

2016-04-26

Fråga-svar

Azerbajdzjan/Turkiet. Grå vargarna

Fråga

- Kan rörelsen "Grey wolves/Grå vargarna" i Azerbajjan (Boz qurd/ turkiska: Bozkurtlar) anses ha omfattat verksamhet som kan bedömas som terrorverksamhet och brott mot mänskliga rättigheter?
- Kan rörelsen anses utgöra en terrororganisation i Turkiet?
- Finns kopplingar mellan Grey Wolves/Grå vargarna i Azerbajdzjan och i Turkiet?

Svar

Kan gruppen anses ha utfört terrorhandlingar i Azerbajdzjan?

Ingen information hittats om våldsamma dåd kopplade till gruppens medlemmar. Nedan följer mer grundläggande information om Grå vargarna i Azerbajdzjan.

Trend (2008-04-07):

The Boz Gurd (Grey Wolf) party was established in 1993. In 1994, it was registered at the Justice Ministry. In 1995, the Supreme Court annulled the registration because of the name of the party. In order to solve the problem, the party was renamed to the National and Democratic Party of Azerbaijan at its second meeting held in 1999. The chairman of party Isgandar Hamidov, the former interior minister, has been in prison from 1995 to 2004 and was released in 2004 by the pardon decree of the President.

Babak, Vladimir, Vaisman, Demian & Wasserman, Aryeh (reds.) (2004):

Iskander Hamidov was detained by President Aliyev in March 1995 as part of a general arrest of major opposition figures. The party itself was banned by the Aliyev government in April and on 11 July 1995 the party changed its name to the National Democratic Party of Azerbaijan. (s. 27)

/.../

[ur partiets stadgar:]

Boz Gurd is a socio-political organization which operates in accordance with the constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Boz Gurd is striving for the full independence, freedom and territorial integrity of Azerbaijan and the inviolability of its borders; the transformation of the Republic of Azerbaijan into a powerful country with a highly respected place in the world community; and inviolable unity based on equal rights for all people living in Azerbaijan. The organization, which operates openly, abides unconditionally by democratic principles and international laws, and uses all legal means to achieve its goals.

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Boz Gurd, which is active not only in Azerbaijan but also in all countries where Turkic people dwell /.../

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Boz Gurd, which serves the Republic of Azerbaijan and its interests, opposes the use of force, but is ready to respond to any act of aggression against or pressure on Azerbaijan. (s. 28)

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The organization considers Armenian nationalists its principal and eternal enemy. Anyone who considers them their friends is not considered a friend of the organization. The organization is ready to use any means to cure the wounds inflicted on our people. (s. 29)

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (2003-06-06):

/.../ the opposition National Democratic Party (the former "Gray Wolves") will nominate as its presidential candidate party Chairman and former Defense Minister Iskender Hamidov. Hamidov was sentenced in 1995 to 14 years imprisonment on charges of embezzlement and abuse of his official position; at the insistence of the Council of Europe, which considers that sentence politically motivated, he is currently being tried on the same charges a second time. For that reason, it is doubtful whether the Central Election Commission will agree to register him as a candidate.

Today.az (2008-12-25):

The collegium of the Ministry of Justice of Azerbaijan has considered an issue of registration of the National-Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, according to representative of the political council of the party Oqtay Khalilov.

He said the Ministry of Justice has given a positive response about the party registration.

Kan gruppen anses vara en terrororganisation i Turkiet?

Inga uppgifter har hittats om att gruppen är förbjuden i Turkiet och den står inte med på Turkish National Polices sida över terroristorganisationer (Turkish National Police, odaterad). Nedan följer en sammanställning över våldsamma dåd kopplade till gruppen, uppdelad i perioden före och efter 1990.

Perioden före 1990

Canada, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (2000-08-09):

The Ulkucus, or Grey Wolves, are described as "MHP's paramilitary wing" and "youth wing" (The Economist 24 Apr. 1999; Boston Globe 23 May 1999). The group was "armed and active in universities, the police force, and in schools" during the 1970s (ibid.). The Ulkucus "took on leftist militants in gunbattles in the streets of Ankara and Istanbul before the 1979 coup" (Washington Report on Middle East Affairs 30 June 1999). According to the Boston Globe, the Ulkucus was "responsible for the assassination of many leftists, unionists, journalists, and Kurdish activists" in the 1970s (23 May 1999).

Forbes (2015-08-24):

The youth wing, or paramilitary division of the Nationalist Movement Party, the Grey Wolves were founded in the late 1960s. During the 1970s, Grey Wolves killed Kurds, left-wing intellectuals, students, and Christians. Mehmet Ali Agca, who attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II in 1981, was a member of Grey Wolves. Another member attempted to assassinate Prime Minister Turgut Özal in 1988.

Human Rights Watch (1999):

Ultra-nationalists, or *ulkucu*, are usually associated with the National Action Party (Milli Hareket Partisi-MHP), a right-wing, pan-Turkic, radical nationalist party that was represented in the Turkish Parliament until the December 1995 elections, when it received only 8 percent of the vote, failing to pass the 10 percent barrier necessary for parliamentary representation. Its leader is Alpaslan Türkeş, a retired army colonel who played a major role during Turkey's 1960 coup.

From 1975-1977, the predecessor to MHP, also headed by Türkeş, was a junior partner in Süleyman Demirel's coalition National Front government where he served as deputy prime minister. At the time there were numerous allegations that Türkeş placed his supporters in the security apparatus. The *Ulkucu Gençlik Derneği*, UGD,

["Idealist Youth Association"], which functioned as a youth branch for MHP, carried out some of the extremist right-wing terror of the 1970s. Feroz Ahmad, a noted scholar of this period, commented in his 1993 work *The Making of Modern Turkey*, that, "Meanwhile, the Grey Wolves [ulkucu], with Turkes as deputy premier, also saw themselves as part of the state and operated with greater confidence in creating a climate of terror designed to intimidate their opponents." The ulkucu fought radical leftist groups who also used terror tactics in the political violence that plagued Turkey in the 1970s. Over 5,000 were killed in right/left terror in the years immediately preceding the September 12, 1980, military coup.

After the 1980 coup, Turkes was arrested and his party closed down. MHP was reestablished after a ban on pre-coup parties and politicians was lifted. The ulkucu groups are active today and often battle leftist or Kurdish groups, though at a much lower level than the fighting of the 1970s. Some prominent members of the ulkucu movement later entered mainstream politics in the 1980s and 1990s.

International Business Times (2015-06-05):

The Grey Wolves don't just act in Turkey. They have tried to export their Pan-Turkish ideology and Neo-fascist propaganda to other countries like Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, to reunite all the Turkic people, but have been banned. The reason for the ban is simple: the Grey Wolves have been responsible for a series of crimes, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. Members of the organisation have killed hundreds of people in Turkey, and their willingness to resort to violence has always been pretty obvious.

The attempted murder of Pope John Paul II in 1981 was carried out by a Grey Wolves member, Mehmet Ali Ağca, who in 1979 killed Abdi İpekçi, the editor of the Turkish newspaper *Milliyet* and a prominent advocate of reconciliation with Greece.

Asylum Aid (2002):

Like the MHP, the Grey Wolves enjoyed intimate relations with the police (see below). A substantial number of police officers supported the MHP generally or were active in its youth wing while off-duty.

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A series of bloody clashes took place in the late 1970s, culminating in a major massacre of Alevi Kurds by Grey Wolves in Maraş, in December 1978. (s. 62-63)

1990-talet - idag

Forbes (2015-08-24):

In recent decades the party has moderated its platform but adopted a more Islamic stance. After the fall of the Soviet Union, soldiers fought under the Grey Wolves banner in both Chechnya wars as well as in the Nagorno-Karabakh War on the side of the Azerbaijanis against the Armenians. The organization was banned in Azerbaijan in 1995 after an attempted coup and in Kazakhstan in 2005. There are Grey Wolves groups in Germany, Netherlands, France and Belgium.

Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (2004):

/.../ in March 1995, Sunni radicals opened fire on several coffee houses in the Alevi district of Gazi in Istanbul. This led to massive protests throughout the country, in which some thirty people died. Peace was only restored when the Gazi police, who were heavily infiltrated by Grey Wolves, were replaced by military units. (s. 130)

International Business Times (2015-06-05):

In the 1990s the Grey Wolves killed two people who were opposing their ideas; one of them was of Kurdish descent.

Under 00-talet har de incidenter som Lifos hittat som knutits till Grå vargarna handlat om protester och skadegörelse.

International Business Times (2015-06-05):

In 2011 Kıvanç Ağaoglu, supporter of late Grey Wolves leader and contract killer Abdullah Çatlı, and defender of ultra-Nationalist ideas, killed Turkish soldier Sevag Balıkçı, who was of Armenian descent, on April 24, the remembrance day of the Armenian Genocide. Many Kurdish people have also fallen victim of Grey Wolves attacks, but they fought back; just a few months ago Fırat Yılmaz Çakıroğlu, the leader of the Grey Wolves branch at Ege University in İzmir, was killed by Kurdish Nationalists.

Australia: Refugee Review Tribunal (2009-09-14):

According to reports, police arrested three people who had allegedly formed a "death squad" to kill notable Kurdish personalities. The raids took place on Monday night at the homes of Mücahit Yalçın, the president of the Igdir branch of the Grey Wolves ultranationalist group, and Turan Çevik, the former head of the Melekli district's Grey Wolves branch. (s. 15)

Hürriyet Daily News (2014-10-09):

Four people were also killed late Oct. 9 in the southeastern province of Gaziantep during a gun battle between opposing groups over the fate of Kobane. At least 20 people were injured in the clash. Pictures from the incident showed large groups of protesters carrying knives and sticks while making the sign of the grey wolf, a far-right symbol associated with the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). Assailants also set fire to the Democratic Regions Party (DBP) building in the province's Şahinbey district.

Politico Europe (2015-07-30):

So far this month, Turkish ultranationalists have attacked two Chinese restaurants in Istanbul, assaulted Koreans (whom they mistook for Chinese) at an iconic palace and tried to break into the Chinese embassy in Ankara.

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The instigators of the attacks are reportedly from the radical youth wings of the two major ultranationalist parties: the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)'s neo-fascist "Grey Wolves" and a similar group run by the rival Great Union Party (BBP). In an apparently coordinated campaign, both of the groups hung banners last week reading, "We miss the smell of Chinese blood" — lyrics from a battle hymn by an ultranationalist singer.

Middle East Eye (2015-10-29)

Both prior to the election and after the collapse of the ceasefire, HDP offices were subjected to ransacking by far-right street gangs.

Members of the ultra-nationalist Grey Wolves - a paramilitary movement linked to the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) - and the Ottoman Hearths, an AKP-linked street movement, are thought to have been among the main instigators of the attacks.

Over the space of five days in early September - following the deaths of 14 police officers in a Kurdish militant attack - over 130 HDP buildings were attacked, with many burnt out and Turkish flags hung from the windows. In other areas, Kurds and Kurdish businesses were assaulted, with one man reported to have been forced to kiss a bust of Turkey's founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on camera.

Famagusta Gazette (2015-09-21):

More than 130 attacks have been made on the HDP's offices by nationalist mobs and a number of their offices were set on fire.

There are also reports that some of the attacks purported to have been carried out by the ultranationalist Grey Wolves might in fact

have been carried out by AKP supporters masquerading as Grey Wolves.

Aljazeera (2015-11-02):

/.../ far-right Nationalist Action Party (MHP) with 11.9 percent [of the vote in the general election] /.../

Finns kopplingar mellan de två grupperna?

Murinson (2010):

The main channel for cooperation between the security organizations of Turkey and Azerbaijan is membership in Azerbaijani branches of *Boz Kurtlar* ("The Grey Wolves"), an ultra-nationalist Turkist organization. (s. 20)

Imanli, Mahammad & Nasrullayev, Shahin (2007):

The article concludes with a refutation of claims that Turkish terrorists ("Grey Wolves") are operating in Azerbaijan. These accusations were made in an article by V.A. Karleba in the Krasnodar Legal Institute of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia.

Babak, Vladimir, Vaisman, Demian & Wasserman, Aryeh (reds.) (2004):

Although party leaders in Baku denied the existence of any ties between them, there were indications that the Boz Gurd Movement cooperated with its Turkish namesake.

Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (1995-05-01):

/.../ the Azerbaijani and Turkish Grey Wolves have a number of common themes and goals, but that there does not appear to be any direct organizational link.

Lee, Martin A. (1997):

In 1992, the colonel [Alpaslan Turkes] visited his long lost Turkish brothers in newly independent Azerbaijan and received a hero's welcome. In Baku, Turkes endorsed the candidacy of Grey Wolf sympathizer Abulfex Elcibey, who was subsequently elected president of Azerbaijan and appointed a close Grey Wolf ally [Iskander Hamidov] as his Interior Minister.

Denna sammanställning av information/länkar är baserad på informationssökningar gjorda under en begränsad tid. Den är sammanställd utifrån noggrant utvalda och allmänt tillgängliga informationskällor. Alla använda källor refereras. All information som presenteras, med undantag av obestridda/uppenbara fakta, har dubbelkontrollerats om inget annat anges. Sammanställningen gör inte anspråk på att vara uttömmande och bör inte tillmätas exklusivt bevisvärde i samband med avgörandet av ett enskilt ärende. Informationen i sammanställningen återspeglar inte nödvändigtvis Migrationsverkets officiella ståndpunkt i en viss fråga och det finns ingen avsikt att genom sammanställningen göra politiska ställningstaganden. Refererade dokument bör läsas i sitt sammanhang.

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