and security ties are with the West. During the last several years, Turkey has continued to expand its relations with Western Europe, rejoining the Council of Europe after an absence of several years and applying for full membership in the EC. Turkey also has continued to expand its trade relations with the Middle East and the Soviet Union.

## US-TURKISH RELATIONS

Turkish-American friendship dates to the late 18th century and was officially sealed by a treaty in 1830. The present close relationship began with the agreement of July 12, 1947, which implemented the Truman Doctrine. As part of the cooperative effort to further Turkish economic and military self-reliance, the United States has loaned and granted Turkey more than \$4 billion in economic aid and more than \$14 billion in military assistance.

US-Turkish relations were severely tested in July 1974, when Turkey invoked a 1960 treaty of guarantee for Cyprus and sent troops there to protect the Turkish Cypriot community following the overthrow of the Cypriot government by mainland Greek officers in the Cypriot national guard. The ensuing fighting on Cyprus led to Turkish occupation of the northern part of the island, which remains in place today. Turkey's use of American-supplied arms during the intervention caused the US Congress to mandate an embargo in 1975 on military shipments to Turkey. Resentment of this action led to a Turkish decision in July 1975 to suspend important US defense activities at joint installations and cancel the 1969 defense cooperation agreement. The US embargo was relaxed in October 1975, and in March 1976, a new defense agreement was signed, but not

approved, by the Congress. In September 1978, the embargo ended and US-Turkish relations improved markedly. Turkey lifted restrictions on US activities in late 1978.

The United States and Turkey signed a defense and economic cooperation agreement in March 1980 that established a new framework for US military activities in Turkey and committed the United States to "best efforts" in providing defense support to the Turkish armed forces. The two countries signed an exchange of letters in March 1987 to extend the agreement through December of 1990. It will continue automatically on a year-to-year basis from 1991 on, unless one of the two parties objects by September 18, 1991, or by the 18th of any following year.

Turkey temporarily imposed some restrictions on American military activities in early 1990 in response to the US Senate's consideration of a resolution to declare a day of remembrance for what Armenians and others have described as genocide of Armenians by pre-republican Turkey. Turkey lifted the restrictions after the resolution failed to pass. The unresolved Armenian and Cyprus issues continue to disturb US-Turkish relations.

## ECONOMY

The Turkish economy underwent dramatic changes in the 1980s. An export-led growth strategy and free-market principles catapulted Turkey into the ranks of the fastest growing economies in the OECD. Turkey's free market orientation is dynamic, and it is unlikely to return to former inward-looking policies. The industrial sector has assumed greater importance in the Turkish economy, although the public sector, which includes state-owned or controlled enterprises, still accounts for about one-third of industrial production. Ozal's Motherland Party has reinforced and expanded economic reforms since coming to power in 1983.

Agriculture continues as a mainstay, employing almost half the total labor force in the production of cotton, tobacco, grains, fruits, and vegetables. Because of the productivity of Turkey's

## Principal US Officials

### Principal Officers

Ambassador—Morton I. Abramowitz  
Deputy Chief of Mission—Marc Grossman

### Counselors

Political Affairs—Michael I. Austrian  
Political-Military Affairs—Regina Eltz  
Economic Affairs—Charles Jacobini  
Administrative Affairs—William Kelly  
Public Affairs Officer—Larry Taylor  
Defense/Air Attache—Col. Jerry Kafka  
Navy Attache—Capt. Jesse James  
Army Attache—Col. Robert Jimenez

### Consuls General

Istanbul—Thomas Carolan  
Izmir—Eugene Zajac

### Consul

Adana—Harry Cole

### US Mission Addresses

The US embassy is located at 110 Ataturk Blvd., Ankara. The consulate general in Istanbul is at 104-108 Mesrutiyet Caddesi; the consulate general in Izmir at 92 Ataturk Caddesi, third floor; and the consulate in Adana, on Ataturk Caddesi.

soil and the efforts of Turkish farmers, the country was one of the few in the world that was self-sufficient in food during the 1980s. Ambitious government projects, including a \$21 billion irrigation program to create a new "fertile crescent" in the semiarid southeast, stress agriculture's important role in foreign trade. Turkey's regional climatic diversity and usually adequate rainfall permit a broad range of crops.

Growth in GNP averaged almost 7% between 1983 and 1989. The pace of Turkey's growth, however, slowed in the late 1980s. Unrestrained government spending, rapid economic development, and drought conditions have had a price: unemployment stands at 14.4%, and inflation remains steady at almost 70%. One of the main reasons for inflation is the public sector deficit, which reached 7.5% of GNP in 1989 and is expected to exceed that ratio in 1990. Severe drought conditions were a major factor in a recession that continued into 1989. Agricultural production dropped by almost 11%, pushing real

GNP growth to the lowest level since 1980—1.8%.

Turkish authorities have enacted austerity measures to reduce inflation, including an ambitious program to privatize inefficient state economic enterprises that contribute substantially to the deficit. Better than normal agricultural conditions led to economic recovery in 1990, with real GNP growth expected to reach 9%. Yet, lower import duties—reduced to stimulate domestic production and demand by creating greater competition—and the Turkish lira's real appreciation against currencies of its primary trading partners, the United States and Germany, led to a major acceleration in imports and stagnation in export growth in 1990. The trade deficit further worsened as all commercial relations with Iraq were suspended. A current account deficit in excess of \$1 billion is expected for 1990.

Domestic economic problems were offset in the 1980s by substantial improvements in Turkey's external account as exports expanded from \$5.7 billion in 1983 to \$11.6 billion in 1989. Turkey posted a current account surplus of \$1.5 billion in 1988, the first time since 1973. This remarkable improvement came as a result of the lowest trade deficit in a decade (\$1.8 billion) and a jump of about 60% in tourism revenues (from \$1.48 billion to \$2.36 billion). In 1989, a surplus of \$666 million was achieved.

Turkey has an exemplary record for repayment of its foreign debt, which stabilized at \$41 billion at the end of 1989. Turkey refinanced military debts during 1988 and 1989 by exchanging them for long-term commercial credits.

Turkey has attracted foreign investment by implementing one of the more liberal foreign investment laws in the world. Between 1981 and 1989, net foreign direct investment increased from \$95 million to \$633 million. As of mid-1990, the government had authorized foreign direct investment projects totaling \$5.6 billion.

Turkey's economic orientation is increasingly toward the West, although it is looking for new markets in Asia and the Middle East. In April 1987, Turkey applied for full membership in the EC. In 1989, the EC announced it would consider no new members before

1993, the target for completion of the EC's single market plan. In 1990, the EC called for closer economic cooperation with Turkey under the existing association agreement and will review Turkey's membership application.

With potential membership in the EC as the catalyst, Turkey continues to liberalize its economy and harmonize related legislation to bring it closer to Western standards. In the 1990s, measured economic growth with financial stability will remain a major domestic goal.

## ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

### *US Department of State Dispatch*

As the Department's new weekly paid subscription magazine, the *US Department of State Dispatch* is the most comprehensive source of official information on US foreign policy. *Dispatch* includes speeches, congressional testimony, fact sheets, *Gists*, country profiles, treaty actions, updates on Central and Eastern Europe and events in the Persian Gulf, and more. Published by the Bureau of Public Affairs, the new magazine is indexed every 6 months. *Dispatch* is available by subscription only from: The Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office (address below), and the National Technical Information Service, US Department of Commerce (5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield VA 22161-2171).

### Computer Information Delivery Service (CIDS)

The Department of State is part of the Computer Information Delivery Service (CIDS), an established computer network providing access within minutes of release to time-sensitive US foreign policy information for subscribers around the world. CIDS will carry full texts of *Dispatch*, *Background Notes*, and the official transcripts of the daily press briefings, press conferences,

## Travel Notes

**Customs:** A visa is not required of holders of US tourist passports (regular, official, or diplomatic) who plan to stay in Turkey for 3 months or less. Persons who plan to come to Turkey for longer stays must apply for a visa from a Turkish embassy or consulate.

**Currency:** There are no restrictions on the importation of Turkish lira or hard currencies into Turkey. However, residents of Turkey must declare all currencies in excess of the equivalent of \$5,000 upon entry. Visitors to Turkey may exchange Turkish lira up to the equivalent of \$5,000 into foreign currency without any documentation.

**Climate and clothing:** Clothing and shoe requirements are about the same as for the eastern US. Climate on the periphery (Istanbul, Izmir, and Adana) is Mediterranean with cool, rainy winters and hot, moderately dry summers. The Black Sea coast receives the greatest rainfall. Shielded by mountains, the interior (Ankara) has continental climate with cold winters and dry, hot summers. Climate in the eastern mountainous area is often severe.

**Health:** Public health standards in the larger cities approach those in the US, but care must be taken, especially in rural areas. While tap water in major cities is generally potable, it is recommended that

bottled water be used at all times, because of possible intermittent contamination of water lines. Turkish law requires that at least one pharmacy be open in a neighborhood at all times.

**Telecommunications:** Telephone and telegraph services, domestic and international, and generally dependable. During peak hours, circuits are often overloaded. Turkey is seven hours ahead of EST. Daylight savings time is used.

**Transportation:** More than 20 scheduled airlines connect Turkey with all parts of the world. Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, and Dalaman are Turkey's primary international airports. Turkish Airlines (THY), Turkish state railways, and a variety of intercity bus companies serve many points in Turkey, Europe, and the Middle East. Local buses, share cabs, and minibuses (*dolmus*), although somewhat crowded, provide satisfactory local transportation. Taxis are readily available. Main roads are fairly good in and between the large centers; secondary roads are generally adequate. Roads frequently lack shoulders. Drivers should exercise extreme care because of heavy truck and other traffic and unpredictable drivers. Driving at night in the countryside should be avoided because of many or poorly-lit vehicles on the highway.

and other key events. For information concerning subscriptions, call the CIDS Information Center at (703) 802-5700, or write the Office of Public Communication, Bureau of Public Affairs, US Department of State, Washington, DC, 20520-6810.

### Publications Concerning Turkey

Also available from the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 20402:

*Turkey Post Report*—US Department of State (1990).

*Turkey, A Country Study*—American University (1989).

*Foreign Labor Trends*—US Department of Labor.

*Foreign Economic Trends*—US Department of Commerce.

Economic trends and trade information is available from the Interna-

tional Trade Administration, US Department of Commerce, Washington, DC, 20230, or from any Commerce Department district office. ■

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## ATATURK

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The history of the Republic of Turkey centers on one man, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, her founder and first President. Ataturk means "Father of the Turks" and is a title conferred on him the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Almost 70 years after he came to power and over fifty years after his death, Ataturk's many social and cultural reforms are intact, his impact still visible and memory strong among the Turkish people.

His role in Turkish history is similar to our George Washington, though he means much more to the average Turk today than Washington does to the average American. Following World War I, during which Turkey's Ottoman leaders sided with the Germans, Allied powers occupied the country. Ataturk, a general who fought with distinction during the war, began a resistance movement against the crumbling Ottoman government in Istanbul in 1919.

Leaving Istanbul, Ataturk moved through eastern and central Turkey, building popular support for his campaign. He selected Ankara, a small provincial town, as his capital and formed a legislature. He led his provisional forces to victory in a War of Liberation, defeating the Greeks in a decisive victory at Dumlupinar on August 30, 1922 (now known as Victory Day, a Turkish holiday). In 1923 Turkey established peace with the Allies, signing the Treaty of Lausanne, which fixed the country's present boundaries. Ataturk declared the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923 (now known as Independence Day, a two-day Turkish holiday). Turkey elected its Grand National Assembly and drew up a constitution.



## ISTANBUL

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A poet writing fourteen centuries ago described Istanbul as being surrounded by a garland of water, and the city still owes much of its spirit and beauty to the waters that bind and divide it. The former capital of three world empires, Istanbul is the only city in the world which stands upon two continents. The main part of the city lies in Europe and is separated from its Asian suburbs by the Bosphorus. The Golden Horn divides the European city into two parts, the old imperial town of Stamboul on the south bank and the more modern town of Galata on the north.

Tradition says that the original settlement of Byzantium was established where the Topkapi Palace now stands, in the seventh century B.C., although the actual date was probably much earlier. Known from the beginning as an important center of trade and commerce, during its first millenium Byzantium had much the same history as other cities in the region. This changed when Constantine the Great, fresh from reuniting the Roman Empire under his control, decided to reconstitute the Empire with Byzantium as its capital. In 330 A.D. the city was rededicated as New Rome, which soon changed to Constantinople. For the next eleven centuries Constantinople served as the imperial and religious capital of the Byzantine Empire. This first golden age of the capital is symbolized by the magnificent Haghia Sophia church, which was considered the center of the orthodox Christian world.

The combination of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn and the great land walls built by the early rulers protected Constantinople from numerous sieges. Indeed, the city was taken by force only twice by the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The city taken by Mehmet the Conqueror was a pale shadow of the former imperial Byzantine capital. The Ottomans re peopled and rebuilt it, making it by the beginning of the sixteenth century a thriving and populous metropolis, once again the capital of a vast empire. The Ottoman empire reached its peak during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent, who ruled from 1520 to 1560. This second golden age of the city is symbolized by the great Suleymaniye Mosque built in 1557.

When the Ottoman empire foundered at the end of the First World War, Istanbul was occupied by the victorious allied armies. Kemal Ataturk, leader of the Turkish nationalist forces, decided to make a clean break with the imperial past of the city, and placed the capital of the new Turkish Republic in Ankara. Its imperial past reflected in the unforgettable skyline of the city, Istanbul today remains a vast metropolis that continues to serve as the economic and cultural heart of Turkey.

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## Turkey: U.S./Turkish Relations

U.S.- Turkish relations are based on several important considerations, which include support for Turkey's democracy, concern about human rights, and defense of Turkey's territorial integrity against a threat by separatist terrorists. We also contribute to Turkey's economic success. We maintain a strong security relationship with Turkey based on shared interests and our NATO alliance. The U.S. values Turkey's efforts to enhance peace and stability in a dangerous region. On March 15, for example, Deputy Secretary Talbott co-hosted an international meeting in Ankara on equipping and training the Bosnian armed forces, under the terms of the Dayton Accords.

For U.S./Turkish relations, 1995 was a banner year. With our encouragement, the Government liberalized the Constitution and the Anti-Terror Law. These advances persuaded the European Parliament to approve the Customs Union Agreement between Turkey and the EU, which Mr. Talbott had called one of ten top U.S. goals for 1995. Commerce Secretary Ron Brown listed Turkey as a "Big Emerging Market" for future U.S. trade and investment. After decades of successful Fulbright scholarship exchanges, the Turkish Government continued to send several thousand doctoral students to U.S. universities. Security ties were further tightened. Our joint F-16 facility outside Ankara is building 80 new aircraft, having completed over 200 for the Turkish and Egyptian air forces. We leased two KC-135 tanker aircraft to Turkey. U.S. firms bid on major defense contracts to create U.S. jobs.

Turkey backs our efforts to bolster regional security. Turkey participates appropriately in the Middle East Peace Process. Turkey forges ever-closer links with Israel: President Demirel's first-ever trip this month included participation in the Summit of the Peacemakers, preceded by a joint military training agreement. Turkey has maintained sanctions against Iraq despite the harm to its economy, and its participation in Operation Provide Comfort helps keep Saddam Hussain from wreaking vengeance on Iraqi Kurds. Turkey seeks better ties with Armenia and an end to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Relations with Greece continue to suffer from serious problems related to the Aegean and Cyprus. The Aegean situation very nearly led to conflict in late January. We are encouraging the two allies to settle their serious differences peacefully.

### Key Issues

- o Revive dialogue between Greece and Turkey to resolve their Aegean disputes, protect their respective minorities, and improve

the atmosphere for talks between the leaders of the two communities on Cyprus.

- o Sustain Turkish participation in Operation Provide Comfort.
- o Forge agreement on CFE between Turkey and Russia.
- o End Turkey's land blockade of Armenia, ideally while resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute.

## Turkey: Political and Social Overview

Turkey is a constitutional republic with a multiparty, unicameral Parliament, which elects the President. Suleyman Demirel became President in 1993. More than two months after the indecisive December 1995 elections, Mesut Yilmaz's Motherland Party (ANAP) and Tansu Ciller's True Path Party (DYP) formed a minority, center-right coalition government with "outside" support from the center-left Democratic Left Party (DSP). Under Turkey's first rotating premiership agreement, Yilmaz will be Prime Minister through December 1996, when Ciller will assume the premiership for two years, followed by Yilmaz for the fourth year. Yilmaz's conservative/nationalist cabinet includes hard-liners in key positions such as the Justice Ministry. The Islamist Welfare Party (Refah), now the largest party in Parliament, forms the main opposition.

Since 1985, the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has waged a terrorist campaign, including murders and bombings, in an attempt to create an independent Kurdish state in part of Turkey. In combatting the PKK, Turkish security forces have burned and evacuated villages in the southeast -- some estimates put the number of displaced people as high as 2 million. Compensation to displaced villagers have been woefully inadequate. The new government has pledged to provide housing and economic assistance to evacuees.

Rural-to-urban migration has been fueled by both economic pressures and the conflict in the Southeast against the terrorist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), during which the Turkish military and the PKK have forcibly evacuated and destroyed hundreds of villages. This migration into the cities has led to overcrowding, unemployment, and inadequate housing, schooling, and healthcare. NGOs will be increasingly important in this traditionally statist society to help Turks organize to influence policy.

Turkey's administrative structure is highly centralized: Ankara appoints governors, sub-governors and personnel from various ministries to the provinces. This centralized structure is one of the main reasons for the problems in Turkey's southeast, where government is not seen as responsive to the people. There is some recognition of this concern, and the new government has undertaken to devolve more authority to elected municipal officials.

Turkey is 99% Muslim, but comprises an ethnic mosaic of peoples who have migrated to Asia Minor over the centuries. The 1923 Treaty of Lausanne recognizes only three minorities, all non-Muslim: Eastern Orthodox (Greek), Armenian Apostolic, and

Jewish adherents. An estimated 12 million citizens are Alevi (heterodox Shi'a Muslims).

Key Issues:

- o Devolve authority to elected local officials.
- o Develop NGOs as an essential element of civil society.

## Turkey: Economic Overview

A dynamic private sector drives Turkey's economy which has thrived since Turkey abolished protectionist regulations in the early 1980s. By contrast, Turkey's inefficient public sector and weak economic management are the source of the economy's perennial problems: huge budget deficits and persistently high double-digit inflation.

The reforms of the 1980s set the stage for more than a decade of strong -- but unbalanced -- economic growth. Turkey's 5% average annual growth rate over the past decade was the highest among OECD nations. Still, the conflict in the southeast continued to be a substantial drain on the economy, and economic imbalances sparked a financial crisis in 1994. PM Ciller's government managed the crisis and steadied the economy, which staged a strong recovery in 1995. However, Ciller's government had little success correcting the economy's underlying problems.

The Yilmaz government is committed to completing the reform process. It is likely to open negotiations with the IMF on a package to support these reforms. Convincing progress is essential for Turkey to maintain access to foreign and domestic financial markets, which the country needs to continue financing the budget deficit. However, the lack of a majority in Parliament will hamper the new government's ability to implement reforms.

While the near term is marked by uncertainty, Turkey's long-term prospects are bright. The dynamic private sector, including the large "unofficial" economy, has already proven it can thrive despite the government. A Customs Union with the EU came into effect this year, tying Turkey more closely with the western economies. Recognizing Turkey's long-term potential, the U.S. Commerce Department named it one of the world's ten "Big Emerging Markets."

### Key Issues

- o Removing impediments to stable, sustainable economic growth.
- o Key problems are the large budget deficit, high inflation (averaging over 60% per year since 1980) and "boom-bust" cycles.
- o The long-term solutions are clear to all: privatization, social security reform, tax reform, and shrinking the size and role of the government.
- o But each of these is a political minefield. It will take a strong, determined government to overcome opposition and enact these measures.

## Turkey: Human Rights Situation

Turkey's human rights situation improved in a number of areas in 1995. Last year, Parliament passed constitutional amendments that broadened political participation, and amended Article 8 of the Anti-Terror law, which constrains freedom of expression, by adding an intent standard. The amendment triggered the release of 143 prisoners and should result in future acquittals. Human rights abuses now receive increasing media exposure and debate, that should encourage further reform.

Still, very serious problems remain. The situation in the southeast was of particular concern. As many as 2 million people have lost their homes there over the past 7 years; some as a result of economic dislocation, and some as a result of forcible evacuations by security forces or the terrorist PKK. Government programs to deal with and compensate the many internally displaced have been woefully inadequate. A State of Emergency declared in 1987, which Parliament just voted to extend through July 19, is in force in ten southeastern provinces. The Government says this will be its last extension.

The Kurds, at least 20% of Turkey's population, are not recognized under the Constitution as a national, racial, or ethnic minority. Human rights abuses have been targeted at Kurds who publicly or politically assert their ethnicity. Kurds who are long-term residents in western Turkey have largely assimilated into the nation's political, economic and social life. Recently urbanized Kurds are not prepared for urban life. The Kurdish language may be used in spoken and printed communications, although all "political" discussion must be in Turkish. There is some debate on whether to allow broadcasting and education in languages other than Turkish.

The number of political and extrajudicial killings continued, but at substantially lower rates than in 1994. Torture continued to be a serious problem, despite the Constitutional ban and Turkey's accession to numerous conventions against torture. Police and security forces often tortured suspects during periods of incommunicado detention. Those charged with common crimes are granted immediate access to an attorney; but those charged with security crimes are not, and they allege a high rate of torture before arraignment. The government admits torture occurs but denies it is systematic.

Despite improvements, limits on freedom of expression remain a concern. State Security Court just sentenced Turkey's best-known writer, Yasar Kemal, to 20 months (suspended) for disseminating separatist propaganda; the case is on appeal.

## Key Issues

- o Change law to allow all suspects immediate attorney access.
- o Drop law requiring abuse charges against civil servants, including police, to be vetted before passing to prosecutor.
- o Eliminate remaining restrictions on freedom of expression, while preserving Turkey's right to fight terrorism.

## TURKEY: Leyla Zana and the DEP Parliamentarians

In March 1994, Parliament partially lifted the immunity of six parliamentarians from the pro-Kurdish Democracy party (DEP), one independent and one Islamist Party member. One DEP member had the immunity restored, but the other five were deprived fully of immunity when they lost their seats in Parliament as a result of the banning of the DEP party in June of that year. Thereupon two other former DEP members were arrested. All eight DEP members were tried by the Ankara Security Court on charges that included dissemination of separatist propaganda, being a member of the PKK, and knowingly supporting it. The prosecution's case appeared mainly to rest on speeches and expressions of opinion.

Following announcement of the verdict, the USG stated its deep concern with the serious legal and human rights implications of this case. Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Shattuck met with the imprisoned Parliamentarians, including Leyla Zana, when he visited Turkey in July of that year. He expressed deep concern about this case to Turkish officials, both during that visit and a subsequent visit in October. In October of 1995 the Turkish Court of Appeals affirmed the fifteen year convictions of four of the M.P.'s (including Leyla Zana), but overturned two and ordered that they be retried under a lesser section of the penal code. Two had already been released in 1994.

These four are in the process of preparing their appeal to the European Human Rights Committee (EHRC), hoping to have their cases heard by the European Human Rights Commission. Turkey has publicly restated its commitment to abide by that body's decision. Informed sources have told the USG that the EHRC will expedite this case. Most observers believe the case will be won.

Leyla Zana has become a symbol for many politicians, writers and human rights activists who have been caught in the broad legal definitions of terrorism in Turkey. As such, her case has been taken on by numerous international human rights groups as well as the European Parliament. There is considerable interest in our own Congress about these cases. Zana was on the short list for the Nobel Peace Prize this year, and was awarded the European Parliament's Sakharov Prize. Her husband, Mehta Zana, is the former DEP Mayor of Diyarbakir in Turkey's troubled southeast, and was himself imprisoned until November of 1995 under charges of disseminating separatist propaganda. His sentence was overturned as part of the review process resulting from reform to Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law.

**Talking Points**

- o I understand your concern with Ms. Zana's plight and understand that she and three other former DEP members of Parliament are appealing their case to the European Human Rights Committee.
- o My understanding is that that body intends to treat this case most expeditiously.
- o While I cannot comment on her specific case, I want to make clear that the United States supports human rights and political and cultural freedom for all people.

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HEADLINE: Turkish Kurds Go on Rampage, Battling the Police in Germany

BYLINE: By ALAN COWELL

DATELINE: BONN, March 17

**BODY:**

For the second time this month, Kurdish protesters demanding a separate state in southeastern Turkey rampaged against the German police over the weekend, prompting calls from politicians for militant Kurds to be deported.

Kurdish demonstrators, barred by a court ruling from holding a rally in Dortmund to celebrate the Kurdish New Year, blocked major highways for hours on Saturday and encircled two German police officers, beating and kicking them before stealing their service weapons.

German officials singled out the Kurdish Workers Party -- an organization banned in both Germany and Turkey -- for initiating the violence along the Dutch-German border as well as in the cities of Munster and Hamburg. The clashes followed violent confrontation between Kurdish demonstrators and the police in Bonn earlier this month.

Some two million Turks live in Germany and the number of Kurds among them is estimated by police at between 400,000 and 500,000, reflecting the proportion of Kurds among Turkey's own 60 million people. Many Kurds in Turkey live in the southeast, where the Kurdish Workers Party has been fighting a guerrilla war since 1984 to back claims for a separate state.

Like Turkey, Germany labels the guerrilla organization a terrorist group and holds it responsible for numerous arson attacks on Turkish-owned property. German security officials estimate the membership of the hard-line Kurdish Workers Party at around 7,500, drawing on a much wider network of sympathizers.

Interior Minister Manfred Kanther called the movement a "criminal organization" after the latest violence, which started when the German police sought to prevent thousands of Kurds from converging on Dortmund. At least 2,000 entered the city and 1,300 of them were temporarily detained. Seeking to lower tensions, the police finally allowed the rest to hold the rally.

Elsewhere, around 800 Kurds living in the Netherlands blocked a main highway after the German police turned back their buses at the frontier, while some 1,500 protesters occupied a four-lane highway near Aachen on the border with Belgium. Kurdish officials linked the violence to the German decision to forbid the rally.

But Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said the clashes were "tantamount to a declaration of war" and said organizers of violent protest should be "deported immediately to Turkey."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

## Turkey: Women's Status and Issues

Since the first days of the Turkish Republic, Turkish women have enjoyed greater freedoms and a higher status than women in other Muslim countries. Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, started a revolution which completely changed the way society views women, their rights and their roles. Women won the right to vote in 1930. Five years later, the Republic's first Parliament included 18 female representatives, 4.6 percent of the total.

While women enjoy the right to vote and a variety of other political rights, they face societal and legal barriers to full equality. The rise of democracy since the 1950s has meant greater freedom, but also has led to a resurgence of conservative religious views. Turkey's first woman Prime Minister was elected in 1991. Women now occupy only 13 of 550 seats in parliament, or 2.4 percent.

The Civil Code prohibits the granting of gender-based privileges or rights, yet retains some discriminatory provisions concerning marital rights and obligations. The husband is the legal head of household, and the wife automatically acquires his surname with marriage. Divorce law provisions for division of property effectively favor the husband.

Surveys indicate that domestic violence is widespread. This issue is rarely discussed in public. Few abused women can leave their homes due to social and economic pressures. Fundamentalist groups often target the few existing shelters, arguing that they violate Islamic family values.

Women's participation in the workforce and their economic power is better than that of all Islamic countries, but worse than that of all developed nations. The literacy rate for women is 70-79 percent, versus 90 percent for men. Literacy rates for women in rural areas are far lower, however, and nationally the mean years of schooling for women over 25 is only 3.6. Women comprise 36 percent of the work force. 80 percent of working women are employed in agriculture. Women receive equal pay for equal work in the professions, business and civil service jobs, but often work unpaid in family businesses.

### Key Issues

- o Turkish women enjoy much greater social and political freedoms than most women in Islamic countries and make a solid contribution both socially and economically.

o There are still social barriers to their taking a greater role in Turkish life.

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# ATATÜRK'S DAUGHTERS

*Though founded upon Western secularist principles, Turkey has not been immune to the Islamic fundamentalist upsurge of recent years.*

*Nowhere is Atatürk's legacy more pointedly challenged, the author shows, than in heated public struggles over matters affecting women and their status as full and equal citizens.*

BY AMY SCHWARTZ

**O**n a fine April evening in 1994, a conference at the Women's Library in Istanbul is drawing to a close. In the courtyard of the converted Byzantine basilica, 20 or so women, mainly academics and other professionals, prepare to leave after a day of discussions marking the fourth anniversary of the institution's founding. A sliver of moon rises over the Golden Horn, whose waters twist their way through this old, lower-class neighborhood.

One woman in the group nudges another and points at the moon: "Pretty, no?"

"No," exclaims the other in mock dismay, "I won't say anything nice about it!"

Nervous laughter runs through the courtyard as everyone catches the reference to the Islamic crescent. The joke is bitter. Just a week before, Turkey's main Islamic fundamentalist party swept the municipal elections of Istanbul and the nation's capital, Ankara. It wasn't a national takeover by any measure; the winning Islamist party, Welfare, took only 19 percent of the votes nationwide in fragmented local elections. This, however, translated into victory in 28 cities, includ-

ing Istanbul, the most secular. Nobody at this point can say exactly what powers over daily life the mayors of cities have; to make drastic changes to the secular state and its laws, the party would need to do as well or better in national parliamentary elections in 1996.

But when Islamist parties start gaining ground, women and their institutions tend to be the first to notice. The Women's



Tansu Çiller: Turkey's first female prime minister

Library, itself a government, is an organization that Set down in traditional neighborhood appeal not only feminists but to interest in women nonetheless satisfied with Turkey's egalitarian culture easily draw the mayor.

The ostensible anniversary conference "Islamic World," have spent most over what will concern about it, and when the breaks, then the wine they are the new mayor for third day in office longer be served

Everyone at how the fundamentalism on women in Istanbul shooting or beating veil their faces workplaces. But also know, is more

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Library, itself supported by the city government, is just the kind of organization that could feel the pinch. Set down in the midst of a traditional neighborhood, designed to appeal not only to Western-style feminists but to any woman with an interest in women's history, it nonetheless stands firmly identified with Turkey's secular and egalitarian culture—and so could easily draw the ire of an Islamist mayor.

The ostensible topic of the anniversary conference is "Women in the Islamic World," but the participants have spent most of the day arguing over what will come next, what to do about it, and whether to panic. During the breaks, they wonder whether the wine they are sipping is illegal—the new mayor having proclaimed, on his third day in office, that alcohol would no longer be served at City Hall functions.

Everyone at the conference knows how the fundamentalists have moved in on women in Iran and other nations, shooting or beating those who refuse to veil their faces and segregating public workplaces. But Turkey's situation, they also know, is more complicated.

More than a year later, it remains so. In addition to a political system with an 80-year commitment to secularism, Turkey has had until recently a female prime minister, Tansu Çiller (who may yet be able to form a new government). It also has an avowedly "moderate" Islamist party cagey about what changes it actually seeks. Such cunning is necessary. A broad-based popular emotional investment in women's emancipation remains a badge of Turkey's modernity, proudly worn by many Turkish citizens.

After the group dispersed that evening two springs ago, I fell into conversation with a young woman named Deniz, who had returned to Istanbul the



Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, father of modern Turkey

previous fall after spending a decade in America training to be an art historian. Hired to teach the introductory art course at the Istanbul Fine Arts Faculty, she had been surprised to discover that a substantial minority of the female students in her class wore the Islamic head scarf. In her own college years, a decade before, such a style of dress would have been illegal, head scarves being explicitly religious and the university firmly secular.

Deniz had tried to take the headscarved students in stride, but two weeks into the term she was summoned by the dean, who told her the university had two serious complaints about her behavior. The first was that she was being too pleasant and tolerant toward the fundamentalist girls in her classes. Though the university had been forced to admit such students, the dean explained, it had an obligation, as a secular institution, to make them uncomfortable. The other complaint was that her skirts were too short.

I laughed at this, and Deniz looked astonished. "You find it funny because you're American," she said. "Not one

single Turkish person I've told that to, not one, has understood why I thought it was funny."

It's easy for an outsider to laugh, harder to thread the maze of Turkey's contradictions and to appreciate the struggles that wove it. The "secularism" to which the Turkish state pledged itself in 1923 has much in common with the type subscribed to by Western governments—enough to set it off sharply from virtually all its neighbors in the region. But there are divergences from Western-style secularism as well. The most notable is the absence of any real connection in people's minds—in this nation 99 percent Muslim—between the concept of a secular government and that of true religious tolerance, for believers as well as unbelievers.

Embracing government "secularism" in the West—American—mode would entail allowing girls to wear head scarves if they so desired and to forgo them if they wished. An American might also wonder how a state-run institution that set itself so implacably against the swathing of women's heads, railing endlessly against a religion that dictates how women should dress, could then turn around and impose its own form of dress code.

Suspended between East and West, Asia and Europe, secular present and Ot-

toman past, Turkey is undergoing a reluctant reappraisal not only of its secularism but of other ideals that shape the modern republic. Countries with even more aggressive Islamic movements face similar reckonings, but only in Turkey do the details of the Islamic-secular tug of war play out so publicly in the arena of electoral politics. And of all the markers laid down in this culturally Muslim country by the state's commitment to its vision of secularism—a civil law code, minority religious rights, interest-bearing accounts in the banking industry—by far the most visible and contested is the status of women. In the public struggle to determine that



Schoolgirls in head scarves: an increasingly familiar sight

status, the most powerful symbols remain, as always, matters of dress. Rulings on such matters as skirt lengths and head coverings are the moves played out on the chessboard of the female anatomy, in terms everybody can understand.

General Islamic doctrine offers a simple rule for *hijab* or covering: all the female "charms," except the face and hands

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Amy Schwartz writes for the Washington Post. A frequent visitor to Turkey, she lived in Istanbul in 1981 and 1987. Copyright © 1995 by Amy Schwartz.

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must be covered. An amazingly wide range of acceptable dress styles appears throughout various Muslim regimes, from the all-encompassing black *abaya*, or chador, popular in the early days of the Iranian Revolution, to the raincoat-and-scarf combination more common there now to the loose-fitting *shalwar-kameez*, or tunic and trousers, favored throughout South Asia. In Turkey itself, setting aside the majority of the upper class that doesn't cover at all, there are three prevailing types of *hejab*, determined not by doctrine but by age, profession, and social class.

One style is favored by the "traditionals," older women who cover their hair not so much for religious as for cultural reasons. These include Balkan Turks who cover their heads with a babushka-style handkerchief and village women who wear a scarf once they are married but rarely bother to tuck in every last hair. Then there are the young women students or professionals from the middle class who have adopted the large head scarf that folds around the edges of the face and, in a characteristic pattern, down over the shoulders of what is typically a loose-fitting coat. The wearing of such "turbans," as they are confusingly called in Turkish, is a statement of identity and rebellion.

An even stronger statement is made by women who go about dressed in a manner that secular types call *çarsafli*—literally, wrapped in bed linen. Such women are poor and uneducated, usually belonging to the rapidly growing class of the "recently rural"—the economic migrants who are flooding from their villages to the city, faster with every passing year. The *çarsaf* is a version of the black chador, draping to the floor in all directions and leaving a slit for the eyes. If you go far enough east in Anatolia, even the eye slit disappears, though the owner of the sheet can apparently see through the thin weave of the cloth.

A young Turkish professional, a merchant of soap and perfumes, once showed me a vintage 1930s picture of Istanbul's Galata Bridge, the 800-year-old footbridge over the Golden Horn. "See those wonderful women on the bridge, in those wonderful Paris fashions?" he asked despairingly. "How is it we have sunk to this, with women going over that same bridge wrapped in the black cloth like Saudi Arabians?"

That was in 1987, and a fair proportion of the sheeted bridge crossers might well have been Saudi Arabians, who swarm Istanbul in the summer to avoid the desert heat at home. But there is also no question that from year to year the concentration of covered women grows and that Istanbul, long the most cosmopolitan of the Turkish cities, changes visually with the years. Nor is there any denying that if at any point the government could have stopped this from happening, it would have done so.



Secularism is a cornerstone of the philosophy of Kemalism, by which modern Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), wrenched the newborn Turkish Republic out of the moribund Ottoman Empire in 1923 and set its face westward toward modernization. Distancing his regime from a religion that had justified the veil and *pardah*, Atatürk made a high-profile commitment to women's full equality a central part of his "march from East to West."

To some extent, the resulting Turkish secularism—the almost visceral recoil from symbols of overt or state-supported religion—has left intellectuals and government bureaucrats vulnerable to the charge of "secular fundamentalism," a charge that carried a particular sting in the 1980s, when cultural and political Islam became a force to reckon with. Unable

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to extend to the faithful the kind of tolerance that might have defused the drive for Islamic political action, a regional fact of life by 1987, the guardians of secularism found themselves stuck. The logical outcome was the turban crisis.

**D**eniz, who was caught off guard by the head-scarved girls in her class, had missed the turban crisis. I caught some of it on visits to Istanbul in 1987 and '88. As political spectacles go, it was a striking event, or, rather, series of events, starting in the fall of 1986 when growing groups of newly devout Muslim girls marched and demonstrated for the right to cover their hair with turbans in school. For the then still marginal Islamist parties (polls that year showed that only seven percent of the population favored the adoption of Islamic law, or *sharia*), it was a brilliant public relations success. So effective was it, in fact, that people assumed—and the papers reported as fact—that the girls were being funded with money from Iran and Saudi Arabia. (A fair amount of evidence has since turned up to support that allegation.)

Turkish universities had run into trouble with such symbols before, but their attempt to uphold the ban against head scarves was their most dramatic miscalculation. For a time, the administrators held out firmly. Several girls were expelled and became folk heroes in the Islamic right-wing media. Six student organizers were arrested, and government spokesmen, supported by the normally left-leaning secularist press, declared that they had found a compelling reason not to give in: one of the organizers was Iranian. With the Islamists calling for freedom of religion, the supposedly liberal press insisted that the turban controversy was an issue of religion versus the legitimacy of the state. The president, an ex-general named Kenan Evren, made ominous noises about "cultural backsliding," and

Evren was understood to speak for the firmly secularist and Kemalist army.

Finally, the Supreme University Council, tired of creating teen-age female martyrs, lifted the prohibition at the end of 1987. By then, though, it was widely agreed, the controversy had produced one more significant and probably irreversible effect: the religious youth organizations had become sophisticated political organizations, primed for further activism.



Kemalist-style secularism was ill equipped to deal with the upsurge of the back-to-Islamic-roots feeling that made the Welfare Party attractive in 1994. Kemalism in fact rests on an array of early prohibitions against symbolic religious expression of various kinds, though most of those prohibitions have eased with the years. In the early decades of the Turkish republic, before the first of four coups that introduced multiparty democracy in the 1940s, the mosques were forbidden to issue calls to prayer in Arabic; only Western classical music could be played on state-owned radio; non-Western dress, including the veil, was strongly discouraged, while the fez, designed for ease in touching the forehead to the ground in prayer, was officially banned.

In opposing aspects of Islam that prescribed a traditional role for women, in particular those that barred them from education, Atatürk was indefatigable. He campaigned for an end to traditional practices such as child marriage, arranged marriage, bride-price, and veiling. At the same time, he instituted free and compulsory primary education for both sexes and created "village institutes" that offered compulsory adult literacy classes for men and women. The replacement of the *sharia* personal code with the Swiss Civil Code in 1926 outlawed polygamy and the Islamic practice of divorce by repudiation.

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Granting women for elective office in the army, the code placed women above men in many respects.

While stroking the urban elite with fierce repression where, in the Turkey's tiny *Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Bernard Leach's evaluation of this project of reform while the Law of the Republic was still in order would have done certainly is true. The Law made it more

To be sure, Muslim populations in many environments have advanced women. In few cases, the participation of women in national projects of modernization. To Atatürk was a psychologist of the nation's rural life. Characterized as "funny a thousand and to knit the idea to the goal of ten years," a drive to disastrous War of and the empire's

More to the point to capture the question of women's central rather than reform. The growth of the socially engaged 19th and early 20th-century reformer Namik Kemal's *Infant* (1874), with its of arranged marriage sensitive women's play *Fatherland*,

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Granting women the right to vote, to run for elective office, and to serve in the army, the code lifted Turkish women above women in many European countries.

While strongly supported by much of the urban elite, Atatürk's reforms met with fierce resistance in the rural areas where, in the 1920s, the majority of Turkey's tiny population lived. In *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (1986), historian Bernard Lewis quotes Atatürk's dry evaluation of the role of military rule in his project of persuasion: "We did it . . . while the Law for the Maintenance of Order was still in force. Had it not been, we would have done it all the same, but it certainly is true that the existence of the Law made it much easier for us."

To be sure, many countries with Muslim populations and officially secular governments have extended voting rights to women. In few, however, was the emancipation of women so bound up in the national project of modernization and Westernization. To Atatürk, women's equality was a psychological centerpiece not only of the nation's modernity but also of family life. Characterizing the "Turkish mother" as "fundamental to the nation on a thousand and one points," he managed to knit the idea of women having careers to the goal of "15 million Turks in 15 years," a drive to repopulate after the disastrous War of Independence (1919-23) and the empire's messy end.

More to the point, Atatürk managed to capture the popular imagination on the question of women and make the cause central rather than peripheral to political reform. The ground had been prepared by the socially engaged literature of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, including reformer Namik Kemal's novel *The Poor Infant* (1874), which explores the tragedy of arranged marriage for intelligent and sensitive women, and his still-popular play *Fatherland, or Silistre* (1873), whose

female protagonist disguises herself as a man to go to war.

Atatürk's own personal life dramatized his desire to put women's issues high on the agenda. He shocked his cabinet ministers by dancing with his wife, Latife, at parties, and even insisted—much against prevailing custom—that she be present at their wedding. One long-term effect of his actions, evident even now, is the degree to which modern Turkish democrats see the success of women's emancipation as central to their own self-identity as Western.

**N**owhere was this more visible than in the initial pride and enthusiasm expressed to foreigners on the accession of Tansu Çiller as prime minister in 1993—expressed not just by members of the educated elite but by a wide range of more modestly educated Turkish men on the street and in the bazaar, frequently with the addendum, "See, we're not so backward." The need to prove Turkey's modernity and Westernness gained urgency from an external political reality that Çiller herself has not been above exploiting—the strong impression that the European Union, long hesitant to grant Turkey membership, was turning its back in rejection. The EU's more encouraging response to the membership hopes of Hungary, Poland, and other Eastern European countries only stoked the insecurity that underlies a great deal of Turkish public and political feeling toward the West.

Çiller's sudden arrival on the political scene was typical neither of Turkish politics nor of the paths to power taken by female political leaders in other parts of the Islamic world (paths usually blazed by the deaths of husbands or other relatives). Çiller, by contrast, was an American-educated professor of economics who became minister of economics for then-prime minister Suleyman Demirel in 1991. Elected to



*Shoppers from two worlds: a veiled woman examines produce in the marketplace while three of her countrywomen stroll through Istanbul's Fatih district.*

the parliament as a fresh face, she became Demirel's protégée in True Path, one of a cluster of center-right parties with nearly identical policies. Demirel ascended to the presidency on the death of Turgut Özal, a popular leader and successful economic reformer who had been in power (first as prime minister, then as president) since the aftermath of the 1980 military coup. Özal died suddenly of a heart attack in 1993 after an exhausting trip through the Central Asian Turkic capitals. Demirel, seeking to build a coalition that would keep True Path in power, backed Çiller; she became prime minister at age 47.

At first Çiller played her advantages to the hilt. Shortly after she took office, she and Pakistan prime minister Benazir Bhutto made a wildly photogenic trip together to embattled Sarajevo. Europeans and Americans responded enthusiastically to the attractive, tough-talking leader; Çiller's background in economics fueled hopes that she would do something



about the financial mess that had become noticeable under Demirel. But the glow wore off quickly. Early reviews of her economic performance were disappointing, and colleagues complained that she refused to listen to advice or work with a team.

If such complaints were gender tinged, they were the closest her opponents in the Welfare Party came to challenging her on the basis of sex—at least at first. As unhappiness with her performance intensified, barbs about the “blonde beauty” tended to increase. For her part, Çiller has assiduously avoided giving offense to the Islamic establish-

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ment, sometimes to the point of making other secular women uncomfortable, ostentatiously wearing a scarf on her head when she visits mosques or speaks with religious leaders. ("I'll bet she's never been in a mosque before this in her life," said a disgusted female professor at Ankara's Hacettepe University.) Just as important, she has drawn more and more support from, and given more and more rein to, an increasingly confident military establishment.

**A**ny more deeply seated lack of confidence in Çiller's power could be inferred only from the persistence of rumors—starting with the Welfare wins and repeated every few weeks since—that she was about to be removed. If anything, the challenges to her gender came from her closer, more nominally secular rivals in the parliament, a group of whom, rallying for her opponent Mesut Yilmaz, chanted, "Mesut *koltuga*, Tansu *mutfaga*"—"Mesut to the chair, Tansu to the kitchen."

In person, Çiller can be steely. Asked in an interview about the role of groundbreaker, she softened slightly: "I have to succeed for Turkey, and also for Turkish women." The success of the fundamentalists drew no acknowledgment: a protest vote, she shrugged, against political fragmentation and the corruption of her predecessors; all the more need for the constitutional amendments at the national level that, in fact, she has since been tirelessly pushing to enact.

Asked for her views of fundamentalist Islam generally, she answered obliquely that Turkey's role is "to help both sides avoid becoming politically fundamentalist." Both sides? "Yes. If the Europeans decide not to help the Bosnians, or not to admit us to the European Union, because they want only Christians, that is fundamentalist thinking."

A little of that steel may be reason

enough for the clerics to steer clear. In general, though, Welfare has been extraordinarily careful on the question of women, preferring to send its messages in stereo and to demur when questioned directly. "You never hear the answer to the question," complained Sirin Tekel, one of the Women's Library directors. "It's pretty clear what they would like to do [with women], but at that stage the whole population would rise up—they know that, so they're being very careful."

Though Welfare has never mentioned what it wants to do with, to, or about women, this very caution strikes many as a tip-off. One of its television campaign ads featured a blonde woman, a dentist, who appeared with her head uncovered. Party functionaries I interviewed in Istanbul were indignant at the suggestion that anybody's rights could be in danger.

"This isn't blocking anybody," said a spokesman for Tayyip Erdogan, the Istanbul mayor. "We've expanded opportunity. Before this, a woman in a head scarf could not work in City Hall. Now she can."

As for the true Islamic radicals, the ones Welfare disavows because they discard tact and openly urge the adoption of *sharia*, they too can be cautious. Drinking tea in the center of Istanbul's fundamentalist neighborhood of Fatih, I asked a bearded and capped magazine editor about Çiller's legitimacy. He jumped up and rummaged through bookshelves that offered, along with ordinary religious materials, a variety of gruesome anti-Semitic tracts, coming back with a volume of his own commentary. "In here," he said, presenting it to me, "I write that a woman can even be caliph."

**T**he most widely accepted explanation for Welfare's mayoral wins was, as Çiller said, not Islam but corruption: the other parties had failed so resoundingly to solve economic and administrative problems,

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even pragmatic secular Stamboullis wondered if the straight-and-narrow fundamentalists might not be able to get the trash picked up on time.

**A**nd yet Islamist parties, too, have their flanks to protect. The first news stories after the election were not about trash or taxes but about an incident in which a group of teen-age boys had responded to news of their party's electoral victory by going up to women whose skirts they considered too short and spitting in their faces. Reading the news accounts of this incident while flying to Turkey in the spring of 1994, I felt in a small way what I later learned many women in the secular elite experienced powerfully: a sinking, whirling sense of inevitability, the sort of feeling that comes when you hear that someone you know has a deadly disease.

But the story proved to have a surprise ending. The spitters were attacked by passersby, who sailed in with their fists; two days later, Welfare announced that it did not support the street harassment of women. This was modest, to be sure, but more explicit than any Islamist party, in Turkey or elsewhere, had ever been on the subject of street harassment. Though harassment on the basis of dress has been heard of in the year since, and one woman in the provinces was recently reported shot by a relative for failing to veil, the party's official position remains unique among Islamist parties holding office. Then again, no other religious party in the Islamic world is currently in the position of having to hold onto votes and woo an electorate.

■

Which is the real Turkey? That question, which hangs over the country's increasingly contested politics, is of long standing.

The taboos against Islamic practice, so strongly pushed by Atatürk, began to break down shortly after his death in 1938. For most rural women, it's agreed, they never really took hold at all. Along with the East-West and Islamic-secular divides, the other great split in Turkish consciousness lies between city and country. Like the others, this one is borne out most powerfully and visibly in the lives of women. Overall, the literacy and professional-employment rates for Turkish women are higher than anywhere else in the Middle East: women make up one in six judges, one in four doctors, and over 40 percent of the enrollment in schools of medicine and law. There are three or more generations' worth of firmly feminist, Kemalists women in politics and the professions.

But outside the cities in this country of 60 million, there are eight million illiterate females, a dramatically lower average age of marriage, and burdensomely high fertility rates. Most annoying to the authorities is the persistence in the villages of the practice of contractual religious marriages (sometimes arranged for very young children). Birth control and abortion, while legal and widely available in the large cities, play little role for rural women who continue to plow the fields and to function as Anatolian family farmers have for millennia. Women remain the principal harvesters of the Black Sea tea and nut crops, while the men, following a pattern seen throughout the Middle East, frequently spend their days in the village coffee houses. Few women in the cities have contact with this other side of the moon, where folk Islam, as opposed to the rigorous new kind, continues much as it always has.

The great exception to the secular-religious dichotomy was Semra Özal, the late president's colorful, liberal, and cigar-smoking first lady. After his death, Turgut Özal was greatly credited in the outside world for his economic reforms and privatizations, as well

as the light touch which he brought to a fractious country together after the military coup. During his term as president, the Turkish intelligentsia attacked bitterly for having commodated the fundamentalists at the start of his party rule was in 1983. A devout Muslim, Özal made a pilgrimage going on his Muslim pilgrimage with Saudi friends—the familiar Turkish ever to make. But the main he gave a hard fundamentalist communism. In religious schools into the army people who thought to Islamist influence.

On women drew no conclusions. Madam Semra's demonstration that she and yet have and pursue agenda in the interest in far to remote areas clinics, districts and periodic demonstrations of with the civil

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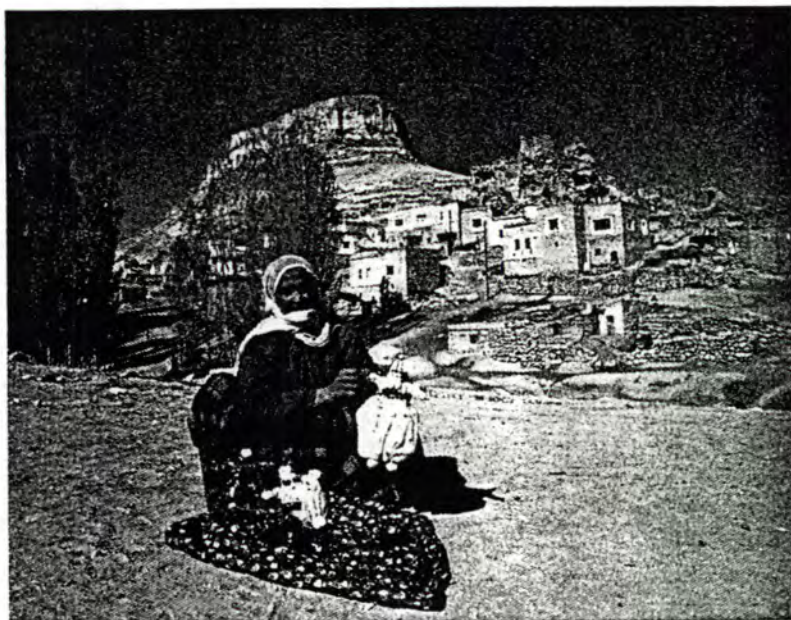
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as the light touch with which he brought the fractious country back together after the 1980 military coup. But during his term as president, the Turkish intelligentsia attacked him bitterly for having accommodated the fundamentalists after military rule was lifted in 1983. A devout man, Özal made a point of going on hajj, the Muslim pilgrimage, with Saudi Arabian friends—the first secular Turkish leader ever to make the trip. But the main reason he gave a hand to the

fundamentalists was to counter the threat of communism. Building mosques and separate religious schools, inviting fundamentalists into the army, Özal incurred the wrath of people who thought he had opened the door to Islamist influence in politics.

On women's issues, though, Özal drew no complaints. "Semra Hanım," or Madam Semra, was a continuing demonstration that such a man could be religious and yet have a wife who traveled freely and pursued her own public-service agenda in the villages. She took a special interest in family planning, traveling often to remote areas, holding public health clinics, distributing birth control devices, and periodically presiding over mass registrations of illegal religious marriages with the civil courts.

**D**espite 80 years of modernity, you can still feel the pull of the 600-year Ottoman past, whose legends speak of contradictions no less twisted than today's. Ottoman culture gave the world the harem,



An Anatolian peasant in "traditional" garb

that powerful image of female mystique combined with female imprisonment, but the reality of the harem—in literal meaning, the private dwelling quarters of the head of household—is endlessly debated among historians and sociologists, some of whom even see the centuries of gender segregation as laying the ground for women's institutions and women's political structures more powerful than those that exist in the West. And though mainstream Ottoman society was deeply marked by the two sets of restrictions that shaped the lives of women throughout the Islamic world—*sharia*, which imposed the unequal personal-status laws governing marriage, divorce, and inheritance; and *pardah*, the practice of restricting women to their homes—it seems also to have had a version of today's split between upper-class female freedom and lower-class female ignorance and confinement. The sultans' mothers and sisters had great power; people who know nothing at all about Turkey are likely to have heard a vague echo of the stories told of "Roxelana," the



Young girls in a central Anatolian village

favorite wife of Suleiman the Magnificent (1490?-1566), who altered the succession in favor of her son and was one of several royal women to engage in large-scale architectural patronage.

The original nomadic existence of the first Ottoman Turks, and their more distant Central Asiatic cultural forebears, made for relatively free lives for women even after the adoption of Islam, a freedom that was curtailed only with settlement and urbanization. Sociologists find a parallel in contemporary Turkey, where women who undergo the sharpest decrease in personal freedom are the ever more numerous "recently rural," transplanted from a life of hard agricultural toil to modest or squalid city surroundings

where they cannot work or, in some cases, even go outside because of the proximity of strangers. Such scholarship suggests that it is not Islam itself that circumscribes women's lives but Islam in conjunction with pressures brought about by massive social change.

Moreover, many Islamist intellectuals go a step further and defend Islamic conceptions of womanhood in the same language their feminist critics use. Arguing that Western feminism arose specifically in response to female inequality under Christianity, they suggest that women are oppressed and objectified not by Islam but by consumerism and materialism, and that Islam has always offered a more "empowering" model for full female self-actualization, albeit in the private sphere.

At the very least, ardent secularists have been forced to examine their own prejudices. "We made a mistake with the turbans," sighs Turkan Akyol, minister for health and women's affairs, the second-highest-ranking woman in Çiller's government, a second-generation Kemalist, and a former university president. Akyol is filled with regret and trepidation by the successes of the Welfare Party, and with confusion. "We were too careful," she says. "My generation used to refuse all such things, even those of us who came from religious families, even if we believed in God. We always felt we had to be very careful of the slightest step in that direction, the slightest religious symbol. Probably it was too much, but it helped us, too, in the beginning—be-

cause when you need taboos

In Washington, the Islamicist movement for a more radical Islamist visitation is passionately embraced by women, who see it as a feminist takeover. In Algeria, women will say the key is no Algerian pragmatism and pragmatism there is liberation, it's said when exhausted women make all other options also be the option forced by economic conditions, even if the arguments lie on the moral and philosophical side. A splinter party in the Turkish coalition called New Democracy is reaching out

cause when you make such a big change, you need taboos to avoid going back."

**I**n Washington recently, in a conference room at the National Endowment for Democracy, a male journalist visiting from Algeria declared passionately that "it is women, and only women, who stand between us and Islamist takeover. All over the Middle East, women will save us from Islamism." Turkey is no Algeria. It is a nation of complexity and pragmatism, and whatever happens there is likely to happen slowly. Tolerance, it's said, is the option turned to when exhaustion and permanent warfare make all other paths impossible; it could also be the option into which parties are forced by electoral spinning and trimming, even if the opposite poles of the argument lie on opposite sides of the mental and philosophical world.

A splinter politician, traveling around the Turkish countryside to launch a party called New Democracy, takes pains to say he is reaching out to the people "who are

not afraid of democracy, who are not afraid of religion." He tells a campaign anecdote that sounds like a Grimms's fairy tale: "I was at a picnic, campaigning, and I met a man with three daughters. The first daughter said, 'Oh! You're so handsome! Can I kiss you?' And she kissed me on the cheek. The second one shook my hand. The third one wouldn't shake my hand; she was too religious. But she wished me well." The candidate, whose name is Cem Boynar, is an industrialist who might do well in 1996 or disappear without an electoral trace. His candidacy hardly suggests the old Atatürkian metaphor of a straight march from East to West. Instead it conjures up a more complicated image, suggested by the turbulent waters one sees from the Istanbul bridge connecting Europe with Asia. The waves there move neither east nor west but roil endlessly above the colliding currents of the Black Sea, the Golden Horn, and the Bosphorus, an apt image of a nation that will never be in anything as simple as transition.



Mustafa Kemal and his wife Lâtife Hanım at Çankaya, Ankara (This picture appeared in many European magazines)



During his visit to Tarsus with his wife Lâtife Hanım.  
March 19, 1923



At the Flower Day celebrations



At a wedding

## Turkey: Population and Family Planning

Turkey is the world's 16th most populous country with a population of 62 million people. The population growth rate is 1.9 percent and the fertility rate is 2.7.

In addition to high population growth and fertility rates, Turkey is urbanizing at a rapid rate. Forty-one percent of Turkey's population lived in urban areas in 1970. Today the rural to urban ratio has reversed with sixty percent of the population living in cities. Rapid urbanization has brought a host of problems to Turkey's cities -- especially Istanbul -- including environmental degradation, lack of housing, and inadequate employment and infrastructure.

After the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the demographic implosion caused by a series of wars and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire led the new government to pursue a pro-natalist policy. This policy was reversed in the early 1960s'. A military government passed a sweeping series of laws in 1983, including the legalization of abortion. In the late 1970's, illegal and self-induced abortions caused half of maternal deaths. Maternal and infant mortality rates have fallen dramatically in recent years: maternal mortality is 132 per 100,000 and the infant mortality rate is 53 per 100,000.

While rapid urbanization and socio-economic change have contributed to a declining population growth rate, Turkey still has a low modern contraceptive usage rate of 35 percent. This is due to a lack of adequate education concerning contraceptive choices and problems of quality and access to family planning. We estimate that over 4 million couples have an unmet demand for modern contraception.

While there is no USAID Mission in Turkey, funding for family programs remains the largest civilian program, other than Economic Support Funds, at \$7.3 million in Fiscal Year 1995. USAID has designated Turkey a phase-out country and local programs will end in 1999.

### Key Issues

- o Improvements in quality and access to family planning have improved women's health and lowered maternal and infant mortality rates.
- o Turkey still needs to lower its fertility rate in order to reduce the population growth rate to levels consistent with sustainable development.

o The U.S. Government has played an active role in support of family planning in Turkey. USAID will phase out its programs by 1999, and is encouraging the Turkish Government to play a greater role in promoting family planning.

## Turkey: Beijing Conference

The Turkish Government sent a substantial delegation of 28 members to the September 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Headed by the then-State Minister for Women's Issues, Ms. Aysel Baykal, it included representatives from the Ministries of Labor, Culture, Education, and Foreign Affairs and from political parties; several professors who study women's issues, and women affiliated with a range of NGOs.

Then PM Ciller's failure to attend the Beijing Conference did not mean that the Turkish Government slighted the Conference. The delegation represented the best of Turkish women -- those in government, those dealing with practical issues and those studying women's issues. If any group went under-represented, it was the women entrepreneurs who have found new opportunities as a result of economic liberalization in recent years. Preparation for the Beijing Conference was headed by the Directorate for Women's and Family Issues.

Turkey's positions in Beijing mirrored those of the U.S. Prior to the Conference, the Turks worked in tandem with the U.S. to try to resolve bracketed language. The GOT position was that language used in previous UN documents, such as at the Cairo Conference, should not have been at issue.

The GOT delegation was concerned with the issue of violence against women. It also supported the view that human rights for women should fall under the rubric of universal human rights.

Since the Beijing Conference, the GOT has introduced proposals to comply with conference plans of action. The Ministry of Health introduced women's status initiatives into its National Family Planning Strategy. The GOT has also committed itself to removing those few laws which limit women's legal equality.

## Turkey: Children and Education

Simply from observing Turks, it is clear that they love and protect their children. Despite massive social and economic change featuring internal migration and the absence of many breadwinners in Europe, family ties and values remain intact.

The Turkish Government is committed to furthering children's welfare and works to expand opportunities in education and health, including further reduction of the infant mortality rate. The State Minister for Women's and Family Issues oversees implementation of Government programs for children. Turkey has signed but not ratified the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Children have suffered greatly from the cycle of violence in the Southeast. Contradictory pressures from the terrorist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and security forces on Kurdish villagers, PKK assassination of schoolteachers and school closings, and the migration of many families, forced or voluntary, have uprooted children to cities already hard-pressed to extend basic, mandatory social services such as schooling. Many cities in the Southeast are operating schools on double shifts, with as many as 100 students (probably double the average) per classroom. Government regional boarding schools are insufficient.

In rural Anatolia and the southeast, the literacy rate for girls is very low; many do not complete primary school. (Literacy rates in the Southeast may actually be dropping.) The literacy rate for boys, most of whom complete primary school, is higher. High school students often live away from home. Universities have been established in many provincial cities, but the rigorous national entry examination restricts first-class education to a tiny elite.

The Constitution and labor laws forbid employment of children younger than 15, although those ages 13 and 14 may engage in light, part-time work if enrolled in school or vocational training. The Constitution also prohibits children from engaging in physically demanding or night work. The Ministry of Labor effectively enforces these laws only in the organized industrial sector. Many children work because families need the supplementary income. Young boys work at low wages, for example in auto repair shops. Girls rarely work in public, but many are kept out of school to work in handicrafts.

The Government has recognized the problem of child labor and has been working with the ILO to define its dimensions and determine solutions. The Ministry of Labor, the Ankara Municipality, the Turk-Is Labor Confederation, and the Turkish Employers Association participate in the ILO's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), a new project to solve the problems of working children.

## Turkey: Health

Turkish health indicators have improved markedly over the last 40 years. Life expectancy is 65 years for men and 69 for women. The infant mortality rate is 53 per 100,000 live births and the maternal mortality rate is 132 per 100,000. Yet 37 percent of women still receive no prenatal care; 20 percent of children suffer from stunting; and only 59 percent of children receive proper vaccinations by the age of one.

Turkey's health sector reflect the nation's incomplete transition from a state-planned to a free market economy and its transformation from a rural to urban society. While there is a growing, vibrant private sector, two large, public systems dominate the health sector: the Ministry of Health (MOH) and the Social Security Administration (SSK).

Quality is generally low at public health facilities. State financial support is inadequate and, since the 1960s, most has flowed to rural areas rather than to rapidly growing cities. Rural clinics often lack adequate medical staff, equipment and pharmaceuticals. City hospitals and clinics are overburdened by both urban demand and by rural clients searching for better quality and range of health services.

The small portion of the national budget provided to health is frequently misallocated. Health reform legislation has languished in the Turkish Parliament for three years, due to parliamentarians' lack of interest and technical expertise. Draft legislation calls for the MOH to shift emphasis to preventative rather than curative care.

Health care finance confronts a variety of problems. The Ministry of Health receives only four percent of the total government budget, yet all Turkish citizens may receive services at its facilities. Those who can pay a nominal fee, while the poor receive free services. The SSK funds pensions as well as a huge health care system. As much of Turkey's economy is unrecorded, millions of workers escape paying Social Security premiums. The SSK lost over \$2 billion in 1995; and its losses will double in 1996. Private health insurance is still in its infancy.

### Key Issues

- o Pressing forward with proposed health reforms.
- o Setting government quality standards for both private and public health care.
- o Allowing the private sector to provide more health services.

## Turkey: U.S. Assistance

From the end of the Second World War to 1993, Turkey received over \$17 billion in economic and military assistance, and has been the fourth largest recipient of U.S. bilateral assistance, after Israel, Egypt and Vietnam. U.S. aid consisted of \$10 billion in grants and \$7 billion in loans over this period.

The bulk of assistance has been in support of the Turkish military. Total U.S. military assistance through 1993 reached \$12.5 billion, with economic aid totalling \$2.8 billion. In FY '95, the U.S. provided Turkey with \$420 million in military aid in market-rate loans through the Foreign Military Sales program. Economic Support Funds totalled \$45.75 million in 1995, with Development Assistance for population programs accounting for another \$7.3 million. The U.S. assistance program for training of Turkish military personnel is the largest in the world. Certain arms sales to Turkey have become controversial over the past few years, especially following the delivery in June 1995 of a specially mandated report to the Congress on the use of U.S.-supplied arms in the commission of human rights abuses.

In 1995, USAID expanded assistance to include support for democratic initiatives. USAID approved funding for a program to enable Turkish physicians to treat and document cases of torture and the development of local non-governmental organizations. Total funding for these programs is approximately \$1 million.

In FY '96, Congress approved \$320 million in market-rate loans, and \$33.5 million in economic assistance.

### Key Issues

- o Turkey has received massive amounts of U.S. foreign assistance since the end of World War II.
- o While the bulk of assistance has been in military support, a substantial portion of assistance has been utilized for economic development which has had lasting results.
- o U.S. assistance now flows in support of military, counter-narcotics, health, and democratic programs.

## Turkey: Regional and Security Issues

A U.S. ally since the 1940's, Turkey was long the southeastern bulwark of NATO, which it joined in 1952. The demise of the USSR and the return of ethnic nationalism increased the strategic importance of Turkey as the focus of regional U.S. interests. Turkey's is a tough neighborhood: it borders three U.S.-designated terrorism-supporting states.

Turkey helped to quarantine Serbia and is a vigorous partisan of the Dayton Accords, co-hosting with Deputy Secretary Talbott on March 15 a donors' conference on training and equipping the Bosnian Armed Forces.

Centuries of conflict color Turkish attitudes toward Russia. Although an increasingly important trading partner, Russia engenders suspicion -- over its brutal suppression of the Chechens, the protraction of the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan, non-compliance with CFE treaty limits on its forces on Russia's flanks, the shaky independence of the Central Asian republics, and routes for pipelines to bring Caspian oil and gas to Western markets.

Greece, also a NATO ally, disputes Turkey's desire for a status quo on Aegean issues such as airspace, maritime borders, and the continental shelf. The U.S. defused a confrontation over the Imia/Kardak rocks in January, but U.S. efforts to promote direct contacts await Greek moves. Turkey resents Greece's hold on European Union funds due Turkey under its customs union agreement with the EU, a major 1995 Turkish achievement.

Turkey's first security concern is the separatist terrorist PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party). Over 15,000 citizens, many ethnic Kurds, have died since 1984 at the hands of or in the struggle against the PKK. A massive Army deployment behind paramilitary and police forces pacified most cities in the Southeast, but many villages were forcibly evacuated. Human rights violations -- some involving U.S.-supplied weapons -- have occurred.

The PKK affects Turkey's relations with many foreign states. How vigorously European governments suppress PKK extortion and terrorism has an impact on ties with Turkey. Turkish relations with Syria are strained in part because Syria harbors PKK leader Abdallah Ocalan. The presence of PKK forces in northern Iraq triggered a Turkish incursion a year ago. Turkey hosts Operation Provide Comfort, which protects Iraqi Kurds from Saddam's vengeance, but many Turks fear this U.S.-led coalition fosters an embryonic Kurdish state. Turkey supports UN sanctions against Iraq despite the cost to Turkey's economy. Iran and Turkey cooperate against the PKK, but differ over secularism, Bosnia, and the Middle East peace process. Turkey's long positive relations with Israel have deepened as the peace process (to which Turkey contributes) has grown and as visits (recently by then-PM Ciller and President Demirel) intensify.

## The U.S. Mission in Turkey

The United States has maintained formal relations with Turkey (and its precursor, the Ottoman Empire) since 1830. The Embassy was moved from Istanbul to Ankara in the 1920s after Ankara became the capital of the new Republic of Turkey.

The U.S. Mission to Turkey consists of the Political, Political-Military, Economic, Consular and Administrative Sections; the Foreign Commercial Service, Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Information Service (USIS), Drug Enforcement Agency, Defense Communications Support Group, Defense Attache Office, Defense Contract Management Operation and representatives of the Department of Labor and the Internal Revenue Service. The Office of Defense Cooperation, Technical Liaison Office and the Air Force Office of Special Investigations are also in Ankara but are not under Chief of Mission authority.

The U.S. Mission to Turkey is recognized as one of the best managed diplomatic missions in the world. Its 199 American staff and 668 Turkish staff represent and support U.S. Government operations in three locations in Turkey: the Embassy in Ankara, the Consulate General in Istanbul and the Consulate in Adana. A consular agent and a Turkish employee of the Foreign Commercial Service operate small offices in Izmir. Our Marine Corps Security Guard Detachment was selected as the best in the world for 1995, and our Human Rights reporting officer, Janice Weiner, was honored as the best in the world for 1994.

Like all U.S. overseas missions worldwide, we have faced painful and debilitating budget cuts over the past three years. Innovative and hard-nosed management has permitted us to realize savings and maintain core functions, but the budget cuts have hurt us in key operational areas. In 1995, we were forced to cut our local workforce by 15 percent and have not been able to increase their wages since April 1995 despite a 125 percent increase in the consumer price index in Turkey since then. Our information management systems are obsolete and inadequate even by Department of State standards. We have not been able to buy any sorely needed equipment since September 1995. We had to cut back on supply orders nearly 30 percent over the past year. Further cuts will require the Mission to scale back the range of activities the U.S. Government is able to pursue in Turkey, a country that is the crossroads of almost every issue of importance to the United States on the Eurasian continent.

## TURKEY: - ETIQUETTE

Turks generally follow European norms of etiquette, table manners, and protocol. Receiving lines and seating at official functions are always in order of precedence.

--President Suleyman Demirel is relatively formal but enjoys mixing with people.

--Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz is more formal and will maintain his formality during the conversation.

--DYP leader and former Prime Minister Tansu Ciller is more relaxed. She is accustomed to American culture and likes dealing with Americans.

Forms of Address: Unless the host or the senior person in a conversation suggests otherwise, it is inappropriate to use first names in a professional or official setting. By law, all married women are required to take their husband's surname. An exception is Tansu Ciller, whose husband petitioned the court to assume her surname when they married.

Dress: Western-oriented Turks generally follow European norms of dress. The staff at mosques in use forbid bare arms and legs; women must cover their heads. At historical mosques managed by the Culture Ministry, these restrictions are relaxed, but modesty is advised. Shoes are removed outside all mosques.

Greeting: English is frequently, but not universally, understood by government/business leaders. Turks shake hands both to meet and say good-bye. Turkish "personal space" is narrower than what we are used to in the United States, and touching is more common.

Tea: Before any conversation or meeting can begin, your Turkish hosts will offer a drink, usually tea served with sugar cubes, Turkish coffee, fruit juice or soda water. The substance of the conversation may then begin.

Conversation: Sensitive topics include Kurdish grievances, human rights, Armenia, Greece, and Cyprus. Turks, when first introduced, often ask what to Americans are personal questions. Questions about marriage, children, and salaries are not uncommon. Despite asking pointed questions, Turks prefer to answer questions indirectly. When asking a question that could be controversial, they will use an oblique approach. Maintaining honor or "face" is very important.

Smoking: Turks are often heavy smokers. Smoking indoors, even in close quarters or at the table during dinner, is considered entirely appropriate.

UNCLASSIFIED

## U.S. -TURKEY: HABITAT CONFERENCE BACKGROUND

The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) will convene in Istanbul June 3-14, 1996, to concentrate on the practical realities of rapid urbanization and other aspects of sustainable human settlements development. There will also be a number of parallel fora for local government, non-governmental and private sectors as well as an international trade fair to highlight "Good Ideas for Better Cities."

Turkey is proud to host Habitat II, which has special relevance to Turkey as it attempts to deal with a rapidly urbanizing society. Turkey faces major environmental and urban challenges, owing to the massive internal migration that threatens to overwhelm its infrastructure. This will be the first international conference in which NGO's participate (including Turkey's fledgling NGO's). Habitat II will be the last in the cycle of UN mega-conferences on global issues that began with the UNCED in Rio in 1992. Turkey wants to demonstrate it can successfully host the more than 20,000 expected participants.

Sustainable development is the underlying principle running throughout this cycle. Habitat II has two goals: 1) adequate shelter for all; and 2) sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world. The gathering will produce the "Habitat Agenda," containing a Global Plan of Action. UNCED is the overall blueprint, and Rio Principles will guide Habitat II as they have guided the other mega-conferences in this cycle.

At the conference the United States will promote three overall priorities: sustainability; enablement; and partnership. Sustainability refers to the promotion of actions to achieve the economic, social and environmental components of building sustainable communities that will avoid the infrastructure and environmental problems of previous development patterns. Enablement refers to the condition in which governments create conditions to enable the key actors themselves to meet individual settlement needs. Partnership refers to a partnership of public and private actors at all levels to give individuals a real stake in these issues.

Preparatory work continues, but much of the Conference's final document remains in brackets. Points of disagreement include the treatment of a "right to adequate housing" and a controversy over "sustained economic growth" versus "sustainable development" (drawing upon Rio's Agenda 21, the U.S. insists that priority be given to the latter formula).

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**Wreath Laying**

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## Ankara, Turkey: Wreath Laying at Ataturk's Tomb

### Context for the Event

Distinguished visitors to the Turkish capital customarily pay respects to Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic. Anit Kabir, Ataturk's Mausoleum, is a national shrine to the memory of the man who founded and shaped modern Turkey. Kemal Ataturk was a brilliant, enlightened leader, who put together an army from the shambles of the Ottoman Empire and led it to victory, then traded his uniform for a suit and fashioned an entirely new country. In roughly a decade, Ataturk transformed a backward society -- formed by five centuries of Ottoman rule -- into a secular, democratic state with a new modern language and greatly expanded rights for women. Ataturk is universally revered in this country in a way that far eclipses even our admiration of George Washington.

Ataturk's mausoleum was built on a hill overlooking the Maltepe district of Ankara between 1944 and 1953, and its walls contain stone blocks from all of Turkey's regions. The entrance of the monument leads the visitor to a long colonnaded avenue, flanked by 24 Hittite lions that symbolize the first great Anatolian civilization that flourished here 3,500 years ago. The Lion's walk ends at a vast courtyard. On the right is the Mehmetcik Tower. The courtyard contains the mausoleum on the left side and, on the right side, the sarcophagus of Ismet Inonu (1884-1973), Ataturk's friend and prime minister, who succeeded him as President of the Republic.

The mausoleum itself stands on a raised area reached by 33 steps. Its grandiose yet somber construction is reminiscent of a classical temple, surrounded by a portico with square pillars. The interior of the monument is lined with marble, while the ceiling features gold mosaics. The cenotaph is a monolithic block of marble, weighing 40 tons; Ataturk is actually buried in a vault below the monument.

You will be accompanied during your visit to the mausoleum by Colonel Albay Ufuk Ozkaynak, commander of the unit which guards the mausoleum, and his wife.

### Your Objective

- o You will want to show respect for the father of modern Turkey and thus for Turkey's secular, democratic values.

**Talking Point**

- o I have heard and read a great deal about Kemal Ataturk. He was an inspiring leader and visionary, with ideas far ahead of his times. Turkey's success today stems in large part from his vision.

By Eric Lawlor

## His name meant "Father Turk," and that he was

*Almost overnight Kemal Ataturk banned the fez, secularized the state, gave women the vote and set Turkey on a course toward the West*

Turkey's teahouses are charming places. Plane trees shade small tables set along white walls. Men play backgammon or huddle over water pipes. Steam rises from boiling samovars. The tea doesn't vary, either: amber in color, it's served in small, tulip-shaped glasses resting on saucers painted red and gold. Most of Turkey's teahouses have something else in common—a picture of Kemal Ataturk, the father of modern Turkey. In this, they are not unique. There are portraits of Ataturk everywhere you go in Turkey. Young Ataturk, old Ataturk, Ataturk in middle age. Ataturk the teacher, the soldier, the statesman. Ataturk in tweeds. Ataturk in flannels. Ataturk in a top hat. In homes, shops and universities; in restaurants, offices and banks, this man, though dead more than 50 years, is still very much a presence.

His name speaks volumes. In both Arabic and Turkish, "Kemal" means "perfection." It was a name that was conferred upon him at military school in 1893 because of his command of algebra. He was just 12 years old. "Ataturk," the name he took in 1934, means "Father Turk," no less. For most of his life, he viewed his people as his children. Asked once why he rarely smiled, he replied, "Isn't modernizing a nation a serious business?" But Kemal Ataturk never doubted he was up to the job. In 1923, when he founded the Turkish Republic, his country was mired in the Middle Ages. Muslim clerics, wielding authority said to come from God, dominated the customs of the country. Under the tutelage of a tottering sultan, and a caliph who was the heir of the

Prophet Muhammad as temporal and spiritual head of Islam, the clerics had run most of the schools and some of the courts, as well. Legal disputes involving such matters as divorce and inheritance were referred to these religious courts, governed by precepts formulated 1,300 years before, in the time of the Prophet. Women, in general, had few rights, received limited schooling, could not vote and were not supposed to appear in public with men, even their husbands.


Powerful leaders used to be called "makers of history"; few so obviously deserve the title as Ataturk. Between 1923 and 1938, the year he died, he made this mostly Muslim country into a largely secular state, modeled on the nations of Western Europe. History has seen no national transformation swifter or more dramatic. In a little more than 15 years, he tried to accomplish the work of centuries.

He abolished the sultanate in 1922 and, a year later, exiled the caliph, took education away from the clerics and closed the religious courts. The effect of these measures was to separate church and state, something that had never happened before in western Asia. He banned the fez, which had become a symbol of Ottoman and Islamic orthodoxy, adopted a modified Latin alphabet, outlawed polygamy and championed equal rights for women. It's largely because of Ataturk that, today, Turkish women have made their mark in medicine, law, even politics. Though her political future is currently in doubt, Tansu Ciller, Turkey's bright, forward-looking prime minister, has been one of only a handful of women to head a government anywhere.

It is safe to say that without Ataturk there might not be a Turkish nation. It was he who extricated it from the wreckage of the Ottoman Empire and World War I, in which Turkey unwisely sided with Germany. When the war ended, the victorious Allies seemed bent on dismembering not just the Ottoman Empire, but its predominantly Turkish provinces, too. The Ottoman Turks had occupied Greece and parts of southeastern Europe for centuries. But under the Treaty of Sévres, signed by representatives of Ottoman Turkey and the Allied powers (with the exception of Russia and the United States), Turkey was to consist only of Istanbul and parts of the Anatolian peninsula. Greece, with British encouragement, laid claim to all parts of Turkey in Europe and a good deal of western Anatolia as well.

The treaty required Ottoman forces to lay down their arms, and it was to expedite this process that the sultan, by then under the thumb of the Allies, sent Ataturk to Anatolia in 1919. But Ataturk, then Inspector-General

At the height of his power and popularity, Ataturk stares from the window of a train bearing him to Ankara.



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Mustafa Kemal, disobeyed orders. Instead of disarming Turkish soldiers, he reorganized them and repaired to the remote eastern Anatolian city of Erzurum, intent on organizing nationalist resistance to both the sultan and the Allies. The angry sultan ordered Ataturk to return to Istanbul. "I shall stay in Anatolia," came the reply, "until the nation has won its independence." Then he moved west, convened a parliament, set up a rebel government in Ankara (Turkey's present capital) and launched an assault on the Greek armies occupying western Anatolia.

As a daring field commander, he had three times helped deny the Gallipoli Peninsula to the Allies in 1915. Now, in September 1921, he proved his audacity once again. At the Sakarya River his forces dealt the Greeks a decisive defeat in one of the longest battles in history. The two armies fought along a 60-mile front for 22 days and 22 nights. Greeks outnumbered Turks three to one but were short of food and water.

By the fall of 1922, with 50,000 men, no tanks and only a few rickety biplanes, Ataturk's army had driven the Greeks out of Anatolia and had persuaded the Allies to withdraw most of

their forces and territorial claims. For his pains, Turkish nationalists named him Gazi, meaning "conqueror," or "one who fights on behalf of Islam."

It was as the leader of his countrymen by popular acclaim that he abolished the sultanate. He intended to exile the sultan, but in the end he didn't have to. The old man, afraid that an overzealous nationalist might kill him, persuaded the British to help him leave the country. One wet November morning the sultan assembled an entourage of ten, including his son, his doctor, his bandmaster, two eunuchs and a barber. (His five wives would follow later.) At 6 A.M., the party slipped into two British ambulances and headed for the Bosphorus, where battleship HMS *Malaya* was waiting.

A year later, Ataturk gave the caliph Prince Abdul Mejid, less than 12 hours to pack his bags. After bidding farewell to his harem, the caliph was bundled onto a train bound for Switzerland. At the Swiss border, another indignity awaited. He was a polygamist, Swiss officials explained, and such could not be allowed to enter the country. In the end they relented enough to issue him a temporary visa.

Having driven out the Greek invaders, abolished the monarchy and broken the official power of Islam, Ataturk set to work in earnest. As he saw it, to make progress Turkey either had to emulate Western Europe or be dominated by it. He wanted to make the country as liberal as he could; he wanted to make it "modern," a word he used often. One day an exasperated cleric demanded to know exactly what the word meant. "It means being a human being," said Ataturk. So great was his passion to emulate Western ways that enemies used to joke about it. The country was lucky, they said, that he hadn't forced Turks to leave French or convert to Christianity.

Some reforms had been attempted in the past. What made the difference now was the tenacity, ruthlessness and enormous prestige Ataturk brought to implementing them. As early as 1908 he had created a national assembly



As an Ottoman officer, Ataturk won fame by beating British at Gallipoli.



Tansu Ciller, prime minister since 1993, favors ties with the West.

and this institution declared Turkey a republic with Ataturk as president in 1923. This change was effected with little opposition because of Ataturk's reputation, won at Gallipoli and burnished during the war of independence. At Gallipoli, when he'd been struck in the chest by shrapnel, the watch in his breast pocket was shattered, but Ataturk came away unharmed. Many of his countrymen drew their own conclusions: he was divinely chosen to lead his people.

This was ironic because Ataturk was not merely an agnostic, he regarded Islam as inimical to progress. It is said that in a fit of temper, he once threw a Koran at one of Turkey's top clerics.

Ataturk gave Turkey a republican constitution. People now voted, and laws were debated and passed by the national assembly. But there was really only one party—the People's Republican Party, which would dominate Turkish politics until long after his death. In economics Ataturk's programs aimed at nudging a mainly agricultural economy toward manufacture. He encouraged business with government loans, as well as a measure of state planning and the establishment of some state-owned industries.

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But he left the details to his able prime minister, Ismet Inonu, who served as the country's leader for 12 years after Ataturk's death.

In pursuit of projects that interested him—education, social evolution, the changing of popular attitudes, the eradication of religion from politics—Ataturk was incredibly tenacious. No detail escaped him, and he was prepared to use charm, cajolery, intimidation, even outright coercion. Though he kept the army small—to save Turkey money—and enjoyed wide public approval, he ruled imperiously. With the caliph gone, Ataturk declared an all-out war on “the forces of superstition.” He closed the religious schools and replaced the holy law with a civil code borrowed in part from Switzerland. For the first time in their history, Turks enjoyed legal rights similar to those of Western Europeans.

“Islam's great iconoclast,” as Arnold Toynbee once described him, Ataturk also turned his wrath on what seemed an unoffending target: the fez. The fez had been worn in Turkey for about a century, but in that time Turks had come to think of it and Islam as synonymous. By rejecting one, you were rejecting the other.

“If we will be a civilized people,” said Ataturk, “we must wear civilized international clothes. The fez is the sign of ignorance.” Starting in 1925, he decreed, Turkish men would be required

to discard the fez and wear Western hats instead. That was easier ordered than achieved, even for a national hero turned benevolent dictator. The very word “hats” was explosive in Turkey—hats being associated with infidel customs. For years, not daring to use the “H” word, the press had referred to all hats, except the fez, as “head cover with a brim,” or “protector from sunshine.” In his book *The Ataturk I Knew*, journalist and politician Falih Rifki describes his terror when, as a small child at the turn of the century, he first saw a hat at close quarters. It belonged to a foreign doctor visiting his father, and as he looked at it, Rifki recalled, “it seemed to have eyes and ears and a voice, like the head of a demon. When the doctor left, our maid, a devout Muslim girl, purified the place where the hat had stood, with boiling water and incantations.”

Before banning the fez outright, Ataturk devised ways of making the hat less of an object of fear. He added a small brim to the headgear worn by the army. (To keep out the sun, he said.) He ordered all civil servants to wear hats to work. (Some resigned rather than comply. Ataturk retaliated by stopping their pensions.) He had the national press run stories extolling the hat's virtues. Follow-ups dealt with hat etiquette: how to wear and care for a hat, and precisely how high it should be raised when greeting someone.

Once the ban became law, any man found wearing a fez risked a penalty of jail. Naturally, the demand for hats grew, supplies ran out, prices soared. Desperate men settled for anything with a brim—bowlers, boaters, fedoras. Some even wore women's hats. Particularly for the old, renouncing the fez was sacrilege. Many tried wearing a handkerchief under the hat. That way, they reasoned, the hat wouldn't actually touch their head. The hat law was far from Ataturk's most important reform, but it stirred the most publicity and passion. Riots broke out in eastern Turkey. Officials trying to enforce the law were stoned. Resistance quickly ceased when Ataturk set up special tribunals and troops.

For the most part, he dominated his countrymen by the power of his will and the force of his personality. Physically he was slight, with thin lips, blue eyes and massive eyebrows that made him look dramatic. He claimed to be indifferent to luxury. All he needed for life, he said, was “a piece of bread and a glass of water.” But he took pains with his appearance and ordered his suits from London's Savile Row. For recreation he listened to jazz, played cards, pursued women and read futuristic novels by H. G. Wells. He was also a great orator. Addressing a party congress in 1925, he spoke for six days, six hours a day.

Ataturk was also a believer in the civilizing powers of the fox-trot. In 1925 he gave Turkey's first ball, attended by the country's top officials and by their wives. Until then Muslim couples had rarely been seen together in public. Soon Ataturk was urging towns all over Turkey to open dance clubs. One such club, short of women, had to advertise for them. Applicants, said they should be able to play a musical instrument and speak without stuttering.

As engines of change, the dance clubs seem fairly frivolous. But Ataturk's innovations, however small, contributed to his grand design. In speeches he now began to stress the rights of women. This was radical. In much of Anatolia, women were con-



In 1935 Ataturk addresses the Congress of the People's Republican Party, the only party that wielded real power during his regime.

ered interior to men. To Ataturk this was nonsense. Women were entitled to the same opportunities as men, he insisted. If anything, their schooling was more important than men's, because when you educated a woman, you educated an entire family. Little by little, barriers fell. Women voted in local elections in 1930 and in national elections in 1935. Seventeen deputies in the new Grand National Assembly that year were female.

Politically, Ataturk thought like a reforming Westerner. In personal temperament, he was quite different. Just months before his new civil code made easy divorces illegal, he divorced Latife Hanim, his wife of two and a half years, the Muslim way—by simply announcing he was done with her. He had known her for less than five months when he proposed. They were married within days in the European style. According to a contemporary account, Latife's disarming black eyes had "accomplished what the whole Greek army could not—the subjugation of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief." But the more she tried to run his life—and, particularly, control his dangerously heavy drinking—the more he resisted. She was as egotistical as he and spoke of them as "Napoleon and Josephine," a comparison Ataturk objected to. Although he admired Napoleon as a general, Ataturk felt that, as a man, Napoleon had put his own interests above those of France.

Latife hated her husband's drinking cronies—whom she rightly saw as sycophants—and took special pleasure in belittling them. She was also madly jealous. Once, at a lunch—the first at which men and women had sat down together in the conservative city of Erzurum—she made a scene because Ataturk was paying too much attention to an attractive woman. Within months he divorced her.

While Ataturk was establishing rational reforms—economic, religious and social—that were changing Turkish

*Eric Lawlor is the author of Looking for Osman, a traveler's memoir about the paradoxes of life in modern Turkey.*

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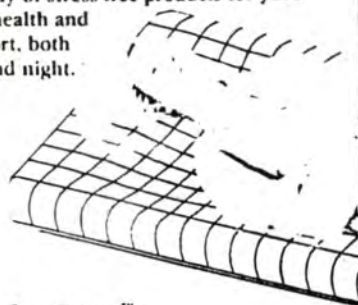


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Ataturk banned the fez and promoted Western hats; here he boasts a topper.

life out of all recognition, his own life grew more disordered. He battled insomnia, became depressed, grew unbearably cantankerous even for a despot. By the mid-1930s he was carousing all night, dancing, singing, and boasting of his sexual conquests. For all that, women still seemed to find him irresistible. One lay down in front of his car, it was said, daring him to run her over. Ataturk took her home instead. She was one of many, so many, that men, when they came to Ankara, often took the precaution of leaving their wives at home. Turkey, however, remained his one great passion. He believed that he, and only he, knew its real interests; he, and only he, could make it prosper. "I am Turkey," he said once, sounding a little like Louis XIV.

As early as 1925, enemies plotted to kill him. One of the ringleaders, an adventurer named Ziva Hurshid, proposed throwing a bomb at the president during a session of the national assembly. Fellow conspirators shook their heads. Well, then, he'd shoot Ataturk—through a hole in the roof of the assembly building. In the end, hired assassins were scheduled to ambush Ataturk when he visited Izmir on

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June 18, 1926. As it happened, the president's arrival in Izmir got delayed. Panic-stricken, the plotters thought their plan had been discovered and one turned informer. The plot involved only a handful of conspirators, most of them comically inept. But Ataturk, seeing a chance to be rid of his critics, cast it as a major national conspiracy.

The case went to a specially created "Independence Tribunal"—a grandiose name for what, in effect, was a hanging court. Dozens of people were arrested—among them 25 deputies theoretically protected by parliamentary immunity. The trial was a travesty. Defendants appeared without counsel and were not allowed to appeal their sentences. A number were executed.

The Izmir conspiracy wasn't the only challenge used by Ataturk to stifle opposition. Kurdish rebels had risen in the east, demanding restoration of the caliphate and an independent Kurdis-

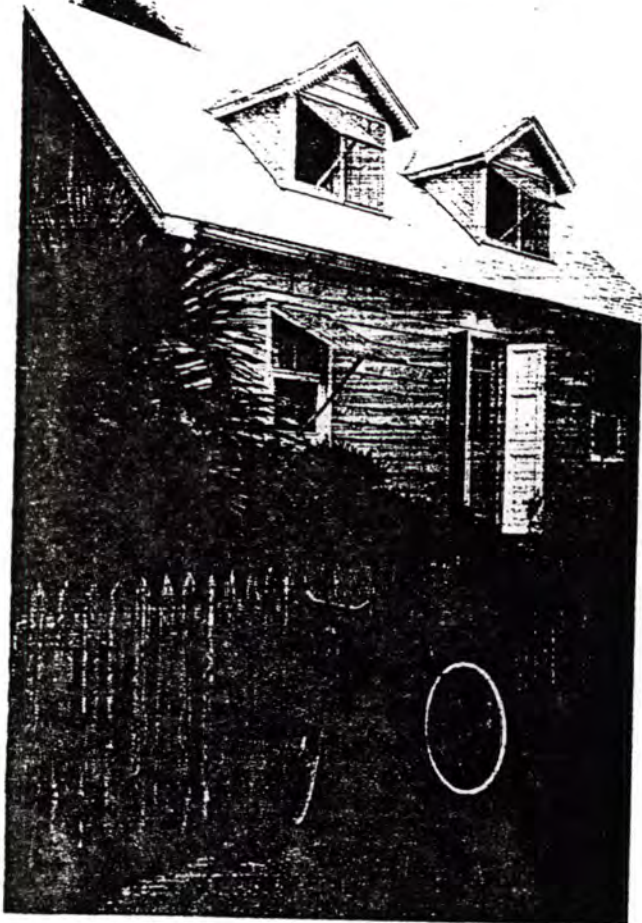
tan. One of their strongholds was Dogubayezit, a dusty little town not far from the foot of Mount Ararat. Except for their fundamentalist beliefs, the defeated rebels posed little real threat. But Ataturk showed no mercy, and Dogubayezit was destroyed. Some 40 of the Kurdish leaders were charged with treason and hanged.

This did not solve the problem. Turkey today has ten million Kurds; the demand of many for independence now threatens the stability of the Ankara government and clouds the political future of the entire country. (It was to destroy Kurdish guerrilla bases that 35,000 Turkish soldiers invaded northern Iraq last year.)

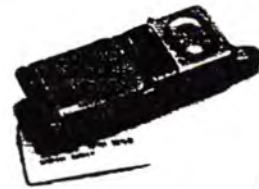
Many Kurds today would settle for cultural autonomy within the Turkish state. But in the tradition of Ataturk, Ankara has been reluctant to grant even this. To force the Kurds to assimilate, the government for years denied them the right to speak their own lan-

guage in public or to study their history. They were also forbidden to sing Kurdish songs. They can now speak and use Kurdish but are forbidden to form ethnic associations or to use their language on radio or television. To do so is to be guilty of "separatist propaganda."

Through the years, Ataturk became increasingly overbearing. Disagree with anything he said and he became enraged. He complained about being bored. For something to do, he turned his attention to the Turkish alphabet. For centuries, Turkish had been written in Arabic script. Adopted for religious reasons, it was a script few Turks could read, let alone write. By one estimate, 80 percent of the population in 1925 was illiterate. Ataturk proposed to change that by having Turks switch to Latin characters. "The Turkish language has been a prisoner for centuries," he wrote. It was time "to cast off its chains." He named a commission and gave it two tasks: draw up a



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new alphabet and devise a way to phase it in. But first he had a question: How long was the changeover likely to take? Five years, said the commission. Too long, he said. "The change will happen in three months or it will not happen at all." Working day and night the commission produced an alphabet in just six weeks.

In November 1928, after the national assembly predictably made the new alphabet law, Ataturk set to work. Brilliant at carrot-and-stick manipulation, he gave civil servants an ultimatum: master the Latin characters or look for another job. He invited government officials to his home and made virtual prisoners of them until their upstrokes and downstrokes met with his satisfaction. He made everyone under the age of 40 enroll in literacy classes. Prison inmates able to show they could write got their sentences reduced.

He toured the country with chalk and blackboard and delighted peasants by teaching them to write their names. His enthusiasm galvanized Turkey. Banks, police stations, stores, post offices, cafés, ferries, streetcars—all became impromptu classrooms. The new alphabet was posted on street corners. Shop windows displayed the new characters. In the evenings, couples frequented the English cemetery in Istanbul, drawn by the tombstones with their Latin inscriptions.

Ships were the first to paint out the old letters, then trains, then trams. Of course, there were dislocations: in 1929, for want of proper type, only one book was published in Turkey, and some newspapers, unable to afford the new characters, went out of business. But only two months after becoming law, the new alphabet was in general use, and in less than a year, more than one million people had been taught to read and write it. By 1931, the Arabic script had all but disappeared from official use.

In 1935, Ataturk introduced what was to be his last reform, the surname. Until then, a Turk had only one name—the one he was given at birth: Selim, say. Or Selim, son of Ercument.

But in a country full of Selims, Ercuments and Mustafas, all this created confusion. Ataturk's solution was simple: Turks would follow Europe's example and adopt family names. This was when he chose "Ataturk," becoming Kemal Ataturk.

In 1936 his phenomenal energy began to fail. His memory deteriorated, and he complained of constant pain. Years of heavy drinking had taken their toll. Early in 1938, he was diagnosed as having cirrhosis of the liver. He moved from Ankara to Istanbul's Dolmabahce Palace and spent much of his time in bed. In the sweltering summer heat, firemen hosed down the front of the palace "to keep the Gazi cool." On November 10, 1938, at the age of 57, he died. A grief-stricken aide promptly committed suicide.

Ataturk's death stunned Turkey. Tens of thousands filed endlessly past his embalmed body in the palace's throne room. At Izmit his ebony coffin was placed on a special train for Ankara. Night had fallen, and it was fiercely cold as Ataturk crossed Anatolia for the last time. But at every town and village along the route, peasants lined the track, waving torches as he passed and setting bonfires, lighting a path for



During a brief, stormy marriage he strolls with his wife, Latife Hanım.

him as he made his way to Paradise. Was Ataturk good for Turkey? Religious fundamentalists regarded (and continue to regard) his secular reforms as "infidel innovations." But if you believe in the Western idea of what constitutes progress, there's no doubt that the changes he set in motion—in Turkey's laws, its political system, its very culture—broke the country's inertia. When most dictators die, they tend to be reviled; Ataturk is still much loved. After his death, too, power was peacefully passed on without political dislocation. Turkey, it turned out, hadn't just joined the 20th century; as Ataturk wished, it had managed to join Western Europe. In World War II, though very late, it sided with the Allies. It became a founding member of the United Nations and, in 1952, joined NATO. During the Korean War, Turkish soldiers, often praised for courage under fire, fought alongside American and other U.N. troops.

He was a dictator, yes. He was also a benevolent reformer with a special gift for making believers out of skeptics. Though he was chosen president by the national assembly, had he ever run in a general election, he'd have won easily. He espoused the procedures of democracy but was wary of them. "Liberty is like fire," he once said. "It's beneficent if controlled; [but] abandoned to itself, it burns and destroys." He had the resources to be an out-and-out tyrant, with an army all too willing to do anything he asked. But unlike his contemporary Joseph Stalin, then also remaking a "backward" country, he rarely resorted to force. After two years of repression, he abandoned the infamous Independence Tribunals. Turkey didn't have an elaborate internal security apparatus, and there were no "reforms" that killed millions of peasants, as in the former Soviet Union. There were no concentration camps. And once the special tribunals had been disbanded, there were no show trials, no purges that exiled or murdered hundreds of thousands of people.

While many of those around him

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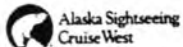
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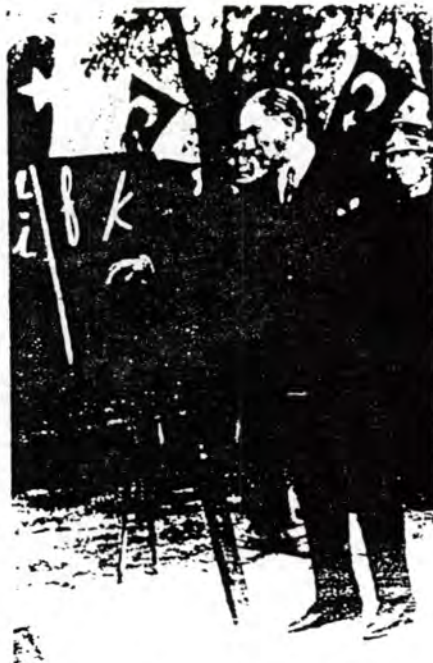
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A tireless reformer, Ataturk tours villages teaching the new alphabet.

lined their pockets, he didn't enrich himself as head of state. Aside from a small government salary, he profited little from his years in office. When he died, he was only slightly better off than he had been in 1923.

When you change a society, there are losses as well as gains. Ataturk's opposition to Islam in all its forms now seems extreme. Moderate Muslims point out that the Koran is broad and various in its teachings, and that declaring war on its influences involves cutting off a source of wisdom, of cultural and spiritual strength.

"Do your best to live long," a friend once urged Ataturk. "The day after you die they'll smash all your statues." "They" were the Islamic fundamentalists, and they didn't smash his statues. Not then, anyway. For more than 40 years after he died, Kemalism, as Ataturk's reforms are called, remained Turkey's basic policy. It was only a decade ago that change began to set in. Starting in the early 1980s, the army, to offset the growing influence of the left, began to encourage an Islamic revival. The revival grew to the extent that Muslim fundamentalists

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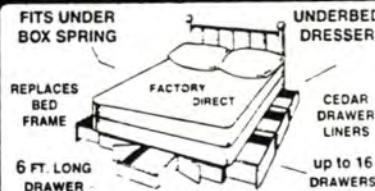
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today threaten Turkey's secular policies, most notably the separation of church and state.

In the elections last December, the pro-Islamic Welfare Party, whose goal is a Muslim-run state, won 21.4 percent of the vote—a plurality. As a result, Party leader Necmettin Erbakan tried to form a workable coalition government with Turkey's other major parties—including Motherland and Tansu Ciller's True Path. The attempt failed. Then Ciller, as the caretaker prime minister, tried to do the same thing. Political negotiations continue, with the

long-term outcome still in question.

Ciller's party attributes the gains of the Welfare Party to the poor state of Turkey's economy. Citing Ataturk's continued prestige—all those pictures included—officials say the answer to the country's problems is more, not less, Westernization. A notable step in that direction came last December when the European Union signed a customs union agreement with Turkey. Meanwhile, his reforms once more challenged by Islam, Kemal Ataturk looks down on his people from a multitude of images.

A sculptor puts the finishing touches on a monumental, frowning likeness of Turkey's larger-than-life leader, a champion of equal rights for women.



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Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

**Meet and Greet Turkish -  
American Women's Assn.**

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**Ankara, Turkey: Meeting with TAWCS Board****Context of the Event:**

TAWCS is an organization of American and Turkish women that has spent 46 years promoting cultural exchange and charitable activities in indeed a worthy one. It has many long-time members.

**Talking Points**

- o I am so glad to meet all of you. You have clearly had such success over the years because so many of you have been Continuity helps organizations such as yours.
- o I know that it is the Turkish members and the Americans who are living here permanently who are key to that continuity.
- o Let me congratulate you, Mrs. Das (DAHSH), especially, on your 27 years as President of TAWCS.
- o I am particularly impressed by your effort to help Turkish school children through your Bookmobile project and with your assistance to young women seeking a university education.
- o I used the African saying that it takes a village to raise a child as the organizing theme of the book I have just written, and in the book I discuss the responsibility that we all share to help our children and young people make their way in the world.
- o You TAWCS members truly exemplify the larger village that wants its children to succeed and lends a hand to help them do so. If there were more Turkish -American women s clubs in the world, the world's children would be better off.
- o I have felt a special fondness for tulips ever since the Dutch horticulture society named a tulip after me. I can't think of a prettier flower to put on a pin, nor a better one to represent American and Turkish women working together. I will treasure my twin tulips as a memento of our meeting and my visit to Turkey.

**THE VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY  
TO  
ANKARA, TURKEY**

**TUESDAY MARCH 26, 1996  
(REVISED)**

**EVENT:** MEETING WITH TURKISH-AMERICAN WOMEN'S CULTURAL  
AND CHARITY (TAWCS) ASSOCIATION BOARD MEMBERS

**LOCATION:** GARDEN ROOM OF THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE

**TIME:** 11:10 AM - 11:25 AM

**PARTICIPANTS:**UNITED STATES

**THE FIRST LADY**  
Mildred Patterson  
Shauna Tufan, VP  
Dorothy Clunan, Sect  
Bonnie Pura, Treas.  
Pam Jaccard, Memb.  
Nancy Borekci, Scholarships  
Kathy Welde, Advisor  
Judy Wobensmith  
Melane Vermeer  
Chelsea Clinton  
Donnette Bartley

TURKEY

Gulten Das, Pres.  
Aygol Zoral, Conv. Chair.  
Deniz Timurhan  
Nevin Usta, Treas.  
Suna Das, Memb.  
Nirana Aydiner, Scholarships  
Ayfer Tumer, Activities  
S. Sabuncuoglu, Activities  
Hulya Yamak, Activities  
Nukhet Serpil, Finance  
Emine Cinar, Finance  
Gulen Tankut, Advisor  
Beril Gok (student)  
Mehtap Sahin (student)  
Gonca Alsancak (student)  
Nezakat Albas (student)

**PRESS: CLOSED**

**BACKGROUND:** TAWCS is the oldest women's group in Ankara. Since its founding in 1950 by seven Americans and seven Turks, it has grown to an organization of 625 members. In 1960, TAWCS began its scholarship program by supporting two women medical students. Today, it supports 50 women university students. TAWCS Bookmobile program helps teach children in 100 villages around Ankara since 1968, and also contributes to the funding of libraries and repairs made to schools.

**SCENARIO:** **THE FIRST LADY** is escorted to the Garden Room by Mildred Patterson and introduced to the Association members as a whole. After greeting individual members while official photos are snapped, **THE FIRST LADY** will then be introduced to four young women who are attending college on a TAWCS scholarship. Finally, TAWCS President, Mrs. Gulten Das (Dahsh), will present **THE FIRST LADY** with a TAWCS emblem pin.

SERGEY 3/22/96 2:00 pm

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**American Embassy  
Event**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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**Ankara, Turkey:  
Meet and Greet with Embassy Staff**

**Context of the Event:**

You will be escorted to the backyard by Ambassador Grossman and Mildred Patterson. You stand next to the Ambassador and is introduced while Chelsea and Mildred Patterson take their seats.

Prior to your remarks, you will acknowledge, as an example of outstanding service and dedication, the retirement of Turkish National and 35 year employee, Ms. Eser Lembet (Eh-sehr Lem-bet), and 40 year employee, Mr. Ozkan Ozmal (Erz-kan Erz-mahl). You will also acknowledge the Ankara Marines, recognized as the number one detachment of all 127 worldwide, and draw attention to the brass plaque that they have received, which will be on an easel to you left. In addition, you will offer congratulations to the Air Force Office of Special Investigations Ankara Detachment for receiving the "Team Excellence" Award for 1995. You will also acknowledge the Department of Defense Dependent School Children and Pre-Schoolers who made banners for the event.

After working the ropeline at the conclusion of the event, you will go back indoors to take official photos with the Marine detachment (and sign their plaque), the OSI Representatives, and the retirees.

**Talking Points**

- o I'm here to help celebrate the accomplishments of a proud U.S. Mission Team: Ambassador Grossman has told me of his pride in this mission and your desire to make it the best in the world. You certainly have reasons to claim that. Let me cite just some of the reasons why Ankara is special:
- o Ankara Marine Security Detachment - Out of 127 detachments worldwide, Ankara has been selected "Best in the World".
- o The Air Force Office Special Investigation Team Excellence Award goes to the Ankara Detachment in 1995. They are one of the ten best in the World.
- o American Foreign Service Association's 1995 Award for Integrity and Courage in Reporting went o Ms. Janice Weiner, the Embassy's Human Rights Officer.
- o Ankara is fortunate to have a Foreign Service National Staff of incredible loyalty and commitment. Let me take this opportunity to acknowledge  
Eser Lambert, retiring after 35 years  
Ozkan Ozmal, retiring after 40 years

- 2 -

- o U.S. Embassy Ankara has established the first international telecommuting position for a family member. Ms. Cheryl Sloan is a pioneer for the Department of State as it tries to broaden overseas employment opportunities for family members.
- o I also would like to acknowledge the non-official community:
- o I've just met with the Turkish American Women's Cultural and Charitable Society and some of the beneficiaries of their good work.
- o The Turkish-American Association (TAA) has been a vital center of cross-cultural understanding and interaction for more than 40 years.
- o I've heard of the wonderful things done by the American Research Institute in Turkey in the field of archeology.
- o I know that Fulbright scholars are here today helping to build bridges between the U.S. and Turkey.
- o Let me also mention the vital work of the businessmen and women here who are contributing so much to the economic dynamism of this critically important bilateral relationship.
- o And most importantly, standing before me, our youngest goodwill Ambassadors to Turkey - the school children who have so warmly welcomed me.

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**Meeting / Lunch with  
President Demirel**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

**Discussion with  
Prominent Women**

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## **Ankara, Turkey: Meeting with Prominent Women**

### **Context of the Event**

At this meeting, which will take place in the afternoon at the Ambassador's Residence, you will meet a range of prominent Turkish professional women. They include ministers in the new government (three are women, a first in Turkey), members of parliament (one of whom was Turkey's first female governor), professors, representatives of NGOs, and medical doctors. Many have an interest in women, children and families, but their expertise cuts across a wide range of areas.

The meeting will take place in a room of the Ambassador's Residence which is well-suited for group discussions. The Ambassador's wife, Mildred Patterson, will introduce you and invite you to open the discussion. She and the other Americans know the participants and should be able to help point to women with expertise or knowledge in particular areas, thus encouraging an informal give-and-take.

### **Your Objectives**

- o To meet a range of outstanding Turkish women;
- o To exchange ideas on problems of women, families and related issues in Turkish society;
- o To express support for Turkey's continued democratization efforts.

### **Talking Points**

- o I am pleased to meet with you today to exchange ideas and experiences in the areas in which both you and I have been active.
- o Turkey and the United States have much in common -- we are allies of longstanding, and we both seek to build democratic, prosperous societies.
- o Turkey has made enormous advances on women's rights, from which all its citizens should benefit.
- o Both our countries have coped well with many problems, but we face others just as difficult, including problems of ethnicity and the treatment of women.
- o I believe that these problems have solutions, and that we can, and must, work together to solve them.
- o I'd like very much to hear your views on the situation today in Turkey, as well as your own efforts aimed at helping Turkish society move forward on important issues.

Draft 03/11/96

"POWER WOMEN" - HILLARY CLINTON VISIT

Key: English = E  
Istanbul = I

Politicians

ALPAGO, Önay Former Minister of State for Family and Women's Issues; former CHP deputy chairperson; led GOT delegation to Cairo Conference

ARASTI, Oya CHP İçel MP

AYKUT, Imren ANAP Adana MP; Minister of State; ANAP deputy chairperson; former trade unionist and Minister of Labor; E

AYTAMAN, Lale ANAP Muğla MP; Turkey's first woman governor; E

ÇILLER, Tansu Chairperson, DYP; former Prime Minister; DYP MP; former Economics Professor (may host an Istanbul event); E, I

CÜRÜN, Ceneay DYP Istanbul MP; legislative reform/equality of women; artist; former head, Istanbul Municipal Theater. E, I

KELEŞ, Birgen CHP Izmir MP; former CHP deputy chairperson; E

KEVEKÇI, Merve Director, Refah Party International Relations (educated in Dallas); E

SAYGIN, Işıl DYP Izmir MP; Minister of Tourism; former mayor; E

YILMAZ, Ayfer DYP İçel MP; Minister of State; former Treasury Undersecretary (youngest female U/S)

YILMAZ, Berna Wife of Prime Minister Yılmaz

Academia

ACAR, Feride Professor, METU; Director, Women's Issues Institution; Member, UN Committee on Discrimination against Women; E

AKIN, Ayşe Professor of Public Health and Gynecology, Hacettepe U.; Director, Maternal/Child Health and Family Planning, Ministry of Health; Member, GOT delegations to Cairo and Beijing Conferences; E

AKYOL, Türkan Former State Minister for Women's and Family Issues; First Female President of Ankara University; E

ARAT, Necla Chairperson, Istanbul University Women's Research Center; E, I

AYATA, Ayşe Professor, Associate Dean, METU; CHP candidate, 1995 elections; GOT Delegate to Beijing Conference; former Fulbrighter; E

AZIZ, Aysel Professor, Ankara University; Dean, faculty of Communications; E

BERTAN, Munnever Head, School of Public Health, Hacettepe U.; Member, WHO Executive Council; Expert, health reform in Turkey; Pediatrician; E

CANLI, Gülsen Professor, Hacettepe University; DYP candidate, 1995 elections; Former Dean; E

ÇAVDAR, Ayhan Chairperson, Turkish Academy of Sciences; Physician; E

DELILBAŞI, Melek Dean, Ankara University; E

DOĞRUMACI, Emel Professor Emeritus, English language pioneer in Turkey; E

DOĞRUMACI, Ayser Wife, founder of High Education Board

GÖKMEN, Oya Director, Ankara ZTB Women's Hospital (largest women's health teaching hospital in Europe/Middle East); Gynecologist; E

KUÇURADI, Ioanna Chairperson, State Minister for Human Rights' Advisory Committee; Philosophy Professor; E

ÖZER, Filiz Professor, Istanbul Technical University; Expert, Istanbul historical sites; E, I

SENER, Bilge

Professor, Gazi University; Dean,  
Faculty of Engineering; E

NGO/Law/Women's Issues

ACUNER, Selma

United Nations (Ankara office); Former  
Director General, Status and Problems of  
Women Directorate; former Presidential  
advisor

ATAMAN, Nariç

Women's Consultation Foundation, board  
member; Counsellor, Ministry of Culture;  
E

AYKOR, Gül

Director General, Status and Problems of  
Women Directorate; Delegate, Beijing  
Conference; E

BELGE, Taciser

Chairperson, Helsinki Citizens Assembly;  
E, I

DAŞ, Gülten

President, Turkish American Women's  
Cultural and Charitable Association; E

SARIHAN, Şenal

Lawyer; Chairperson, Contemporary  
Lawyers' Association

YAZCAN, Nergiz

President, Society for the Protection of  
Nature; E, I

YILDIRIM, Selma

Psychologist, Women's Consultation  
Foundation, Ankara (violence against  
women); E

MFA

TÜNCER, Hüner

MFA Deputy DG for Economic and Cultural  
Relations with North America; Ph.D.; E

Constitutional Court

AKBULUT, Samiye

Constitutional Court Justice (seniority)

KANTARCIÖĞLU, Fulya

Constitutional Court Justice (second)

PEKİNER, Aysel

Constitutional Court Justice (newly-  
appointed)

Culture/Journalism

EVCAN, Sırma Journalist; Former SHP advisor; E

ILYASOĞLU, Aynur Director, Women's Library and Information Center; E, I

MURPHY, Deyhan Director and Creator of Modern Dance Ensemble, State Theater; E

ÖLÇER, Naban Director, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Cultures; E, I

TINÇ, Feray Hürriyet, International Affairs columnist; E, I

Businesswomen

ALATON, Leyla Alaton Holding; E, I

BUCAK, Şule Public Relations; CHP candidate, 1995 elections; former SHP International Secretary; worked with British Labor Party; E

OKRAY, Şen Co-owner, Biz Restaurant; E

KODALOĞLU, Aydan Chairperson, Turkish-American Association; E

SABANCI, Güler Sabancı Holding; E, I

SIMAVI, Çiğdem Hürriyet newspaper; Owner, HALYS yacht; E, I

TUZUN, Çiğdem Executive Director, DEIK, Foreign Economic Relations Board; E, I

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**Meeting with Prime  
Minister Yilmaz**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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**Ankara, Turkey: Courtesy Call  
on Prime Minister Mesut and Mrs. Berna Yilmaz  
followed by one-hour reception**

**Context of the Event**

We have arranged for a private 25-minute meeting with Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz and Mrs. Berna Yilmaz at the Prime Ministry, followed by a small private reception (guest list TBD), which is expected to last 45 minutes.

Prime Minister Yilmaz will meet you at the door of the residence and escort you to a private meeting room.

**Your Objectives**

- o Congratulate Mr. Yilmaz on becoming Prime Minister and establishing a new government;
- o Thank the Prime Minister for welcoming you to Turkey and his government for facilitating the arrangements for your visit;
- o Express support for continuing close cooperation between Turkey and the U.S. on many issues of mutual interest.

**Talking Points**

- o I am pleased to be here today in Turkey, which is an important country for the U.S.
- o I hope my visit can contribute to the spirit of goodwill between our two peoples.
- o I want to congratulate you on becoming Prime Minister again, and on establishing a new government.
- o I know that President Clinton and the entire U.S. government look forward to working productively with your new government on issues of mutual concern.
- o I know there have been tensions with Greece in the Aegean recently.
- o We are prepared to use our good offices to help you resolve your differences.
- o I will take the same message to Prime Minister Simitis and President Stephanopoulos during my visit to Greece.
- o In addition to Ankara, I look forward to my visits to Istanbul and Ephesus

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**Tour Ephesus**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## TURKEY: VISIT TO EPHEBUS

### Context for the Event

The site of Ephesus has been inhabited for at least 6,000 years, as shown by recent excavations by the Selcuk (ph. sel-Juk) Museum. A settlement of considerable importance lasted here until well into the Byzantine period. The city's glory days, however, were the first centuries of our era. Ephesus became the capital of the Roman province of Asia, and the fourth city of the Roman Empire, with an estimate population of 250,000. The Revelation of St. John contains brief letters addressed to the seven churches in Asia. To John, writing in the first century AD, "Asia" was the Roman province of Asia (now the central Aegean region of Turkey). Ephesus, capital of the province, heads the list of churches.

After more than a century of excavation, about 10% of the ancient city has been uncovered. This work has revealed the major streets and public buildings of the city center - an architectural record of the entire span of Roman rule, from the beginning of the Pax Romana in the time of Augustus, to the virtual abandonment of the city in the 7th century AD. Excavation of a wealthy residential district in the city center, begun in 1957, now makes it possible to trace the life-style of the city elite over this same period. Most of the impressive monuments visible today date from the period of imperial splendor, after the time of the early Christian Apostles.

Visitors usually begin a visit at the Upper Gate, with its municipal governmental buildings, law courts, and imperial temples. From here they walk down the marble-paved street, flanked by marble porticoes, fountains and citizens. Near the main intersection is the excavated residential district, normally closed to the public. Continuing down the second marble street are the restored Library of Celsus, commercial agora (market), and the theater. A third marble street, running west from the theater, led to the ancient harbor, long silted by the nearby Meander River. North of the theater is the Church of the Virgin Mary, who lived in Ephesus in the later years of her life.

You will be guided through the site by Dr. Toni Cross, Director of the Ankara Branch, American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) and Mr. Cengiz Icten of the Ephesus Museum, who has excavated at Ephesus. The American Research Institute in Turkey was formed in 1965 by a consortium of American universities, now numbering more than 40. Its goal is to support research on ancient, medieval and modern Turkey in the humanities and the social sciences. ARIT does not have sufficient funds to sponsor its own excavations, but its Ankara Branch provides extensive

scholarly and administrative assistance to all American excavations in Turkey. American excavations have increased greatly in recent years, and this summer were expected to number 18; some may be cut for budgetary reasons.

## TURKEY: VISIT TO EPHEBUS

### I. BACKGROUND ON SITE:

The site of Ephesus has been inhabited for at least 6,000 years, as shown by recent excavations by the Selcuk (ph. sel-Juk) Museum, and a settlement of considerable importance lasted here until well into the Byzantine period. The city's glory days, however, were the first centuries of our era. Ephesus became the capital of the Roman province of Asia, and the fourth city of the Roman Empire, with an estimated population of 250,000. The Revelation of St. John contains brief letters addressed to the seven churches of Asia. To John, writing in the first century AD, "Asia" is the Roman province of Asia (now the central Aegean region of Turkey). Ephesus, capital of the province, naturally heads the list of the seven churches.

After more than a century of excavation, about 10% of the ancient city has been uncovered. This work has revealed the major streets and public buildings of the city center - an architectural record of the entire span of Roman rule, from the beginning of the Pax Romana in the time of Augustus, to the virtual abandonment of the city in the 7th century AD. Excavation of a wealthy residential district in the city center, begun in 1957, now makes it possible to trace the life-style of the city elite over this same period. Most of the impressive monuments visible today date from the period of imperial splendor, after the time of the early Christian Apostles. Visitors usually begin a visit at the Upper Gate, with its municipal government buildings, law courts, and imperial temples. From here they walk down the marble-paved street, flanked by marble porticoes, fountains, and citizens. Near the main intersection is the excavated residential district, normally closed to the public. Continuing down the second marble street are the restored Library of Celsus, commercial agora, and the theater. A third marble street, running west from the theater, led to the ancient harbor, long silted by the nearby Meander River. North of the theater is the Church of the Virgin Mary.

### II. PARTICIPANTS:

Dr. Toni M. Cross, Director, Ankara Branch, American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT)

Mr. Cengiz Icten of the Ephesus Museum, who has excavated at Ephesus.

The American Research Institute in Turkey was formed in 1965 by a consortium of American universities, now numbering more than 40. Its goal is to support research on ancient, medieval and modern Turkey in all fields of the humanities and the social sciences. Though ARIT itself does not have sufficient funds to sponsor its own excavation projects, the Ankara Branch provides extensive scholarly and administrative assistance to all American excavations in Turkey. The number of American excavations has increased greatly in recent years, and this summer was expected to reach 18. Instead, the number may be reduced due to budget cuts.

III. IZMIR AMERICAN COMMUNITY: The American community in the Izmir area consists of approximately 1,700 of which many are retired U.S. military members. Included in the total figure is an official active duty presence of 800.

IV. TALKING POINTS: None required.

## The House of the Virgin Mary

After the publication of the narrations of a bedridden paralytic nun published in 1878 in "The Life of the Virgin Mary" by Clement Brentano, a research team came to the area in 1891 to investigate. The researchers learned that the Christian Turks living in the surrounding area gathered here on the 15th of August every year to celebrate in large crowds the anniversary of the ascension of the Virgin Mary and that this tradition went back to very early times. Scientists discovered that the walls of the building had the character of the 6th and 7th centuries and that the burned ashes and other things in the hearth inside the building were from the 1st century. When the building was first found, only the foundations were still standing. It was restored afterwards and brought to its present state in 1950. According to scripture, Jesus entrusted his mother, the Virgin Mary, to St. John the Apostle. St. John and the Virgin Mary came to Anatolia (41-42 AD) for two reasons: to escape the dangers of persecution and to profit from the tolerance of Ephesus where people of various religions lived. When in 1961 Pope John XXIII made it known that ceremonies could be performed in the House of the Virgin Mary, discussions about the authenticity of the place were subdued, the number of visitors gradually increased, and the house was declared a place of pilgrimage. Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II visited the House of the Virgin Mary and held mass in 1967 and 1979 respectively.

## The Museum of Ephesus

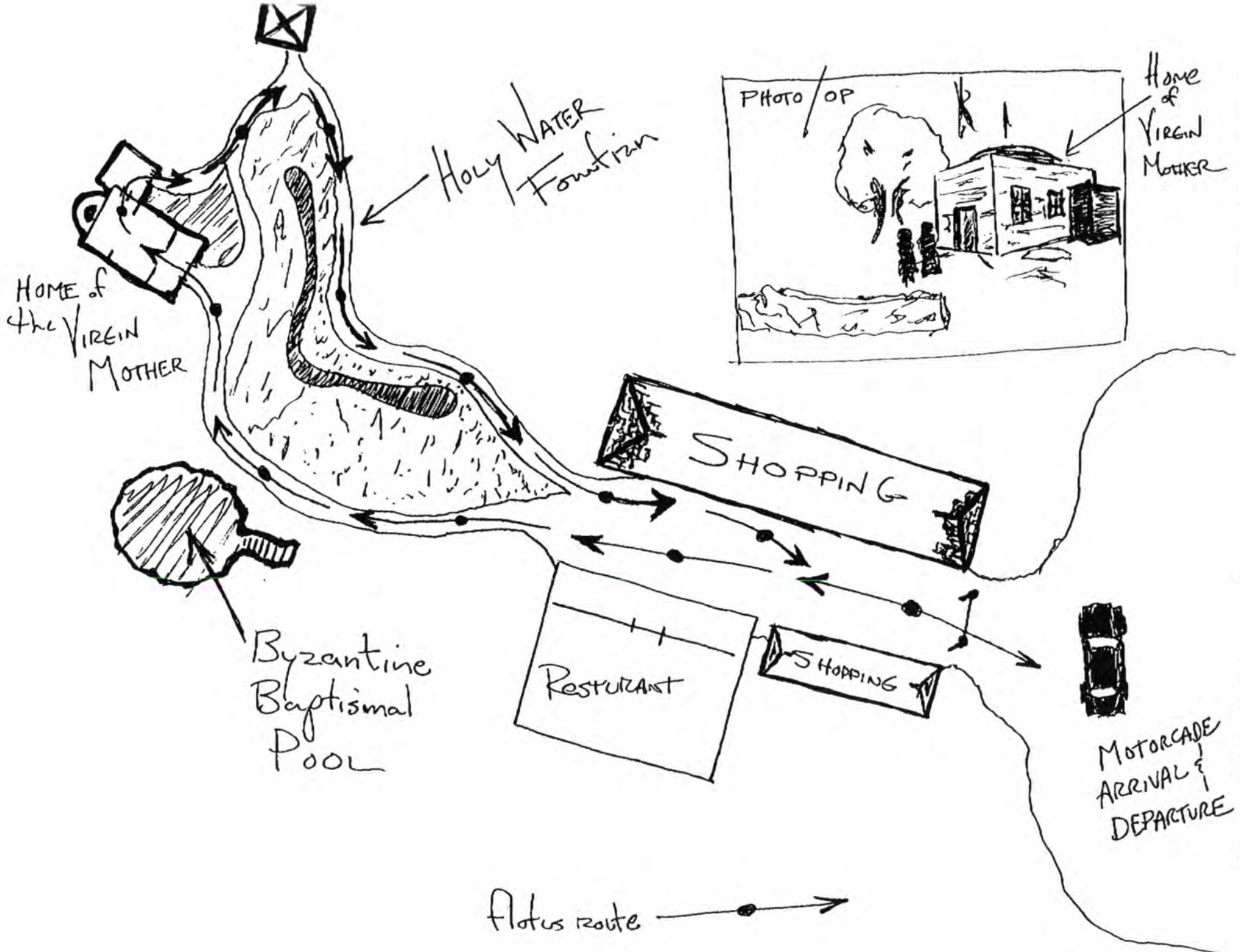
The Museum of Ephesus houses artifacts found in the excavations at Ephesus according to the places where they were discovered. Displayed in the first hall (The Hall of House Objects) are findings from the terrace houses on the slopes facing the Curetes Street, dating from the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The Hall of the Fountains contains artifacts found in the monumental fountains (Nymphaeum), including the head of Zeus and statues of Aphrodite. The Hall of Recent Discoveries displays coins in chronological order, theater masks, a bust of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and a fantastic ivory frieze from one of the terrace houses related to the wars the Emperor Trajan fought against the Parthians. The Garden contains larger statues both from Ephesus and the Church of St. John. The Hall of Tomb Objects displays artifacts dating back to the 13th and 14th centuries BC. The Hall of Artemis exhibits two large statues of Artemis found hidden in the excavation of the Prytaneum to the north of the State Agora of Ephesus and small artifacts presented to the temple. Marble objects relating busts and temples of emperors are displayed in the final room, the Hall of the Emperors, which is dominated by the altar of Emperor Domitian and the head and arm of monumental dimensions.

## The Church of St. John

The Church of Ephesus was founded by St. Paul and carried on by St. John to propagate the new religion of Christianity. When St. John died, he was buried according to his wishes in the church, and in the 4th century a small basilica was constructed over his tomb. The present church was built during the reign of the Emperor Justinian. The area on which the church stood took on the aspect of a fortress as its walls were strengthened and fortified with towers to protect against Arab attacks in the 7th and 8th centuries. A part of the church was excavated in 1920-21 and the other part was excavated later. In 1967, the pope prayed in this church.

**SITE: HOUSE OF THE VIRGIN MARY**  
**DATE: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, 1996**  
**TIME: 9:20 A.M.**

**SCENARIO:** Upon arrival at the House of the Virgin Mary, Mrs. Clinton will be greeted by Father Benigno, Sister Antonia and Sister Denise. After brief pool spray, they will enter the vestibule area of the house, and Sisters Antonia and Denise will briefly explain the history. Mrs. Clinton will then walk into the main room of the house accompanied by White House photo only where she has the opportunity to kneel or stand in prayer, and then light a candle. The adjoining room on the right that Mrs. Clinton will then enter is thought to be the Virgin Mary's bedroom. Mrs. Clinton then exits the house to awaiting pool and proceeds down a set of stairs with Sister Denise to the spring water faucets while Sister Antonia makes brief remarks to the press, which she is able to bottle and take home if she wishes. Mrs. Clinton then departs for Ephesus.



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**Bakirkoy Maternity Hospital**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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**March 27, 1996  
2:30 pm**

**SOCIAL SECURITY INSTITUTION BAKIRKOY MATERNITY HOSPITAL  
ISTANBUL, TURKEY**

**Dr. Tasin Berk Arsan, Director**

Dr. Arsan attended Istanbul University Medical School. He went to Germany in 1972 to train in gynecology and obstetrics. After seven years he returned to Istanbul to work at the SSK Maternity Hospital where he has served as Director for the past four years.

**Dr. Topuz Ozkan, Manager  
Salde Ozgunduz, Head Nurse**

**2:30 arrive hospital, proceed to Dr. Arsan's office (10 minutes for introduction and information about the hospital)**

**2:40 3rd floor hospital, tour new born unit (10 minutes)**

**2:50 5th floor hospital, tour pediatric oncology unit and classroom for children (15 minutes) photo op.**

**3:00 2nd floor polyclinic, tour family planning unit**

**3:15 return to front of building**

**3:20 depart for Topkapi**

**About SSK and the Bakirkoy Maternity Hospital**

The money used to support the Social Security (SSK) medical facilities come from payments from employees and employers. In theory there is no contribution from the State, however, financial constraints are making it necessary for the public sector to provide 12 trillion Turkish Lira every month. There are about 400 SSK health facilities - 110 of these are hospitals. These facilities provide mainly curative services. In the last three years the Executive Board of SSK decided to provide preventative services as well, including vaccinations and family planning. Around four million workers and their dependents, approximately 25 million -- 42% of the Turkish population -- receive services from SSK. These are official figures and most likely underestimate the number of clients receiving services.

Every day approximately 100 babies are born at the Bakirkoy Maternity Hospital -- the largest number of births in Turkey and in all of Europe. The hospital contains 800 beds, half of which are for obstetrics and gynecology, the other of which are for children. The hospital employs 300 doctors, 300 nurses, 100 midwives and 15 pharmacists.

On the hospital grounds are seven "polyclinics" located in one building. These clinics are the first stop for clients who need out-patient care and referral to the hospital for various specialized services. These polyclinics include dentistry, ophthalmology, general medicine, pediatric surgery, dermatology, and family planning.

#### **FAMILY PLANNING UNIT OF THE POLYCLINIC - 2ND FLOOR POLYCLINIC**

This unit is a training unit of the SEATS, JSI project of USAID providing family planning counseling training for many nurses and midwives working in the unit and the Istanbul SSK system. As a training unit, SEATS provides posters, pamphlets and various training materials for family planning clients. The unit uses the national family planning training manual developed by the Ministry of Health and the Human Resource Development Foundation in coordination with the Johns Hopkins Program for International Education in Reproductive Health. This is the first national family planning training manual to be developed in Turkey.

The family planning unit sees about 40 clients per day. The most popular modern contraceptive method is the pill (average 25 client recipients per day). The second most popular method, and the most popular in Turkey, is the intra-uterine device (IUD). Currently, 5-6 women in one week are referred to the main hospital for tubal ligation services. Although NORPLANT and condoms are available at this site, they are not the methods of choice. Abortions, legal since 1972, are performed in the main family planning unit of the hospital. Approximately 20 abortions are performed daily.

## **WOMEN'S STATUS AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH ADVOCACY NETWORK**

**The Women's Status and Reproductive Health Advocacy Network is a group of eleven non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from Istanbul and Ankara working in the fields of women's health, education, legal rights, and equal participation in the nation's economic growth. This Network represents hundreds of thousands of women, children, and men from provinces in every region of the country. Member organizations of the Network work in partnership with the municipalities and universities, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, State Planning Organization, Ministry of Justice, General Directorate of Women's Status and Concerns, General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection. These organizations receive support from the European Union, World Bank, US Agency for International Development, GTZ, International Planned Parenthood Federation and United Nations Population Fund. The POLICY Project of USAID is providing technical assistance to the Network.**

### **PURPOSE**

**The Network was organized to advocate for the implementation of the International conference of Population and Development Program of Action, specifically those issues related to women's reproductive health, education, legal status, and equal participation in the workforce. As the United Nations Habitat Conference will be held in Istanbul Turkey in June 1996, this provides an excellent forum to bring these issues to the attention of national and international policy makers, media, and NGOs. The Conference will also provide an opportunity for the Network to expand by including other NGOs that support these issues.**

### **NGO PARTICIPANTS**

#### **TURKISH JURIST WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION**

**Nazan Moroglu - President**

**Inonu Cad. N. 33 D.5**

**Taksim - Istanbul**

**The Turkish Jurist Women's Association (TJWA) was established in 1968. The Association has 250 members from around the country who are lawyers, judges, notaries, professors, and politicians. The aims of the TWJA are to bring women in the legal profession together to examine contemporary legal issues and promote changes in law and policy which enhance the status of women, children and families. The Association also works to promote law as a career for Turkish women. TJWA is a member of the International Jurist Women's Federation and took part in the NGO Forum in the 4th World Women Conference.**

**MOTHER CHILD EDUCATION FOUNDATION****Inci Mubarek, Executive Director****Cumburlyet Cad. N. 18 K.4****80200 Elmadağ - Istanbul**

The Mother Child Education Foundation was established in 1993 in response to a research project on early childhood education. With the support of UNICEF, this project has been adopted by the Ministry of Education into government educational policy. The Mother-Child Education Program, as a model of education, is based on a two-tiered approach which aims to provide early enrichment to the young child and training and support to the mother. This dual focus of intervention provides educational support for the child and empowerment of the mother. The Foundation also supports the Functional Adult Literacy Program, which is aimed at helping illiterate adults in Turkey.

**TURKISH FAMILY HEALTH AND PLANNING FOUNDATION****Yasar Yaser, Executive Director****Guzel Konutlar Sitesi, A Blok D. 3-4****80600 Ulus-Etiler - Istanbul**

The Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation (TFHPF) was established by prominent Turkish business professional under the leadership of Mr. Vehbi Koc in 1984. The main goal of the foundation is to aid families in planning the timing and the desired number of children in order to ensure a healthier living environment for mothers and children. The Foundation implements a community-based distribution family planning project, has created an extensive social marketing campaign promoting the use of condoms and low dose oral contraceptives, started a family planning and reproductive health hotline, and operates two family planning clinics in low-income neighborhoods of Istanbul. The Foundation participated on the national delegation to ICPD Cairo.

**THE HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION****Aykut Duraman, Executive Director & Nuray Kincancioglu, Board Director****Yenicarsi Cad. N. 54****80050 Beyoglu - Istanbul**

The Human Resource Development Foundation (HRDF) was established in 1988 by a group of Turkish businessmen and academicians. The goal of the Foundation is to increase the quality of life for Turkish families. The Foundation primary focus is in support of family planning services and training. HRDF worked closely with the John Hopkins Program for International Education in Reproductive Health (JHPIEGO) and the Ministry of Health to develop the first ever national family planning guidelines for Turkey. HRDF also supports projects in AIDS education and eliminating the abuses of child labor. HRDF participated on the national delegation to ICPD Cairo.

**ISTANBUL MEDICAL FACULTY - WOMEN AND CHILDREN'S HEALTH  
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH UNIT**

**Professor Dr. Gunay Saner**

**Cerrahi Monoblok**

**30430 Karsisi-Capa - Istanbul**

The Unit, located on the grounds of the Istanbul Medical Faculty at Capa, conducts education, research and service in the area of reproductive health. The Unit is a joint project of the Istanbul University Child Health Institute's Family Health Department, the Istanbul Medical Faculty Obstetrics and Gynecology Department, the Istanbul Medical Faculty Pediatrics Department and The Human Resource Development Foundation. Clinical services, information on counseling are offered in the areas of antenatal care, well baby care, family planning, pregnancy termination, women's health and infertility treatment.

**WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

**Necla Arat, President**

**Kuskonmaz Dok. N. 5/8**

**34800 Yeilyurt - Istanbul**

The Women's Studies Association was founded in 1990. The goals of the Association are to initiate research on issues relating to women's education, legal, economic status, and social rights. The Association also implements programs and campaigns to enhance public awareness with regard to women's rights and gender equality and promotes the elimination of discrimination based on gender.

**SOCIETY FOR PROTECTION AND REHABILITATION OF CHILDREN FROM  
ABUSE**

**Oguz Polat, Director**

**Marmara University - Faculty of Medicine**

**Forensic Medicine Department**

**Tibbiye Cad. N. 49**

**81326 Haydarpaşa - Istanbul**

The Society for Protection and Rehabilitation of Children From Abuse was founded in 1992 by a group of medical doctors, lawyers, dentists, psychologists, and journalists. The Society is working to educate the community about child abuse, to organize a campaign against child abuse, and to provide medical and social assistance for abused children.

### **THE ASSOCIATION IN SUPPORT OF CONTEMPORARY LIVING**

**Dilara Kehale**  
**Darphane Emirhan Cad.**  
**Byalindir Sok. Uygur Apt. D.3**  
**Besiktas - Istanbul**

The Association in Support of Contemporary Living, established in 1989, has 52 branched and over 5,000 members in Turkey. The main objective of the organization is to create and provide the continuation of a contemporary and secular Turkish Republic and to protect human rights and women's rights. The Association's activities include: operating education centers and dormitories, providing university scholarships, coordinating panel discussions and competitions, and supporting a public education project for women's economic gain.

### **SUPPORT FOR WOMEN LABOR FORCE ASSOCIATION**

**Deniz Selimen**  
**Kayisdagi Cad. 226**  
**Emiu Saglam Apt. 6/14**  
**Kadikoy - Istanbul**

The Support For Women Labor Force Association was establish by professors of Marmara University in 1993. The aim of the Association is to promote the Research Center for Women Labor Force Employment of Marmara University founded in 1990. The Research Center conducts research related to women's participation in the workforce, organizes symposiums and seminars, and conducts programs to enhance women's contribution to the Turkish labor force

### **ISTANBUL WOMEN'S BAR ASSOCIATION**

**Etul Onursal, President**  
**Istiklal Cad. Apaydin Sok. Baro Han**  
**Galatasaray - Istanbul**

The Istanbul Women's Bar Association was initiated in order to find legal solutions for the unequal status of women in society. The main objective is promote equal justice and legal consciousness for everyone. The commission was launched on 8 March, International Women's Day, 1995. The Association has developed the slogan, "A lawyer for every neighborhood," by employing voluntary adviser lawyers to support human and women's rights issues. In order to prevent discrimination of women and to adopt supportive laws and policies, the Association has formed pressure groups within the political party system.

Other NGOs

**FAMILY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY**

**Semra Koral, Executive Director**  
**Atac Sok. N. 73/3**  
**06420 Kocatepe - Ankara**

The Family Planning Association of Turkey (FPAT) was founded in 1963. The goal of the Association is to enhance public awareness about issues concerning mother and child health, family planning, and family life education. The Association is the affiliate of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) and has 22 branches around Turkey. Some of the activities of FPAT include: family planning education for soldiers, education of religious leaders, community-based distribution projects, youth education, parliamentarians family planning advocacy, and AIDS advocacy project. FPAT was represented on the national delegations to ICPD Cairo and the Women's Conference in Beijing.

**WOMEN'S LIBRARY AND INFORMATION CENTER**

**Fusun Akatli, Director of Board**  
**Fener Mahallesi, Fener PTTsi yant (tarikh blue)**  
**Halic - 34220 Istanbul**

Founded April 14, 1990, the Women's Library and Information Foundation was established to facilitate scientific studies on topics relating to women and document and organize their multidimensional accumulations. The Library, which at the time of its opening had 100 books, now has over 3000 titles of books that are written by and about women, over 100 periodicals and thousands of cuttings, articles, documents.

**FOUNDATION FOR THE SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S WORK**

**Sengul Akcar, President**  
**Gallipede Cad. 149/4**  
**80030 Muhyetxade-Beyoglu Istanbul**

FSWW was established to support working women at the grassroots level. Since its establishment, the Foundation has supported the establishment of three self-sufficient child care centers for more than 250 children in low-income areas of Istanbul, training services for low-income women on family planning, women's health, and participation in local politics. The Foundation participated in ICPD Cairo and the Women's Conference in Beijing.

## TURKEY PROGRAM Q & A

### What is the rationale for USAID assistance to Turkey?

Population issues are a concern of the Government of Turkey since its present population of 60.7 million is predicted to double to over 121 million by 2025. Current information suggests that the GOT is making limited progress in family planning program performance, however, more strategically targeted interventions over the next several years could have a major impact in increasing the prevalence of modern contraceptive use and program sustainability.

The situation of Turkey is unique as overall contraceptive prevalence is relatively high, with 63 percent of currently married Turkish women using a contraceptive method. Twenty-eight percent, however, are using a traditional method, one of the highest rates of traditional method use in the world.

Program evaluations have demonstrated that Turkish couples are using less reliable methods due to the low quality and accessibility of services to modern contraceptives. The potential impact of moving users of traditional methods to modern methods is dramatically demonstrated by a target cost projection showing that this intervention alone can achieve replacement fertility levels in Turkey. High abortion rates are also reflective of the suboptimal family planning situation and of the very real desires of Turks to limit their family size.

### What are the USAID Turkey country program goals?

In December 1994, the "Strategy for USAID Population Assistance to Turkey, 1995 - 1999" was approved by the U.S. Embassy Ankara, the PHN Center of the Global Bureau and the Europe and Newly Independent States Bureau -- the Turkey Joint Programming Team (JPT). The JPT developed this strategy to provide a road map for USAID population assistance to Turkey through the year 2000.

The overall USAID population assistance program goals are to:

- improve women's health;
- lower fertility; and
- reduce the population growth rate to levels consistent with sustainable development

PROG #	5597-182
PRJ #	

USAID's assistance focuses on sustaining a reduced rate of population growth and a financially sustainable program, able to continue in the absence of donor resources. The program strategy, developed in partnership with Turkey, concentrates on the following:

- Encouraging the Turkish Government to develop and define its population policy;
- Encouraging non-governmental organizations to play a greater role in population and health programs;
- Improving coordination and communication between private and public sectors involved in population and family planning; and
- Using USAID resources to support sustainable development in the sector

**How much money is USAID spending in Turkey?**

The amounts listed below, 1990 - 1994, are the actual loaded program costs. The 1995 - 1999 budgets are estimates agreed to in the Strategy for USAID Population Assistance to Turkey. The Joint Programming Team established these budgets to gradually phase-out USAID assistance to Turkey by the 21st Century.

Year	Commodities	Program	Management	Total Costs
1990	1,073,000	1,750,000	0	2,823,000
1991	737,000	1,595,000	60,000	2,392,000
1992	2,545,000	4,055,000	60,000	6,660,000
1993	1,320,000	6,034,000	78,000	7,432,000
1994	1,808,000	5,040,000	41,000	6,889,000
1995	1,799,000	5,345,000	225,000	7,369,000
1996	1,663,000	4,800,000	225,000	6,688,000*
1997	1,545,000	3,950,000	250,000	5,745,000
1998	840,000	3,250,000	250,000	4,340,000
1999	0	2,800,000	250,000	3,050,000

\*(Please note that the total costs for FY96 have been reduced by USAID/Washington, without explanation, by \$1.3 million, for a total of \$5.4 million.)

### **How is the Turkey program managed?**

General coordination of the program, under the leadership of the USAID Turkey Joint Programming Team, rests with a team comprised of members of the Global and Europe and Newly Independent States Bureaus, and the U.S. Embassy Ankara. Day-to-day management and technical oversight rests with the Embassy Population Advisor (a Turkish public health physician), a Michigan Population Fellow, and a State Department Economic Officer. This management structure is unique to Turkey.

Management and oversight of the program is conducted employing a number of tools and mechanisms including:

- The U.S. Embassy/Ankara and the USAID Office of Population develop an annual Country Implementation Workplan with associated annual CA budgets and travel plans.
- Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) have been developed and implemented by USAID as a management tool for CAs. The SOPs apply to subproject proposals, quarterly management reports, and trip reports.
- The Population Advisors conduct a Cas' Coordinating Meeting every two months to share information, enhance field coordination and improve programmatic cohesion.
- The Population Advisors and the USAID/Washington Country Specialist for Turkey conduct an annual Management Review in the field to track programmatic progress.
- The Population Advisors meet annually with the G/PHN Project Managers, relevant ENI Bureau personnel, and CAs in Washington.

### **How is the program implemented?**

USAID assistance to the GOT is implemented through U.S. Cooperating Agencies (CAs) that operate under contractual agreements with the USAID Office of Population. The U.S. Embassy population team coordinates with CAs to determine types of activities and schedules to ensure that all program elements are consistent with the USAID Population Assistance Strategy.

### **Which CAs are working in Turkey?**

The following CAs are contributing to the USAID Turkey program:

- AVSC International - Access to Voluntary and Safe Contraception
- Johns Hopkins University, (Population Communications Services and Program for International Training in Reproductive Health)
- John Snow Inc., (SEATS)
- Macro International (DHS - Demographic and Health Survey)
- Management Science for Health (MPMD)
- Pathfinder International
- The Futures Group International Inc., (SOMARC and OPTIONS II)
- Centers for Disease Control (CDC)

### **Why are there eight CAs working in Turkey?**

Because the Turkey program is a relatively mature program, it can no longer rely on one or two generalized CAs to carry out specialized technical assistance. Specific assistance in the areas of policy, logistics, training, and new contraceptive technologies are provided only by certain CAs. Even so, the number of CAs active in Turkey has declined from eleven in 1994.

The JPT, however, will limit the number of CAs to those which are essential to accomplish the objectives of the strategy in the next five years. This decision will be based on matching the assistance needs with the strengths of the agencies. We are also concerned that the new budgeting system may lead to increased indirect costs born by multiple CAs.

### **Which other international donors are active in family planning/population?**

Although there are a variety of donors on the family planning/population scene supporting indirect elements of the program, there are only three who play a significant role in population and family planning: USAID, UNFPA and IPPF. Of these, USAID is the lead donor both in financial and programmatic terms.

UNFPA endorses an integrated approach to improve maternal child health and family planning services, focusing on underserved populations. Currently, UNFPA projects cover the most remote 28 provinces in eastern and southeastern Turkey with an annual budget allocation of \$1 million. Project activities primarily aim to improve the quality of services through strengthening the skills of MCH/FP service providers.

IPIPF supports the Family Planning Association of Turkey (FPAT), its local affiliate. FPAT supports various small projects, mostly information, education, communication (IEC), aimed at religious leaders, adolescents, gece kondu (slum) dwellers and policy-makers. IPIPF's annual contribution is less than \$200,000.

Another external donor, Japanese International Cooperating Agency (JICA) plays a limited role, having funded the establishment of a high-tech studio for the development of audio-visual materials for the Ministry of Health. Two other newcomers in the field, the European Commission (EC) and the German Technical Cooperation Assistance (GTZ), have recently committed small grants for family planning/population activities through NGOs.

Of the lenders, the World Bank plays a significant role with massive health and education sector projects. The Bank supports a large five year health sector loan. It does not, however, focus on population and family planning. With a five year budget of \$75 million (Bank share), this project is focused on improving the health infrastructures in the most underserved eight provinces.

### How is Turkey's public health care system organized?

The Ministry of Health (MOH) is officially responsible for designing and implementing nation-wide health policies and delivering health-care services. Besides the MOH, other sectors and NGOs contribute to carrying out some health services.

At the central level, the MOH is responsible for the implementation of curative and preventive health-care services throughout the country within the principles of primary health care. At the provincial level, the health care system is under the responsibility of Health Directorates, under the supervision of the Governor. The provincial Health Director is responsible for delivering all primary health-care services as well as curative services.

The present network of Health Centers and Health Houses was formed on the basis of "Legislation for the Socialization of Health Services" so that services and facilities are extended down to the village level. The most basic element of the health service is the Health House, which serves a population of 2,500-3,000 and is staffed by a midwife. The Health Center serves a population of 5,000-10,000 and is staffed by a team consisting of a physician, a nurse, a health officer, midwives, an environmental health technician and a driver. This network of health systems is mainly responsible for delivering primary health services, maternal and child health, family planning, and public education services. These health facilities are also the main sources of the health information system.

### **Which NGOs are active in family planning and how do they work with USAID?**

There are three major family planning NGOs active in Turkey, the Family Planning Association of Turkey (FPAT) - an IPPF affiliate, the Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation (TAPV), and the Human Resource Development Foundation (HIRDIF).

USAID has been the major donor assisting in the development of the NGO sector in family planning during the last decade. USAID has supported NGOs for efforts in various fields in population and family planning, ranging from training and services to advocacy of sector issues. NGOs have made successful and innovative contributions in the areas of IEC and the development of training guidelines. Due to the lack of established infrastructures and direct links to the existing health care networks, however, they have not been equally successful in the area of service delivery. NGOs can play a strong advocacy role with Turkish decision-makers at the national, provincial and municipal levels. This role is particularly important in terms of strengthening the GOT commitment to increased funding of population activities and contributes to program sustainability.

### **What are Turkey's social and cultural features?**

Turkey has a highly heterogeneous social and cultural structure. The "modern" and "traditional" exist simultaneously; there are sharp contrasts between population groups. Attitudes to life are reminiscent of those in the Western world especially for the inhabitants of metropolitan areas. People are more conservative and religious in the rural areas of the country. Traditional opposition to modernization persists values, attitudes, aspirations, and goals. although laws can be considered to be quite liberal on gender equality, patriarchal ideology still characterizes social life.

Citizens of Turkey are predominantly Muslim. About 98 percent of the population belong to the Sunni and Alevi sects of the Muslim religion, the Sunnis forming the overwhelming majority. Ethnically, Turks predominate; Kurdish, Arabic, Greek, Circassian, Georgian, Armenian, and Jewish communities of varying sizes complete the ethnic mosaic of the rich and complex culture of the Turkish society.

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STATE FOR EUR/SE, RPM/POP KMILLARD AND NEA/RP  
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SCOTT RADLOFF, ELIZABETH SCHOENECKER, ENI/ECA/ST TED LANDAU  
AND JAIME CORREA  
ENI/HR/HP CONNIE COLLINS

E.O. 12598: N/A  
TAGS: EAID, SOCI, PREL, TU  
SUBJECT: GOT APPROVES A NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR WOMEN S  
REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING

1. SUMMARY: THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT RATIFIED THE NATIONAL  
WOMEN S REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING (RH/FP)  
STRATEGY DURING A JANUARY 29-30 MEETING. THIS WAS THE LAST  
STEP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL STRATEGY, A LENGTHY  
AND METICULOUS EFFORT WHICH INVOLVED NUMEROUS PLAYERS FOR

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THE PAST 20 MONTHS. OVER ONE HUNDRED PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR PARTICIPANTS MET TO PROVIDE FINAL INPUT AND APPROVE THE STRATEGY DOCUMENT. PARTICIPANTS APPROVED TWENTY STRATEGIES TO IMPROVE RH/FP SERVICES AND TO SLOW POPULATION GROWTH. NEXT STEPS ARE THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION PLANS AND THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STRATEGIES, WHICH WILL REQUIRE THE COMMITMENT OF SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES AND EFFORTS IN SPITE OF DECREASES IN DONOR AND GOT FUNDING. END SUMMARY.

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BACKGROUND  
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2. IN EARLY 1994, USAID ASSIGNED THE OPTIONS PROJECT THE TASK OF WORKING WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY (GOT) TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING, INCLUDING THE PREPARATION OF A NATIONAL STRATEGIC PLAN THAT COULD HELP STRENGTHEN FP PROGRAMS. THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH (MOH) TOOK THE LEAD IN GOT EFFORTS TO PREPARE THE STRATEGY. SEVERAL PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS WERE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS. THE MOH PROVIDED LEADERSHIP AND COORDINATION. THE STATE PLANNING ORGANIZATION (SPO), WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LONG-TERM PLANNING, WORKED WITH THE MOH TO DEFINE GOALS AND PREPARE PLANNING DOCUMENTS. OTHER KEY PLAYERS WERE UNIVERSITIES, THE SOCIAL SECURITY ORGANIZATION (SSK -- A MAJOR HEALTH CARE PROVIDER), THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, THE GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF WOMEN'S STATUS AND ISSUES, NGOS, AND PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES.

THE OPTIONS PROJECT SUPPORTED AND FACILITATED THE ENTIRE PROCESS. THE PROJECT PROVIDED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO CARRY OUT STRATEGIC PLANNING, ASSISTED IN CONDUCTING POLICY STUDIES AND PROVIDED ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANCE TO THE MOH. OTHER USAID-FUNDED COOPERATING AGENCIES AND PROJECTS, SUCH AS THE SOMARC PROJECT, AVSC, SEATS, JHPIEGO AND PCS PROVIDED TECHNICAL RESOURCES FOR THE STRATEGIC ANALYSIS.

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THE RATIFICATION MEETING  
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4. ON JANUARY 29, THE PLANNING SECRETARIAT DISTRIBUTED THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE STRATEGY FOR COMMENTS AND HELD A RATIFICATION MEETING TO OBTAIN FINAL INPUT, MAKE LAST MINUTE REVISIONS AND APPROVE THE STRATEGY. APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED PARTICIPANTS, REPRESENTING THE ORGANIZATIONS WHO PREPARED THE STRATEGY, INTERESTED REPRESENTATIVES OF RELATED SECTORS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL DONOR COMMUNITY ATTENDED THE MEETING.

5. MOH PRESENTED THE OVERALL STRATEGY WHICH SMALL GROUPS THEN DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. MOH REQUESTED THAT PARTICIPANTS

FOCUS PRIMARILY ON THE FEASIBILITY OF THE STRATEGIES AND ELIMINATE OR REVISE ANY STRATEGIES THAT WERE NOT REALISTIC. THE MOH ALSO SOUGHT SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON HOW TO PROCEED WITH NEXT STEPS, E.G, DEVELOPMENT OF IMPLEMENTATION PLANS.

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 THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS  
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6. THE STRATEGIC PLANNING PROCESS AND RATIFICATION MEETING WERE SUCCESSFUL IN BUILDING CONSENSUS AMONG VARIOUS GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR PLAYERS AND FOCUSING PARTICIPANTS ON CRITICAL ISSUES. MOH SUCCESSFULLY COORDINATED AND LED CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS. PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS WERE ENTHUSIASTIC FOR THE STRATEGIC PLANNING PROCESS -- A LARGELY NEW CONCEPT TO THE TURKISH BUREAUCRACY. MOST PARTICIPANTS WERE INTRODUCED TO THE CONCEPT OF STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR THE FIRST TIME, AND THE PROCESS WAS AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR ON-THE-JOB TRAINING. THE COLLABORATIVE TEAMWORK OF SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS FROM ORGANIZATIONS PREVIOUSLY PERCEIVED AS RIVALS BY THE GOT (I.E. NCOS AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR) WAS IMPRESSIVE.

7. PRIVATE SECTOR REPRESENTATIVES, IN SPITE OF THEIR LIMITED PRESENCE, CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE STRATEGIC COMPANIES WERE REPRESENTED AT THE FINAL MEETING AND THEIR INPUT WAS WELCOMED BY PUBLIC SECTOR REPRESENTATIVES. AT THE MOH S REQUEST, THE SOMARC PROJECT STAFF PROVIDED ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS FOR PRIVATE SECTOR STRATEGIES, WHICH HELPED IMPROVE MOH UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR S POTENTIAL TO PROVIDE ENHANCED FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES. THE PRIVATE-PUBLIC SECTOR COLLABORATION IN REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES DEMONSTRATED A MAJOR DEPARTURE FROM THE GOT S GENERAL INCLINATION TO IGNORE PRIVATE SECTOR APPROACHES TO NATIONAL PROBLEMS.

8. THE SECRETARIAT HAD CAREFULLY PLANNED THE RATIFICATION MEETING AND KEPT FOCUS ON THE AGENDA WHILE ALLOWING DEBATE. THE MOST ENCOURAGING FEATURE WAS THE UNANIMOUS CONSENSUS ON THE NEED FOR A VIABLE NATIONAL RH/FP PROGRAM STRATEGY THAT COULD SURVIVE DECLINING SUPPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL DONORS. THE MEETING ENDED WITH THE RATIFICATION OF A WRITTEN STATEMENT OF TWENTY STRATEGIES. FOURTEEN WERE RELATED TO REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING WHILE THE REMAINING SIX WERE DIRECTED TOWARDS IMPROVING WOMEN S STATUS.

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 WHAT WAS LEFT UNSETTLED AND WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS  
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9. SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS VOICED CONCERN ABOUT THE AGENDA S BREADTH AND ITS AMBITIOUS TARGETS. AS PARTICIPANTS DRAFTED

STRATEGIES OVER THE PAST 20 MONTHS, THEY BROADENED THEM TO INCLUDE WOMEN'S STATUS ISSUES IN THE SPIRIT OF THE CAIRO AND IJING CONFERENCES. STRATEGIES RELATED TO WOMEN'S ISSUES WERE LARGELY UNFOCUSED. INDEED, THESE STRATEGIES PROVIDED AN EXTENSIVE LIST OF CULTURAL PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES. AS A RESULT, THE STRATEGIES ON WOMEN'S ISSUES SEEMED MORE A WISH LIST FOR SOCIETAL CHANGE.

10. WHILE REPRESENTATIVES OF PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES WERE PRESENT AT THE FINAL MEETING, THE PRIVATE SECTOR WAS NOT ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED IN THE STRATEGY'S DEVELOPMENT. PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES WERE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN FILLING IN THE CONTRACEPTIVE GAP AS USAID DONATIONS PHASE OUT, RATHER THAN THE OVERALL STRATEGY. PRIVATE PHYSICIANS AND PHARMACISTS, THE MAJOR PROVIDERS OF REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES, WERE NOT PRESENT, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE. THIS IS LARGELY DUE TO THE FACT THAT PRIVATE PROVIDERS ARE NOT WELL ORGANIZED, SELDOM FOCUS ON PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES, AND SELDOM SEE RH/FP AS A PRIORITY. CONSEQUENTLY, IT WAS MAINLY THE PUBLIC SECTOR WHICH DISCUSSED AND DETERMINED THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S POTENTIAL ROLES AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE OVERALL STRATEGY.

11. SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS ASKED WHETHER THERE WAS POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THE STRATEGY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION, GIVEN THAT THE STRATEGY WAS DEVELOPED BY TECHNICAL EXPERTS WHO LACK POLICY AND FINANCIAL CLOUT. THERE WAS CONSENSUS THAT FAMILY PLANNING ADVOCATES SHOULD PUSH FOR THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE STRATEGY TO ENSURE FUTURE IMPLEMENTATION. PARTICIPANTS CONCLUDED THAT A VIGOROUS ADVOCACY EFFORT FOCUSING ON SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WOULD BE THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP.

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THE NEED FOR BETTER PLANNING AS RESOURCES DWINDLE  
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12. THE GOT HAS LONG ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANCE OF SLOWING POPULATION GROWTH AND INCREASING MODERN CONTRACEPTIVE PREVALENCE. HOWEVER, WHILE OFFICIAL PRONOUNCEMENTS ARE CERTAINLY FAVORABLE AND AN ACTIVE PROGRAM FOR FP EXISTS WITHIN THE MOH, THE GOT HAS NEVER EFFECTIVELY MOBILIZED ITS RESOURCES TO PROVIDE EASY ACCESS TO SERVICE OR PUBLIC INFORMATION TO WIDE SECTORS OF THE TURKISH POPULATION. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STRATEGIC PLAN IS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP IN OVERCOMING THESE PROBLEMS.

13. THE NEXT STEP IS TO DEVELOP IMPLEMENTATION PLANS TO ACHIEVE PROGRAMMATIC GOALS. THESE EFFORTS WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF A RAPIDLY CHANGING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT. THE GOT IS CUTTING BUDGETS WHILE THE LARGEST INTERNATIONAL DONOR TO RH/FP (USAID) IS ALSO REDUCING FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THE INCREASING POLITICAL POWER OF THE ISLAMIST REFAH PARTY ADD POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY CONCERNING FUTURE GOT FAMILY PLANNING ATTITUDES. GOT HEALTH OFFICIALS ARE INCREASINGLY AWARE THEY MUST SEEK

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NEW STRATEGIES TO ENSURE THAT RH/FP GOALS WILL BE ACHIEVED  
IN A RESOURCE-CONSTRAINED ENVIRONMENT.

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# USAID & TURKEY

A MODEL PARTNERSHIP  
IN POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING



NÜFUS VE AİLE PLANLAMASINDA  
ÖRNEK BİR İŞBİRLİĞİ

JULGARIA

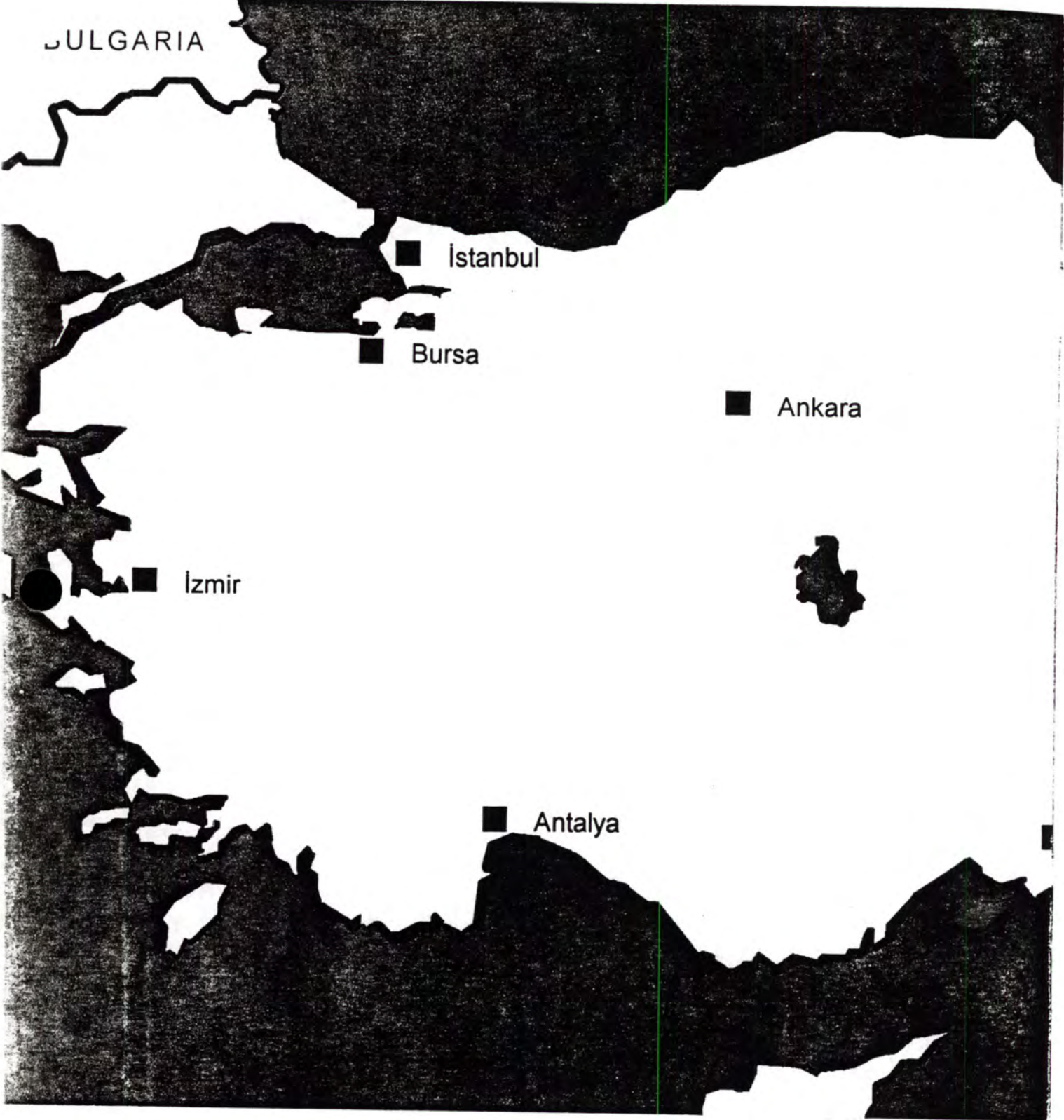
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F o r e w o r d  
Ö n s ö z



**N**ew areas of shared interests between the United States and Turkey are emerging in the post Cold War era. "Global" issues like the environment, terrorism, narcotics and population growth are the challenges which will figure ever larger on the 21st century's agenda. We must do more together on them.

We have a head start. We are already working closely together to attain Turkish sustainable development and balanced population growth. Through USAID, we are working with the Turkish government and private sector, as well as many NGOs, improving the quality of and access to family planning services.

The United States is the largest international donor in this contributing nearly 40 million USD since 1985. We supporting a 27 million USD project over the next five years to place Turkey's family planning program on a sustainable path.

The continuing growth of human population provides a new urgency to the imperative of sustainable development. World population has doubled since 1950 and the world adds the equivalent of another New York City every month, another Mexico every year, another China every decade.

In broader terms, resource scarcities contribute to many of the world's violent conflicts. The security of the whole world depends upon whether we can strike a balance between human numbers and the planet's capacity to support life.

**Marc Grossman**  
American Ambassador

Soğuk savaştan sonraki dönemde, Türkiye ile Birleşik Devletlerin ortak çıkarlarını ilgilendiren yeni konular ortaya çıkıyor. Çevre, terörizm, narkotik ve nüfus artışı gibi global konular, 21. yüzyılın gündeminde giderek daha geniş kapsamda yer alacak tehditler. Bizler, bu konular üzerinde birlikte daha fazla çaba göstermeliyiz.

Ciddi bir başlangıç yaptık. Daha şimdiden, Türkiye'nin sürdürülebilir kalkınma ve dengeli nüfus artışına ulaşabilmesi için birlikte çalışıyoruz. USAID kanalı ile, Türk Hükümeti, özel sektörü ve birçok hükümet dışı kurumla işbirliği yaparak, Türkiye'de aile planlaması hizmetlerinin yaygınlığını ve kalitesini artırmaya çalışıyoruz.

Birleşik Devletler, 1985'den bu yana gerçekleştirdiği yaklaşık 40 milyon Amerikan Doları tutarındaki katkısıyla, bugün sektördeki en büyük uluslararası bağış kaynağıdır. Önümüzdeki beş yıllık dönemde Türkiye'nin aile planlaması programını desteklemek amacıyla tasarlanmış 27 milyon dolarlık bir projeyi desteklemekteyiz.

Sürekli nüfus artışı, sürdürülebilir kalkınmanın zaruriyetine yeni bir önem kazandırmaktadır. 1950'den bu yana dünya nüfusu iki katına çıkmıştır ve her ay New York şehrinin, her yıl Meksika'nın, her on yılda bir ise Çin'in nüfusuna eşdeğer biçimde artmaktadır.

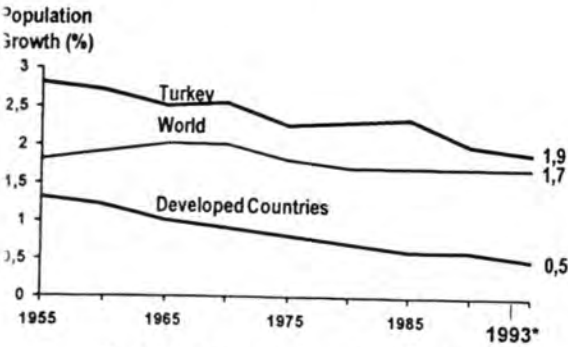
Daha geniş anlamda, dünyanın birçok zorlu mücadelesine bir de kaynak kulluğu eklenmektedir. Tüm dünya güvenliği, gezegenimizin yaşamı destekleme kapasitesi ile insan sayısı arasındaki dengeyi kurabilmemize bağlıdır.

# Turkey's Demographic Profile

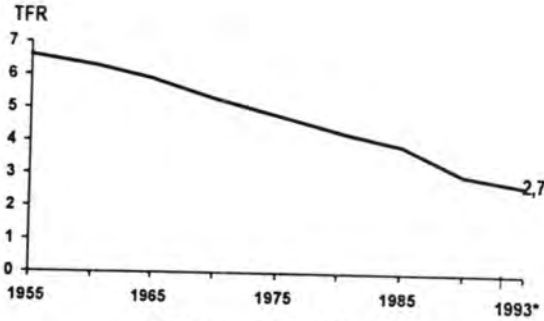
## Türkiye'nin Demografik Profili

**T**urkey has a population of 61.8 million, which under current conditions will double in just 33 years. Turkish women report that the ideal number of children to have is 2.1 (essentially replacement fertility). The average Turkish woman will bear 2.7 children during her reproductive life, given current fertility patterns and rural women will typically bear 2.9 children. Thus there is a discrepancy between desired and actual fertility. Overall contraceptive prevalence is 63%, but only about half of the prevalence represents modern method use. Seventy percent of women report they desire no more children and 14 percent report they want to defer their next pregnancy for at least two years. Abortion rates are high (one reported for every three live births). There are approximately 11.5 million married women of reproductive age, 9.6 million of whom want to contracept, but only 4.4 million of whom use modern contraceptive methods. Thus over 5 million couples' demand for modern family planning is not being met.

Türkiye'nin nüfusu 61.8 milyondur, ve mevcut koşullar altında, yalnızca 33 yıl içinde bu rakam iki katına çıkacaktır. Araştırmalara göre, Türk kadınları ortalama 2.1 çocuk istemektedir. Mevcut verilere göre, ortalama bir Türk kadını üretken döneminde 2.7, kırsal kesimdeki Türk kadınları ise 2.9 çocuk sahibi olacaktır. Bu durumda, istenen ile gerçekleşen doğurganlık oranları arasında bir tutarsızlık vardır. Aile planlaması yöntemlerinin kullanılma yaygınlığı %63'dür; ancak, bu rakamın yalnızca yarısı modern yöntemleri temsil etmektedir. Kadınların %70'i başka çocuk istemediklerini söylerken, %14'ü de en az iki yıldan önce hamile kalmak istemediklerini belirtmişlerdir. Kürtaj oranı yüksektir (her üç canlı doğumdan birisi). Doğurganlık çağındaki yaklaşık 11.5 milyon kadından 9.6 milyonu aile planlaması istemekte, ancak bunlardan sadece 4.4 milyonu modern aile planlaması yöntemlerini kullanmaktadır. Bu da göstermektedir ki, 5 milyonu aşkın evli çiftin modern aile planlaması talebi karşılanamamaktadır.



Trends in Population Growth: 1955-1993



Total Fertility Rate 1955-1993



## USAID's Population and Family Planning Assistance in Turkey

### Türkiye'de USAID Nüfus ve Aile Planlaması Yardım Programı

Since USAID bilateral assistance to Turkey ended in 1975, USAID/Washington's Office of Population has provided funds for population programs. Though initially small, the U.S. has increased population assistance as demand for those services grew in Turkish society. The convergence of a number of factors have created ideal conditions for impact in Turkey. The most salient factor is the Government of Turkey's (GOT) elevated sense of commitment to population and family planning issues. In addition, USAID has observed a willingness on the part of the GOT to seriously develop the role of the commercial and non-government sectors -- an endeavor seen to promote program sustainability. The GOT, commercial sector, and non-governmental organizations have all requested technical assistance in reaching their individual and mutual goals -- contributing to the increasingly productive partnership between USAID and Turkey.

Türkiye'ye USAID iki taraflı yardımının sona erdiği 1975 yılından bu yana, nüfus programları için gerekli fonlar, USAID'in Washington Nüfus Ofisi tarafından sağlanmıştır. A.B.D., nispeten küçük ölçekli olan nüfus yardımını, Türk toplumunda bu hizmetlere karşı gelişen talep doğrultusunda artırmıştır. Bir takım faktörlerin de biraraya gelmesi Türkiye'deki etkisi açısından ideal koşullar yaratmıştır. Bu faktörlerden en dikkat çekici olan ise, Türk Hükümeti'nin nüfus ve aile planlaması sorunlarına karşı giderek artan ilgisidir. Buna ek olarak, USAID, Türk Hükümeti'nde, hükümet dışı kurumlar ile özel sektörün program dahilindeki rollerini geliştirme isteğini de gözlemiş ve bunu programın devamlılığını sağlamaya yönelik bir çaba olarak değerlendirmiştir. Gerek Türk Hükümeti, gerekse hükümet dışı kurumlar ve özel sektör, bireysel ve ortak amaçlarına ulaşmak üzere teknik yardım talebinde bulunmuşlardır; bu talebin, USAID ile Türkiye arasındaki üretkenliği hızla artan işbirliğine büyük katkıları olmuştur.





## Program Goals and Strategies

The country program goals of USAID population assistance to Turkey are to:

- improve women's health;
- lower fertility; and
- reduce the population growth rate to levels consistent with sustainable development.

Today's USAID assistance focuses on sustaining a reduced rate of population growth and a financially sustainable program, able to continue in the absence of donor resources. The program strategy, developed in partnership with Turkey, concentrates on the following:

- Encouraging the Turkish Government to develop and define its population policies;
- Encouraging non-governmental organizations to play a greater role in population and health programs;
- Improving coordination and communication between private and public sectors involved in population and family planning; and
- Using USAID resources effectively to support sustainable development in the sector.

USAID is the lead donor in both financial and programmatic terms, but coordinates closely with other donors supporting Turkey's population and family planning activities: the United Nations Fund for Population Assistance (UNFPA), the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), the Japanese International Cooperating Agency (JICA), and the European Union (EU).

The USAID program provides technical and financial assistance to encourage the GOT to explore and leverage ways in which the commercial sector and non-governmental organizations can contribute to their efforts, decreasing the financial and human burden on the GOT. USAID does not fund recurrent costs, except for contraceptive commodities. In 1994, USAID adopted a five-year strategy to gradually reduce technical assistance to Turkey. As the GOT and the commercial sector assume the full financial responsibilities of the national program, USAID will phase out its support for contraceptive procurement. Recent experience has demonstrated that this type of assistance helps to protect the substantial investment made to date by USAID (nearly 40 million U.S. dollars), and enhances a program's ability to successfully operate without USAID funding.

*"I strongly believe that private sector involvement in making family planning information and services available and accessible to the people is very important."* -- Mr. Vehbi Koc, President of the TFHPF



## Program Hedef ve Stratejileri

**U**SAID'in Türkiye'ye nüfus yardım programı hedefleri aşağıdaki gibidir:

- Kadın sağlığını iyileştirmek;
- Doğurganlık oranını azaltmak;
- Nüfus artış hızını ülkenin gelişme hızı ile uyumlu bir seviyeye düşürmek.

Bugün USAID yardımı, düşük nüfus artış hızını sürekli kılabilecek ve dış yardım olmaksızın da finansal olarak devam edebilecek bir program üzerine yoğunlaştırılmaktadır. Türkiye ile birlikte geliştirilen program stratejisi aşağıda belirtilen temel noktalar üzerine kurulmuştur:

- Türk Hükümetini kendi nüfus politikalarını belirlemeye ve geliştirmeye teşvik etmek;
- Hükümet dışı organizasyonları nüfus ve sağlık programlarında daha önemli roller almaya teşvik etmek;
- Nüfus ve aile planlaması konularında çalışan özel sektör ile kamu sektörü arasındaki işbirliğini ve iletişimi geliştirmek;
- USAID kaynaklarını bu sektördeki sürdürülebilir kalkınmayı desteklemek için kullanmak.

Türkiye'nin nüfus ve aile planlaması faaliyetlerini destekleyen uluslararası kuruluşlar arasında USAID hem mali kaynak hem de programlama açısından en

önemli katkısı sağlamaktadır. USAID, bu alanda destek sağlayan - United Nations Fund for Population Assistance (UNFPA), International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), Japanese International Cooperating Agency (JICA), European Union (EU) - gibi diğer kuruluşlarla yakın işbirliği içindedir.

USAID programı, Türk Hükümeti'ne, özel sektörün ve gayri resmi kuruluşların, hükümet üzerindeki mali ve insan gücü kaynaklı yükü azaltacak şekilde çabalar sarfetmeleri yolunda araştırmalar yapmasını ve bu çabaları desteklemesini teşvik amacıyla teknik ve mali yardım temin etmektedir. USAID aile planlaması araçları dışında kalan tekrar maliyetlerini finanse etmemektedir. USAID, 1994 yılında, Türkiye'ye verilen teknik yardımı aşamalı olarak azaltmayı hedefleyen beş yıllık bir plan uyarlamıştır. Türk Hükümeti ve özel sektör ulusal programın tüm finansal sorumluluklarını üstlendiğinde, aile planlaması araçları için verilen yardım da aşamalı olarak kaldırılacaktır. Son zamanlardaki deneyimler göstermiştir ki, bu tür bir yardım hem USAID'in bugüne dek yapmış olduğu gerçekten önemli miktarda (40 milyon Amerikan Dolarına yakın) bir yatırımın korunmasına yardım edecek, hem de bundan böyle, USAID fonları olmaksızın da programın başarı ile işleyebilmesini mümkün kılacaktır.





## The USAID-Turkish Partnership

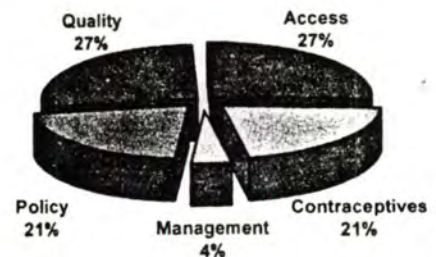
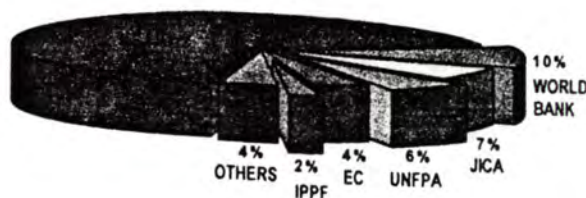
General coordination of the program, under the leadership of the USAID Joint Programming Team, rests with a team comprised of members of the Global and Europe and Newly Independent States Bureau, and the U.S. Embassy Ankara. Day-to-day management and technical oversight rests with the Embassy Population Advisor ( a Turkish public health physician ), a Michigan Population Fellow, and a State Department Economic Officer. This management structure is unique to Turkey and is a potential model for countries that face the elimination of USAID Missions.

USAID assistance to the GOT is implemented through U.S. Cooperating Agencies (CAs) that operate under contractual agreements with the USAID Office of Population. The CAs enable USAID to capitalize on the best the U.S. has to offer in technical expertise and taps into the intellectual

resources of U.S. universities, voluntary organizations, and private companies. The U.S. Embassy population team coordinates with CAs to determine types of activities and schedules to ensure that all program elements are consistent with the USAID Population Assistance Strategy.

The CAs have differing, specialized expertise that they make available to the public, commercial, and non-governmental sectors at the request of the GOT, USAID/Washington, and the U.S. Embassy in Ankara. The primary areas for CA technical assistance are policy, training, management, information, education and communication (IEC), and service delivery. CAs work with a variety of Turkish public and private sector organizations, who are the actual implementers of programs and activities.

Donor Contributions to Family Planning in Turkey



USAID Budget



## U S A I D - T ü r k i y e O r t a k l ı ğ ı

**P**rogramın genel koordinasyonunu, USAID Ortak Programlama Ekibi yürütmektedir. Bu ekip, USAID'in Global Büro, Avrupa ve Yeni Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu Bürosu ve A.B.D. Ankara Elçiliği üyelerinden oluşmaktadır. Günlük iş yönetimi ve teknik gözetim ise Elçilik Nüfus Danışmanı (bir Türk halk sağlığı hekimi), bir Michigan Üniversitesi Nüfus Programı Görevlisi ve Amerikan Dışişleri Bakanlığı Ekonomi Memuru tarafından yapılmaktadır. Bu yönetim yapısı Türkiye'ye özgü olup USAID Misyonunun yürürlükten kaldırılması sürecini yaşayan birçok ülke için potansiyel bir model teşkil etmektedir.

Türk Hükümeti'ne sağlanan USAID yardımı, USAID Nüfus Bürosu ile kontrat bazlı anlaşmalarla çalışan bir grup Amerikan kuruluşu tarafından hayata geçirilmektedir. Bu kuruluşlar biryandan A.B.D.'nin sunabileceği teknik ekspertizin oluşuma etkin

bir biçimde katkısını sağlarken; diğer yandan da yine A.B.D.'nin üniversiteleri, gönüllü ve özel kurumlarının entellektüel birikimlerinden faydalanılmasını sağlamaktadırlar. A.B.D. Elçiliği nüfus ekibi, tüm program elemanlarının USAID Nüfus Yardımı Stratejisi ile tutarlılığını sağlamak üzere, bu kuruluşların çalışmalarını koordine eder.

Sözkonusu kuruluşlar, farklı konulardaki uzmanlıklarını, Türk Hükümeti, USAID/Washington ve Ankara A.B.D. Elçiliği'nin talepleri doğrultusunda kamu ve özel sektörün yararına sunmaktadır. Eğitim, politika belirleme, yönetim, enformasyon, iletişim ve hizmetlerin yaygınlaştırması yardımın temelini oluşturan konulardır. Bu kuruluşlar, program ve faaliyetlerin gerçek uygulamacıları olan Türk kamu ve özel sektöründen çeşitli organizasyonlarla birlikte çalışır.

### The Cooperating Agencies in Turkey - Türkiye'deki İşbirliği Kuruluşları

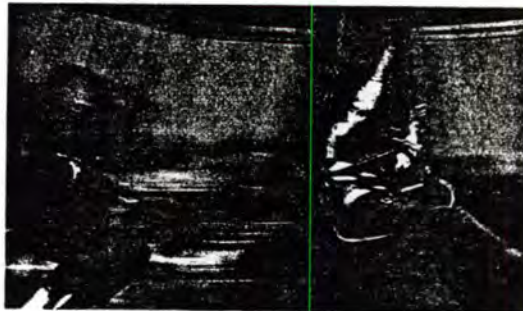
AVSC International - Access to Voluntary and Safe Contraception  
Johns Hopkins University - Population Communications Services  
Johns Hopkins University - Program for International Training in Reproductive Health  
John Snow Inc., (SEATS )  
Macro International (DHS - Demographic and Health Survey)  
Management Sciences for Health (FPMD)  
Pathfinder International  
The Futures Group International Inc., (SOMARC and OPTIONS II)  
U.S. Centers for Disease Control (CDC)



## Family Planning Successes

Following are just a few of the many examples of successful collaboration between CAs and Turkish counterparts:

- The Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation and Eczacıbaşı, the Turkish pharmaceutical company, introduced the "OK" condom and oral contraceptives in a social marketing project. The success of these social marketing efforts has paved the way for the development of a more extensive private reproductive health network.
- The Ministry of Health and Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies conducted the 1993 demographic and health survey (DHS). The results facilitate data-driven decision making and have tremendous implications for future programming.
- Hacettepe University, seven medical schools, the Ministry of Health, and the Human Resource Development Foundation developed and adopted the National Family Planning Service Guidelines, a standardized approach to improve uniformity and quality in family planning services.
- In order to strengthen the performance of the Ministry of Health nurse midwives, the Ministry developed and adopted an operational midwife job description and curriculum training package.
- In 1994, the Ministry of Health established a pilot Contraceptive Logistics and Service Statistics Management Information System in five provinces.



*"It is essential to have a population structure and a rate of increase that is compatible with the targets of social development and a sustained economic growth"* - State Planning Organization - 1994



## Aile Planlamasında Başarılanlar

Aşağıdaki örnekler, USAID katkısı ile gerçekleştirilen başarılı çok sayıda ortak çalışmadan yalnızca birkaçıdır:

- Türkiye Aile Sağlığı ve Planlaması Vakfı ile Eczacıbaşı ortaklaşa gerçekleştirdikleri sosyal pazarlama projesi ile 'OK' prezervatiflerini ve doğum kontrol haplarını tanıttılar. Bu pazarlama çalışmalarının başarısı özel sektör bünyesinde daha yaygın bir üreme sağlığı hizmetinin geliştirilmesine de yol açtı.
- Sağlık Bakanlığı ve Hacettepe Nüfus Etüdüleri Enstitüsü birlikte, 1993 yılında, demografi ve sağlık araştırmasını yürüttüler. Sonuçlar, hem verilere dayalı karar mekanizmasını yürürlüğe koydu hem de, geleceğe yönelik programlamaya büyük katkıları oldu.

- Hacettepe Üniversitesi, yedi adet tıp fakültesi, Sağlık Bakanlığı ve İnsan Kaynaklarını Geliştirme Vakfı, aile planlaması hizmetlerinde kaliteyi artırmak ve standardizasyonu sağlamak amacı ile, Ulusal Aile Planlaması Hizmet Kılavuzunu geliştirdiler ve benimsediler.
- Sağlık Bakanlığı, kendi bünyesindeki ebe hemşirelerin performansını arttırmak amacıyla, bir uygulamalı ebe iş tanımı ile eğitim paket programını geliştirdi ve benimsedi.
- 1994 yılında, Sağlık bakanlığı beş ilde pilot uygulama olarak, Aile Planlaması Lojistiği ve Hizmet İstatistikleri Yönetim Bilgi Sistemi kurdu.

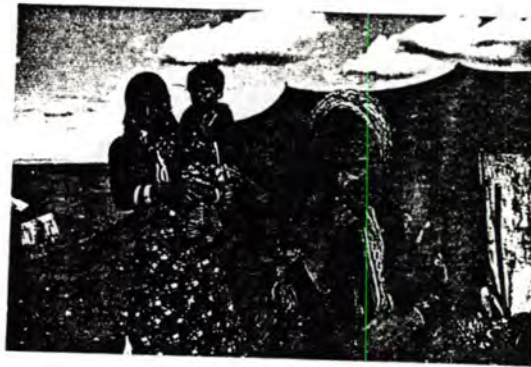




## T u r k e y a n d t h e I C P D T ü r k i y e v e I C P D

**T**he 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) marked a turning point in the world's awareness and commitment to population and development issues. Conference participants approved the Plan of Action to serve as a guidepost to all governments in their efforts to guarantee their citizens the protection and exercise of basic reproductive rights and their application to all aspects of health service provision. The GOT actively participated in ICPD and USAID is supporting Turkey's efforts to incorporate the Plan of Action into its National Family Planning and Women's Reproductive Health Strategy.

1994 Kahire Uluslararası Kalkınma ve Nüfus Konferansı (ICPD), dünyanın konuyla ilgili gerçeklerden haberdar olması ve taahhütleri açısından gerçekten önemli bir dönüm noktası olmuştur. Konferans katılımcıları, tüm hükümetlerin vatandaşlarına garantilemekle yükümlü oldukları temel üreme sağlığı haklarının kullanılması, korunması ve bu bağlamda gerekli tüm sağlık hizmetlerinin sağlanması çabalarına bir kılavuz niteliği taşıyabilecek Eylem Planını onaylamışlardır. Türk Hükümeti Konferansa aktif olarak katılmıştır. USAID, Türkiye'nin bu Hareket Planı çerçevesinde kendi Ulusal Aile Planlaması ve Kadın Sağlığı Stratejisinde gösterdiği çabalarını desteklemektedir.



In Turkey's Report to the ICPD: *"The need for family planning activities originates from two issues: 1) the fact that the present rate of population growth has a negative impact on the social and economic development of the country; and 2) high fertility has adverse impacts on maternal and child health."*



# What the future holds Gelecekten Beklenen

Turkey's population growth rate and total fertility rate have declined and the Turkish health sector has substantially improved the quality and breadth of its contraceptive and reproductive health service delivery. Additionally, Turkey has incorporated the private commercial sector and non-governmental sector in useful, sustainable ways. Still, there are issues and challenges that are worthy of continued and improved efforts on the parts of the GOT and USAID. USAID hopes to see the following outcomes from the current five-year assistance program (see following table):

Türkiye, üreme sağlığı ve aile planlaması hizmetlerinin kalitesi ve yaygınlığında sağladığı önemli gelişmelerin yanısıra, toplam doğurganlık ve nüfus artış oranlarının azaltılmasında da büyük yol katetmiştir. Bunun yanısıra, Türkiye özel sektör ve hükümet dışı kurumlar arasında faydalı ve kalıcı bir işbirliği de oluşturmuştur. Ancak, halen daha gerek Türk Hükümeti ve gerekse USAID tarafından geliştirilmesi ve sürdürülmesi için uğraş vermeye değer konu ve zorluklar mevcuttur.

Anticipated Outcomes from the Current Assistance Program of USAID

POLICY	QUALITY	ACCESS
Increased political, financial and programmatic support for family planning and reproductive health within the Government of Turkey	High quality services and information concerning modern contraceptive methods readily available in both the public and private sectors.	Quality family planning services integrated and/or expanded in existing public and private service delivery channels.
Increased private sector involvement in family planning and reproductive health services	Family planning and reproductive health training redesigned and re-oriented to emphasize quality of care.	Post-partum and post-abortion family planning services expanded and or established in the public and private sectors.
NGO structures strengthened and assuming an important role in advocacy activities	Information, education, and communication efforts focused on resolving specific problem areas as identified in surveys and other program evaluations.	Family planning services directed to under-served groups.



## What the Future Holds Gelecekten Beklenen

Achieving the anticipated outcomes from the current program of assistance will go a long way toward improving the lives of Turkish families and individuals. But achievement of these outcomes requires continued and expanded commitment on the parts of the GOT and the Turkish commercial sector.

USAID will continue to provide available resources to Turkey. The USAID and Turkey joint approach to solving population and family planning challenges is one from which other countries can learn as they attempt to reach their own goals.



Bugünkü yardım programından beklenen sonuçlara ulaşılması için, Türk aile ve bireylerinin yaşamlarının geliştirilmesi yönünde uzun bir yol katedilmesi gerekmektedir. Ancak bu sonuçlara ulaşabilmek için, Türk Hükümeti ve özel sektörünün sürekli ve yoğun çabalarına ihtiyaç vardır. USAID ve Türkiye'nin, nüfus ve aile planlaması problemlerinin çözümü yolundaki ortak yaklaşımlarından, kendi özgün hedeflerine ulaşma çabasında olan diğer ülkelerin öğrenebileceği çok şey vardır.



GEORGIA

■ Trabzon

IRAN

■ Diyarbakir

IRAQ

a

SYRIA

### Abortion Surveillance: Preliminary Data — United States, 1993

For 1993, CDC received data about legal induced abortions from 52 reporting areas (the 50 states, New York City, and the District of Columbia). This report presents preliminary data for 1993.

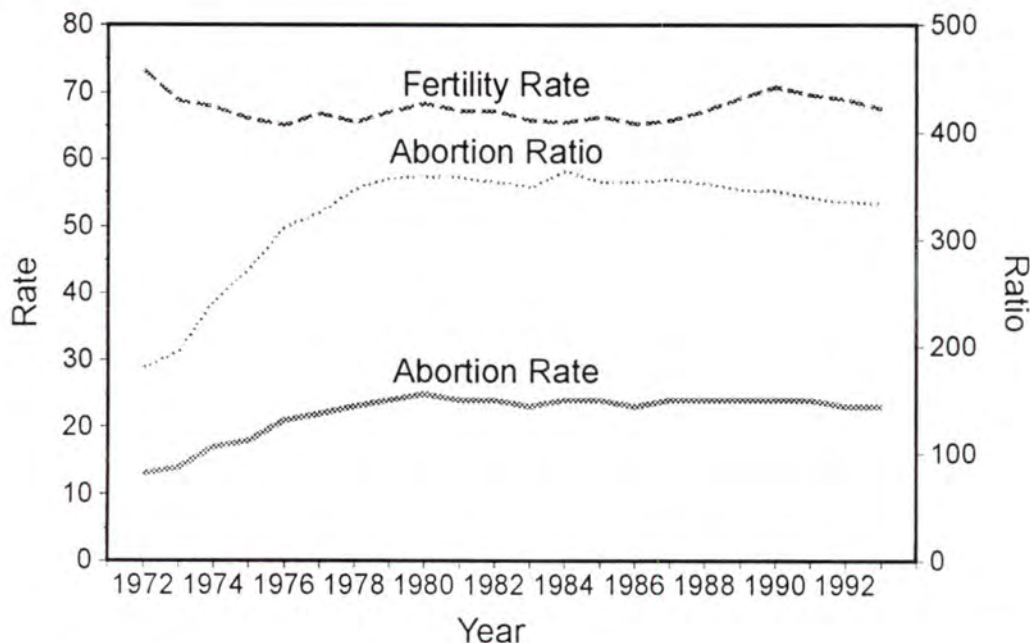
In 1993, a total of 1,330,414 legal induced abortions were reported to CDC (Table 1), a decrease of 2.1% from the number reported for 1992 (1), and the number of live births decreased by 1.6% (2). The number of reported abortions declined in 39 of 52 reporting areas. The national abortion ratio (number of legal abortions per 1000 live births) decreased from 335 in 1992 to 334 in 1993 (Figure 1). The national abortion rate was 23 legal abortions per 1000 women aged 15–44 years, unchanged from 1992. Consistent with previous years, approximately 92% of women who had a legal abortion were residents of the state in which the procedure was performed.

Women who obtained legal abortions in 1993 were predominately aged <25 years, white, and unmarried. In 1993, 20% of women who obtained a legal abortion were adolescents (aged ≤19 years), unchanged from 1992. Curettage (suction and sharp) remained the primary abortion procedure (99% of all procedures). As in previous years, approximately 52% of legal abortions were performed during the first 8 weeks of gestation and approximately 89% were performed during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy.

*Reported by: Statistics and Computer Resources Br, Div of Reproductive Health, National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, CDC.*

**Editorial Note:** Since 1980, the annual number of legal induced abortions reported in the United States has remained stable, varying each year by ≤5% (Table 1). However,

**FIGURE 1. Fertility rate\* and abortion ratio† and rate‡, by year — United States, 1972–1993**



\*Live births per 1000 women aged 15–44 years.

†Number of legal induced abortions per 1000 live births.

‡Number of legal induced abortions per 1000 women aged 15–44 years.

**TABLE 1. Reported number of legal induced abortions, abortion ratios,\* abortion rates,† and characteristics of women who obtained legal induced abortions, by year — United States, selected years, 1972–1993**

Characteristic	1972	1976	1980	1985	1988	1990	1991	1992	1993 <sup>§</sup>
Reported no. legal induced abortions	586,760	988,267	1,297,606	1,328,570	1,371,285	1,429,577	1,388,937	1,359,145	1,330,414
Abortion ratios	180	312	359	354	352	345	339	335	334
Abortion rates	13	21	25	24	24	24	24	23	23
<b>Percentage distribution<sup>¶</sup></b>									
<b>Residence</b>									
In-state	56.2	90.0	92.6	92.4	91.4	91.8	91.6	92.0	91.9
Out-of-state	43.8	10.0	7.4	7.6	8.6	8.2	8.4	8.0	8.1
<b>Age (yrs)</b>									
≤19	32.6	32.1	29.2	26.3	25.3	22.4	21.0	20.1	20.0
20–24	32.5	33.3	35.5	34.7	32.8	33.2	34.4	34.5	34.4
≥25	34.9	34.6	35.3	39.0	41.9	44.4	44.6	45.4	45.6
<b>Race</b>									
White	77.0	66.6	69.9	66.6	64.4	64.8	63.8	61.5	62.0
Black	23.0	33.4	30.1	29.8	31.1	31.8	32.5	33.9	34.1
Other**	—	—	—	3.5	4.5	3.4	3.7	4.6	3.9
<b>Ethnicity</b>									
Hispanic	—	—	—	—	—	9.8	13.5	15.2	14.5
Non-Hispanic	—	—	—	—	—	90.2	86.5	84.8	85.5
<b>Marital status</b>									
Married	29.7	24.6	23.1	19.3	20.3	21.7	21.4	20.8	20.6
Unmarried	70.3	75.4	76.9	80.7	79.7	78.3	78.6	79.2	79.4
<b>No. live births<sup>††</sup></b>									
0	49.4	47.7	58.4	56.3	52.4	49.2	47.8	45.9	46.8
1	18.2	20.7	19.4	21.6	23.4	24.4	25.3	25.9	25.9
2	13.3	15.4	13.7	14.5	16.0	16.9	17.5	18.0	17.6
3	8.7	8.3	5.3	5.1	5.6	6.1	6.4	6.7	6.5
≥4	10.4	7.9	3.2	2.5	2.6	3.4	3.0	3.5	3.2
<b>Type of procedure</b>									
Curettage	88.6	92.8	95.5	97.5	98.6	98.8	98.9	98.9	99.0
Suction	65.2	82.6	89.8	94.6	95.1	96.0	97.3	97.0	98.1
Sharp	23.4	10.2	5.7	2.9	3.5	2.8	1.6	1.9	0.9
Intrauterine instillation	10.4	6.0	3.1	1.7	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6
Other <sup>§§</sup>	1.0	1.2	1.4	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4

Weeks' gestation									
≤8	34.0	47.0	51.7	50.3	48.7	51.6	52.3	52.1	52.2
≤6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.1¶¶	14.3***
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.4¶¶	16.1***
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.9¶¶	20.9***
9-10	30.7	28.1	26.2	26.6	26.4	25.3	25.1	24.2	24.6
11-12	17.5	14.4	12.2	12.5	12.7	11.7	11.5	12.0	11.8
13-15	8.4	4.5	5.1	5.9	6.6	6.4	6.1	6.0	6.1
16-20	8.2	5.1	3.9	3.9	4.5	4.0	3.9	4.2	4.0
≥21	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.8	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.3

\* Per 1000 live births.

† Per 1000 women aged 15-44 years.

§ Preliminary data.

¶ Excludes unknown values. The number of areas reporting a given characteristic varied. For 1993, the number of areas reporting residence was 40; age, 43; race, 35; ethnicity, 23; marital status, 37; number of live births, 39; type of procedure, 40; and weeks' gestation, 39.

\*\* Reported as "other race."

†† For 1972-1976, data indicate number of living children.

§§ Includes hysterotomy and hysterectomy.

¶¶ Data are for 36 reporting areas only.

\*\*\* Data are for 37 reporting areas only.

*Abortion — Continued*

since 1990 (the year in which the number was highest), the number of reported abortions has decreased each year. From 1972 through 1980, the national abortion rate increased each year; since 1980, the rate has remained stable, fluctuating between 23 and 24 (Figure 1).

In 1993, the national ratio of abortions to live births (334 abortions per 1000 live births) was lower than for any year since 1977 (325 abortions per 1000 live births), indicating that a smaller proportion of pregnancies ended in an abortion (3). Factors that could have contributed to this recent change include reduced access to abortion services, changes in contraceptive practices, attitudinal changes concerning the decision to have an abortion or to carry a pregnancy to term, and a possible decline in the number of unintended pregnancies (4–6).

The number of live births and the national fertility rate (number of live births per 1000 women of reproductive age [i.e., aged 15–44 years]) peaked in 1990 (Figure 1). Subsequent declines in the annual number of abortions and live births indicate decreases in the numbers of pregnancies each year in the United States. Although the actual number of women of reproductive age has increased by 11% since 1980, the age distribution in this population has shifted and a higher proportion of women are now in later reproductive years (aged 35–44 years); among these women, fertility is lower when compared with younger women (2). For example, in 1980, approximately 58% of women of reproductive age were aged <30 years (the age with highest fertility), compared with 47% in 1992 (Unpublished data, Bureau of the Census). In addition, in 1980, women aged 35–44 years accounted for 25% of reproductive-aged women, compared with 34% in 1992.

Many states emphasize the prevention of unintended pregnancy, particularly among teenagers. During 1993, the total number of legal induced abortions was available for all 52 reporting areas; however, approximately 26% of abortions were reported from states without centralized reporting, and these states could not provide information about the characteristics of women obtaining abortions. To assist efforts to prevent unintended pregnancy, an accurate assessment of abortion (including the number and characteristics of women obtaining legal abortions in all states) is needed on an ongoing basis.

Additional statistical and epidemiologic information on legal induced abortions is available from CDC's automated Reproductive Health Information line at (404) 330-1230, which provides information by fax, by voice recordings, or through the mail.

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**Speech at Ciragan  
Palace**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## **Istanbul, Turkey: Ciragan Palace Reception and Speech**

### **Context of the Event**

You have been invited to a reception for leading Turkish and American business, cultural and media leaders at the Ciragan Palace. Following the half hour informal gathering, you will make a speech and answer questions from an audience of 250 guests.

The Ciragan Hotel is a 19th century Ottoman palace that was used briefly as the Imperial Parliament. It burned in 1911 and was reconstructed in the late 1980s as a hotel and conference center. The reception and speech here are being made possible by Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK) and its U.S.-Turkish Business Council. DEIK is a non-profit, non-governmental organization that conducts research and establishes bilateral business links to promote investment in Turkey, the Black Sea region and the Central Asian republics. The current chairman of DEIK is Mr. Mustafa Koc. Mr. Koc comes from one of the country's leading business families.

### **Talking Points**

- o Do you believe that opportunities are growing for American business ventures and more foreign investment here in Turkey?
- o Americans know something about Turkey but need to learn more; tourism to Turkey is growing and helps to foster a better understanding of Turkish history and culture.
- o Do most Turks want to see their country enter the European Community as a full member?

## **Istanbul, Turkey: NGO Meeting**

### **Context of the Event**

You will participate in a meeting with the leadership of 40 of the country's non-governmental organizations. The NGO movement in Turkey traces its roots to the Islamic and later Ottoman tradition of founding charitable institutions to provide education and medical services. These organizations called VAKIF in Turkish are very active throughout Turkey. Today, there are more than two thousand foundations that focus on topics ranging from human rights and environmental issues to art and women's studies. For instance, the Koc family is a major contributor to the American hospital, a private university, and a family planning foundation; the Savanci family has foundations for school teachers, policemen, children and the blind; and the Ezcibasi family supports an internationally recognized cultural and arts foundation.

### **Talking Points**

- o Non-governmental organizations play an important role in both our countries.
- o I am interested in learning about how NGO's function in Turkey.
- o What is the focus of your foundation's work?
- o Will your foundation participate in the Habitat II U.N. conference here in Istanbul in June?
- o What is the greatest challenge facing Turkish NGOs?
- o Do you think that there are ways American and Turkish NGOs can work together to promote common goals?

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**Ride on Yacht**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## **Istanbul, Turkey: Sailing Trip from Ciragan Palace on Bosphorus**

### **Context of the Event**

Following the reception and speech sponsored by the Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK) at the Ciragan Palace, you have been invited for an early evening cruise on the converted Scottish ferryboat that belongs to the Simavi family, owners of the Turkish newspaper Hurriyet. Mrs. Cigdem Simavi is the mother of Mustafa Koc, the chairman of the U.S.-Turkish Business Council of DEIK, which hosted the reception and speech. She has invited you and your group to use the boat to reach either the Savanci Cultural center or the Istanbul University Faculty Club, where a meeting with representatives of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) is scheduled.

We had considered holding the meeting aboard the Halas, perhaps at anchor, and Mrs. Simavi invited the entire group to stay aboard for dinner, where up to 60 people can be accommodated. She has acted as hostess to other groups of visitors in the past, including Congressman Gephardt and his party in late 1993. She plans to be aboard to greet you.

### **Talking Points**

- o I am very grateful to you for the invitation aboard this remarkable boat; it is a great help to avoid the traffic during rush hour in Istanbul and a wonderful chance to see the Bosphorus at sundown.
- o I was very kind of you to offer to let me hold the meeting with NGO representatives aboard but I thought the beautiful scenery might thoroughly distract us from our meeting.
- o Thank you very much for offering us the opportunity to stay for dinner as well.
- o I understand that many famous people have sailed aboard the Halas and that it normally cruises on the Turkish coast in good weather.

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**Private Meeting with  
Mrs. Ciller**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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**Istanbul, Turkey: Tea with Mrs. Ciller  
Aboard the Swissotel Yacht Sesta**

**Context of the Event**

The former Prime Minister (and now Prime Minister-designate), Tansu Ciller, has invited the First Lady to join her for tea at 3:00 p.m. aboard the yacht of the Swissotel chain in Istanbul. The boat will land at 4:00 p.m. to allow travel by motorcade to the Yildiz Palace, site of the interfaith meeting.

Mrs. Ciller had wanted to invite you to her seaside villa on the Bosphorus, but lengthy travel time made this option more convenient. A graduate of American universities with a doctorate in economics, Mrs. Ciller became Minister of Economy in the government of Prime Minister Demirel in 1991 and succeeded him two years later when he became President on the death of Turgut Ozal. She met with President Clinton in the Oval Office in April 1995. Her coalition government came apart in the fall of 1995, causing early elections to be held just before Christmas. Inconclusive results led to lengthy delays in forming a new coalition government. Early this month, she reached agreement with the now Prime Minister, Mesut Yilmaz, to take turns in office; her two-year term commences in 1997.

**Talking Points**

- o Thank you for arranging this lovely excursion on the Bosphorus; because this visit was so brief and traffic in Istanbul so heavy, it was very difficult for me to come to your home, which I am told has a magnificent view as well.
- o I visited Bosnia earlier in this trip, and was impressed by the great contributions made by IFOR, in which a Turkish unit is playing an important role.
- o You made a major contribution to bringing peace in the Balkans during your term as Prime Minister, when the Turkish unit joined the peacekeeping forces and the Turkish airplanes participated in NATO air operations.
- o You are well remembered there for your courageous visit to Sarajevo, together with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, in the midst of hostilities.

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**Tour Sultan Ahmet  
(Blue Mosque)**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## **Istanbul, Turkey: Tour of the Sultan Ahmet Camii**

### **Context for the Event**

The Sultan Ahmet Mosque (Camii), also known as "The Blue Mosque", is one of the most prominent landmarks of the old city of Istanbul. Distinguished by its overlapping dome architecture, six minarets and extraordinarily beautiful tile interior, Sultan Ahmet is thought by many to be the most magnificent of the imperial mosques. The architect Mehmet Aga was directed by Sultan Ahmet I to build the mosque named after himself and it was completed in 1616. For the next 250 years most of the reigning sultans performed their Friday noon prayers there.

As beautiful outside as in, the Sultan Ahmet mosque is preceded by a courtyard as large in area as the mosque itself. The dramatic columns which support the central dome inside the mosque continue naturally to the outside as tall octagonal turrets capped with domes. This creates a harmonious cascade of semidomes, turrets and smaller domes giving Sultan Ahmet its unique symmetrical appearance.

While the main entrance to the mosque is at the east end of the courtyard, visitors are asked to enter through the north door so as not disturb the faithful at their prayers. The interior is flooded with the light of 260 windows, once filled with Turkish stained glass. In the domes are arabesques restored to an overly bright blue color from which the mosque derives its popular name. What is significant about the interior decoration is the tiles on the lower parts of the walls and especially in the galleries. These are Iznik tiles of the best period, featuring exquisite colors in magnificent floral and tree designs. Of equal excellence is the bronzework of the courtyard doors and the inlaid window shutters of the mosque.

### **Talking Points**

- o How many visitors are there to Sultan Ahmet Camii each year?
- o How long did it take to build, and how is the architecture significant?
- o Has the Sultan Ahmet Camii and the area around it always been so active socially?

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**Tour Aya Sofya**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## **Istanbul, Turkey: Tour of Ayasofya**

### **Context for the Event**

Haghia Sophia (St. Sophia or in Turkish "Ayasofya") is a monument to the golden age of the Byzantine Empire. The present structure is actually the third church of that name to stand upon the site. The first, built in the year 360, was destroyed by fire. Subsequent constructions and reconstructions were due in major part to earthquakes, conquests and time. The last Christian ceremonies were held on May 28, 1453, the day before Constantinople finally fell to the Ottoman Turks.

Sultan Mehmet II entered Haghia Sophia on the same day and ordered it converted to a mosque. It was considered one of the principal imperial mosques of the city and as such, met with various structural additions and changes to the decor, such as whitewashing of the figurative mosaics. In April 1932, coinciding with the founding of the Republic of Turkey, Haghia Sophia was closed while the Byzantine Institute began the massive task of uncovering and restoring the mosaics. It remained closed until 1934 when it was reopened as a museum. The restoration of the mosaics continued for another 30 years.

### **Talking Points**

- o What are some of the legends surrounding Haghia Sophia?
- o What are some of the changes made during Ottoman times
- o Is it true that this is the oldest remaining church in the Christian world?

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**Tour Topkapi Palace**

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## **Istanbul, Turkey: Tour of Topkapi Saray**

### **Context of the Event**

Topkapi Saray (or palace) was the imperial residence of the Ottoman Sultans for more than four centuries. It was the most extensive and fascinating example of Turkish civil architecture and houses extraordinary collections of porcelains, jewelry, precious objects and historical artifacts which once belonged to the Sultans.

The palace is located on a hill which had been the acropolis of ancient Byzantium. Sultan Ahmet II began the construction of the new palace in 1459 after the capture of Constantinople in 1453. It was an enormous complex built in stages over a period of three hundred years, with fires and time taking its toll and leaving us today with only the inner courtyards and the buildings and parks which surround them.

You enter the palace through the middle gate which was the entry way to the Inner Palace. Only the authorized could enter through here and only by foot. This brings you to the head of five paths radiating out of the main buildings of the complex. Today, these house the various collections of the museum. These include the Clock, Arms and Armor, Porcelain, Imperial Costume, Jewelry, Miniature and Historical Artifacts collections. Of particular interest are items belonging to the prophet Mohammed and the personal artifacts of the sultans located in the Throne Room.

Most visitors are fascinated by the Harem sections which have recently been restored and opened to the public. They consist of a labyrinth of courtyards, rooms, passages, staircases and gardens. While there are some 300 chambers in the complex, only the more important and impressive of these have been restored thus far.

Topkapi Saray was the principal imperial residence for four centuries, until Sultan Abdul Mecit I moved to the new palace of Dolmanbahce. In 1924, it was officially converted into a museum and has since undergone continuous restoration.

### **Talking Points**

- o How many people lived in the palace at one time?
- o Are the items on display the extent of the Ottoman artifacts?
- o How was the life of the Palace affected with the change of Sultans?