

PROPOSAL FORA SOLUTION

INFORMATION FILE

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OCALAN'S ROAD MAP FOR PEACE

The following quotes from Öcalan are from discussions with his lawyers in respect of the road map for peace. The full text of the road map of 160 pages which he had issued to the prison authorities in August, is yet to be publicly released by the Turkish authorities.

31 August 2009

Kurdish language

“They declare respect for cultural differences but the state's official language is Turkish. Yet, what will be the language of 20 million people living in this state? These 20 million people are not animals. How can you enhance a language if you do not organize the language, if you do not practice the language, if you do not teach the language, if you are not exposed to the language everyday by newspapers, radio or television, if you do not use it in education? How is this language going to survive? Culture grows with its language. A language needs a certain organization. In the context of individual and common rights this is a gratuitous discrimination we cannot accept. It is an absurd situation that we know the individual but not the community. There is no individual without a community. The individual can only exist within a community. This is what the Kurds want. The culture of the Kurdish people has to be free. We need freedom for organizing culture. This is also valid for other cultures.”

The Kurdish question cannot be solved without a democratic constitution

“For a solution of the Kurdish question the Kurds have to gain the ability to express themselves with a universally understood language of democracy. Furthermore, a democratic constitution is needed. For a solution of this question we need a democratic mentality, a democratic discussion, a democratic implementation, democratic politics, a democratic organization and a democratic constitution. Without a democratic constitution this issue cannot be solved.”

Turkey and Kurdistan as a common home land

“Kurds will agree to appreciate both Turkey and Kurdistan as their common home land. Also the Turks will recognize both Turkey and Kurdistan as their common home land. The word 'Kurdistan' does not belong to me. I do not use this term. It was introduced by the Seljuk Sultan Sencer. It is a historic concept which was also used by Ottoman sultans in their letters. Today's form of government is the republic anyway. Now it is time to equip the republic with democracy.”

Problems have to be solved by a democratization of Turkey

“We are facing democratization problems in all fields in Turkey. These problems must be solved by all means. In order to solve today's problems we certainly need to be aware of historic reasons, perspectives and of the past. Today's problems have a historic past. You will not be able to solve today's problems without knowing their past history. The solution is to provide a possibility for the Kurdish people to express and practice their culture freely. Those cultural differences will be recognized and accepted.”

The road map does not separate, it unites

“This road map is not only for the Kurds. It is also very important for the process of democratization in Turkey and in the Middle East. This road map is democracy, it is unifying. It is definitely not “separatist” as MHP has criticized. To the contrary, this roadmap is completed as a duty for the Turkish people, for Turkey and for Turkey's democracy.”

“The minister of the interior even calls Turkey a role model and this road map is the model for the solution in Turkey.. I handed everything to the prison administration. My approach is to lead an honourable life and to voice the truth for the benefit of the peoples. Nobody can stop me from telling the truth.”

"Self -defence" does not mean an army within the army

“My views on self-defence were interpreted negatively in the press. I do not suggest having an army within the army, nor do I ask for a separate army. There are 200,000 private security companies in Turkey. What I suggest is a kind of municipal police in the cities which is elected by the inhabitants of the district. For the rural areas this could be a kind of militia elected by the people. A number of accredited people could form a security unit, let's call it a security system. This has to be selected by the people themselves. There are 86,000 village policemen but they do not provide security. The village policemen system is a bad system. The old system does not work and the new system will come to this position as I have foreseen it before. This is an issue to be dealt with in the future. I am not pushing this issue right now, but it is an essential topic. So nobody should be angry with me for putting it forward now, ultimately we will come to this point. Security cannot be provided by village policemen.”

5th September 2009

“The solution I am offering is a project to save Turkey's long term future. We will not be an obstacle in the solution of this problem. The opposite is true and we are saying that we will do whatever we can (to support the solution). If something is being requested of me then I must be given space.”

The government is struggling

“The statements from the government show that there isn’t anything concrete at the moment. The government is struggling; in fact they are struggling a lot. It is early for the Road Map to reach the prison director. It is still in the hands of the state, they are probably still examining it. Everyone is waiting for me to say or do something. Not only the DTP, but the others as well, it seems that this matter at some point will surpass them too. What do they expect of me, it seems they expect me to undertake responsibility from here on. If something is being requested of me, if responsibility is being put upon my shoulders then I must be given the right conditions.”

We will not be an obstacle in the way of the solution

“If the government do not take the right steps they will crumble like the governments before them .”

“I know the PKK and guerrilla. They will protect themselves well. However there may be unexpected developments for them. If the AKP do not take serious steps (for a solution) they will crumble in a few months just like the governments before them. This is what the MHP and CHP want any way. If a Democratic Solution is not developed, Turkey may face a war eclipsing the 1990s and 2005 period. This will not be in the form of passive or active defence as before. There is probably a rise in the recruitment of the PKK, they are probably stronger. They are educating themselves well and preparing. If a solution is not reached then there may be unpreventable eruptions by the guerrilla forces. The problem of the Kurds is not a Nation problem; it is a problem regarding existence. The war they are waging is a war of existence, to exist; it is a war for freedom. It is a problem pertaining to life. Furthermore Turkey’s problem is not a problem of a unitary State. Some members of the DTP also do not fathom the problem. One side is saying ‘the country is being divided; they are going to divide us’ the other is saying ‘separation, dividing can be discussed’. No it is not like this, it is neither. The solution I am proposing is a project to save Turkey’s long term future. I am appealing to Mr Erdogan. We will not be a barrier on the way to a solution, we will support it however we can.”

20th September 2009

I have suspicions that the 'Kurdish Expansion' is a trap

“I have been waiting since I handed over my road map. The recent developments have added to my suspicions. I have fears, suspicions, can this problem be solved? I can’t say I can’t be sure. On one side there are the arrests (towards the DTP) and operations, on the other they are saying we are making expansions. I can’t be sure whether this is an expansion project, a purge, a trap, a fraud or a solution. The Kurdish people should also try and comprehend. The Prime Minister’s position is evident; he is throwing the ball outside the court. They are delaying as if in a training session. I don’t know if the Prime Minister’s and AKP are strong enough for this...”

The terms of disarmament are in the Road Map

“It is important that the road map for a solution and peace reaches the people, democrats and different parties. In the road map I handled the issues of democratisation in Turkey and a democratic solution of the problem in Kurdistan. I also addressed the terms of disarmament.”

There is a ‘deep power’ in Turkey

“There is a deep power in Turkey that is keeping everything under control. This isn’t the Gladio that we all know, it is different. What this power wants to do with the Kurds, with me is still unclear. The position of the Kurds is like that of a 15 year old girl who has been tricked... My being brought here is also the work of this deep power. They are trying to portray my position as a fight between Turks and Kurds. Using my position they are trying to take the Kurds and Turks prisoner, fight them against each other, and rule the country.”

They are trying to rid the DTP of the PKK

“These operations against the DTP are aimed at ridding it of the PKK and integrating it into the system. For this reason the DTP must be careful, see these games clearly, form their defence strategies and use their democratic protest rights... The DTP must see the situation and discuss it. Ahmet Turk is good, a patriot, he can take the process to a point but must be careful and protect himself well.”

Our history is being destroyed by dams

“A serious number of dams are being constructed in Dersim and Botan. These dams are destroying our history and culture. Your three hundred million dollar project is destroying our history and habitat. All democratic protest rights must be used against this and a big fuss must be created. They must be told: ‘Take your three hundred million and keep it and don’t ruin our nature.’ The valleys in Dersim, those places are the first beds of humanity, it is history. Destroying those valleys means destroying life. They are saying that the dams are being made to cut off the passages for guerrillas. Can history be destroyed for this? This is savagery.”

Peace will come, but it will be arduous

“How are these battles occurring? They are asking for deaths with these operations, they are driving the soldiers on to the guerrilla; do they (the army) want the deaths of the soldiers? It is legitimate for them (the guerrilla) to defend

themselves according to international law. The death of young people upsets me a lot. I am upset for young soldiers and young guerrillas. We are struggling so that these deaths do not occur. I am not very optimistic. We are waiting, previously April was important, and then May and now I have seen it in the papers, they are saying 'September is important.' Peace will come, but it will be arduous. But when it comes it will be very meaningful and very beautiful, it will be a great peace. I am here; this is all I can do. My opportunities are limited, but I am trying to keep myself lively, I would like to have been with my people."

27th September 2009

I've written and presented all that is needed for a democratic solution

'I've presented my views for a solution. There is not much more I can do. It is in the Road Map: I will still do everything I can for a solution, but these conditions won't permit me to do much more. It is physically impossible. The Turkish state, the DTP and the PKK are putting all the responsibility on to my shoulders. This is unrealistic. I don't even have freedom of movement here. You are not able to improve conditions here but you burden me with responsibility. You are not going to give me the means to solve this problem but still heap responsibility on to me. This is not the right way to do things.'

Öcalan responds to the Chief of General Staff

Responding to General Başbuğ's 'there are lords of terror and politics' comment, Öcalan said, 'Başbuğ has mentioned the lords of terror and politics. We made this criticism before... Başbuğ is talking about the lords in the region who are taking advantage of this war. Who supported the development of these lords till this time? Who wanted this system to stay as it is? You bear as much responsibility for these feudal lords as they themselves... The Turkish Army and the bureaucracy have maintained and made sure that this feudal system has survived till today... For 80 years you have oppressed the Kurds, prevented the democratic progress, prevented the development of even the simplest human freedoms, suppressed all political and human rights and now you are talking about the lords of terror and politics. If you don't want the lords of politics, then allow for the emergence of democratic politics. You cannot be afraid and complain about these lords if you don't allow for democratic politics.'

Turkish politicians are not implementing the policy of Ataturk In a letter I received it says, 'Andrew Mango was asked: 'what do you think of the Democratic Expansion?' and Mango replied; 'the Kurdish Expansion is a necessary continuation of Ataturk's revolutionary principles.' 'The Turkish politicians of today who say they are the followers of Ataturk, don't have anything to do with him, they do not even know what Ataturk stands for. On 10th February 1922 Mustafa Kemal emphasised that the Kurds had the right to autonomy, these are his ideas.'

On the DTP and PKK

'Whether they fight, escalate the war or surrender I can't interfere. It is their choice. It would not be practical if the DTP and the PKK burdened me with any more responsibility... If I am to help solve this problem, then my path must be cleared. War and peace is something that is up to them.'

Things can be agreed upon in negotiation

'A social compromise can be agreed upon with negotiations. The democratic potential of society will develop with a social compromise. A social compromise is for the benefit of all, it will mean everyone wins, society wins. Democratic negotiations must begin in October. If negotiations begin, a solution will develop. Why are they afraid of negotiating? They will come together, negotiate and a solution will begin to take shape. What is there to be afraid of? A regular meeting in Parliament will not do, the problem should be discussed responsibly... Negotiations will also reveal who is for and who is against a solution. Also it will show who wants peace and who wants war, who wants justice, who wants injustice, who is for extra-judicial killings who is for law, who wants an enlightened country, who wants a country in darkness. If negotiations take place, the masks of those who don't want peace and a solution will fall. It will show who is for the independence of this country... If peace comes Turkey will be a shining light in the Middle East. And it will become a model. If I am given the opportunity I can knock the masks off those that don't want peace and a solution. Who is for fraternity let it be known. And then the Turkish people can make their own decisions about me.'

Anything can happen in this period

'We are in a period where anything is possible. We will see all together how it will progress and conclude. The USA is telling the AKP to solve the problem. However, the AKP hasn't even comprehended the problem. The Prime Minister has comprehended a little, but the AKP do not know how to manoeuvre. The USA wants a solution, but the fascist structure will not allow it and the US does not know what to do. The USA cannot get the AKP to lead a reforming coup; its structure isn't suitable for this. The government's situation is clear...'

They know that I will not betray the Kurds

'They will attack the PKK and the Kurds for another period of time. They will try this method for a while. However, they will not be successful, their success is not possible. They know me; they know I will not betray the Kurds. What more do you want of me? The situation of the Kurds is clear. I've written the road map for a solution. The state is examining it.'

15th October 2009

Two peace groups can come to Turkey

‘There is a very serious obstacle in the path of a democratic political solution, which also obstructs the growth of justice and impacts negatively in the social, cultural and military spheres as well. For this reason, there is a need to overcome this blockage; and open way towards a democratic political solution once again.

In response to this I propose two peace groups, similar to those two peace groups who went to Turkey in the past, be formed with one from Europe and the other one in the south, which will comprise a combination of both our people living in the camp of Maxmur and our people living in south to go to Turkey and to explain how the Kurds can be able to live in this country, what are the basic principles in order for us to be able to live together, and to discuss the essential democratic rights and freedoms that the Kurds should enjoy. These groups should, first of all, visit the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) and all other responsible bodies in order to explain to them why there is a need for both people to live together and what are the essential prerequisites for this.’

‘I am inviting all intellectuals, democratic civil organizations, political parties, and all the groups to give a support to enable the democracy and negotiation process to be successful.’

Our proposal for a Solution is the KCK Model

‘‘Our proposal for a solution is the KCK model. The Kurds must have a subject and the subject of the Kurds is the KCK, which is in fact a democratic civil society project. Kurds must organise themselves in the economic, social, political, cultural and judicial spheres,’’

‘‘It is important to know the history of the Middle East well; and based on this, to assess western civilisation. I touched upon democratising Middle Eastern culture in my works (written defence) from prison. I would like, as a response to the IMF meetings (in Turkey), to make some assessments about capitalism. First, capitalism consumed and corroded humans and society; now it is consuming and corroding nature, the nature it lives in. It is a system that is not at peace with its own nature. I liken capitalism to dinosaurs. Initially dinosaurs fed on what was around them; they consumed and exhausted these and then began consuming themselves. This is the current situation with capitalism. This period of capitalism is similar to the final period of the dinosaurs. Capitalism is becoming like a dinosaur..’’

I proposed self-defence forces in the road map

‘‘These tribes are threatening our people; they are stirring up trouble, and even young girls have been kidnapped. This is why I am saying there should be people’s defence forces, which are not like the PKK’s defence forces; these forces will protect and ensure the existence and freedom of the people. I had spoken about this before and added it to the Road Map; however they misunderstood me and were frightened. These forces will be the people’s own defence forces. I am not saying, ‘go and kill anyone’, I am saying ‘be aware of the games that are being played, the dangers that await you and take precautions’. As you can see, they are stirring up trouble in Urfa, trying to create commotion. We cannot expect protection against them from the state or police, because even the state cannot protect itself from these forces.’’

The Turkishness of those people who burn Turkish flags

‘‘They have requested my case files in the Ergenekon case. The subject I wanted to talk about was the relations between Ergenekon, the Kurds and the Turkish state. As I said before, if the State Prosecutors had come here and listened to me, I would have told them all I know. It begins from the 1906 coup and continues till this day. This date should be well understood. When I say, Kurds should form their own defence forces, it should be understood that is based on a historical perspective. The state isn’t able cleanse itself of these forces. The Bilge village massacre is an example of this: if we hadn’t intervened immediately, that massacre would have been attributed to us, the PKK, as well. However they weren’t successful. In the past they killed women and children and blamed the deaths on the PKK. There are tens, hundreds of such events. I have mentioned it before: there was the attempt to poison Doğan Güreş, they wanted to do this and blame it on us. Again they wanted to kill Çiller and expected us to take responsibility, but we refused. There was also the flag-burning incident in Mersin. They gave a child a Turkish flag and burnt it themselves, then claimed the Kurds and the PKK had done it. These people don’t even have respect for their own flag: they burn their own flag and blame the PKK for it. The PKK has not burnt one Turkish flag to this day. But these so-called Turks, Ergenekon members, will burn and have burnt their own flags; they have no respect. This is what I call the ‘White Turk’ reasoning. Everyone must be aware of this mentality and the threat it poses. The Turkishness of these people amounts to this much. As a provocation, these forces burn flags in the name of the PKK! It is necessary to act shrewdly. This Ergenekon, Unionist (İttihatçı) mentality is very dangerous. We hope they will confront it, but it doesn’t seem likely.’’

Open the path for a democratic solution

‘‘If a democratic solution does not develop and political steps are not taken then the military line will be victorious. I have been struggling for a democratic solution and peace for 15 years, and continue to do so. But how far can we take this? Everyone should play their part in a democratic solution. The AKP government should face this bravely, otherwise they will not succeed. The MHP and CHP are aware of this and this is why they are attacking the AKP. I cannot be sure though: maybe they have been given the role of creating a political deadlock. I am not saying it for the whole of the AKP, but some

of them may have the intention of creating an impasse. I am calling on the Parliament: Open the path to a democratic political solution, open the path of democratic politics, open the path of peace, open the way to democratic negotiations.”

26th October 2009

Öcalan Discloses Three Important Proposals from His Road Map

“1st Phase: The state will assure all the rights of the Kurds. They will give us guarantees. We will prove to the state that we are not separatists. We will declare that we have abandoned violent methods. At this point a ceasefire will be established. The state will give the Kurds the opportunity to govern themselves.

2nd Phase: If the 1st Phase is completed the 2nd Phase will be to move all armed forces out of the country.

3rd Phase: The guarantees given will find their reflection in a change of legislation. People will return depending on the changes made.”

The Kurdish People’s Leader Abdullah Öcalan revealed the three approaches and methods in history and at the present day (to the Kurdish issue):

I. Approach and Method: Method of Denial and Annihilation

The first approach is that of denial and annihilation which has been the practise since 1925. This approach towards the Kurds is based on an annihilation policy... It rests on cultural annihilation as well as physical annihilation... The nationalism of those who perpetrate this isn’t real Turkism. The Turkism of these people is what is called White Turkism.

The CHP is a Continuation of This Concept and is national fascism

“They were trying to crush anyone who thought differently from themselves or raised their head... Essentially the aim of these people is not Turkism either. Their only aim is to control the Republic using this method. They thought this was the only way they could take the Republic under their control. They were saying to Mustafa Kemal, “we will make you a prophet, you are supreme for us.” They wanted to glorify Mustafa Kemal and take power... In this way they wanted to neutralise him. This method and concept of denial and annihilation has been continuing for 80-90 years. The CHP of today is a continuation of this course of action. Both the CHP and MHP are the successors of this method and policy of denial and annihilation. The CHP represents national fascism whilst the MHP represents nationalist fascism. This is how I interpret the difference between them. They both support the denial and annihilation of the Kurds.”

II. Approach and Method: Controlling the Kurds via a small State

“The second approach is to appease the Kurds with a small Kurdistan, imprison them in a small area and control them. Israel was given great support in 1947. Then Israel was formed in opposition to Palestine. Again in 1947 they began gathering the Kurds around the KDP. When they comprehended that they couldn’t finish the Kurds with the first approach they put the second option into action. This second method has been in practise for 60 years. Their aim was to form a small nation-state and gather all the Kurds around it. By doing this they wanted to control the Northern Kurds, the Kurds of Turkey especially. Now the AKP represents this approach. In fact Turkey is itself also a small Turkey. They expelled the Turks from the Balkans and other places and pushed them into Anatolia. They formed a small Turkey. At the same time they imbued them with Pan-Turkism.”

The Kurds will be controlled via South (Kurdistan)

“The AKP are supporting this second approach, this must be properly understood. What the AKP is doing is definitely fraudulent. This approach is more dangerous than physical annihilation. The AKP, based on its relationships with the South, want to control all the Kurds through them. Now that the AKP have spoken about a democratic expansion, they will do everything in their power to control the Kurds. They are opening consulates in the South and improving their relations with Iraq. All the large companies in the South are managed by Turks. They are doing all this, and improving relations in the South in a bid to appease the Kurds. And in this way they are making the Kurds dependent on themselves. In any case all the primitive nationalist Kurds are ready for this. The ones who broke from us are also in the South and have relations with them. They are all part of the same outlook. The AKP knows this well and is watching the situation closely... The AKP reached an agreement with Yaşar Büyükanıt (ex-General Chief of Staff) based on this. They reached a compromise based on the AKP controlling the Kurds and the Islamists. This is how the military coup was avoided. This agreement is still in force.”

The expansion is not the AKP’s but the state’s project

“... The difference between real and fake religion must be studied sufficiently and comprehended. Following the democratic expansion the AKP will use all its opportunity and means at its disposal. The CHP and MHP are trying to maintain their existence by standing in opposition to a solution to this problem. Conversely the AKP know that only success on this issue can keep themselves in business. For this they will use all the powers they have. Their actions are based solely on being successful in the elections. What the AKP is doing is definitely fraudulent. Also this democratic expansion is not the AKP’s project; it is the State’s project. In fact even the State as a whole isn’t behind this project. If good work is done the AKP will decline and its effects in the region will diminish.”

III. Approach and Method: The KCK Model

The third approach is the approach we support and is based on the method of the democratic governance of society. This is KCK (Koma Civaken Kurdistan); it is not based on borders but on the democratic organisation of society; it is a libertarian approach. Although I hadn't identified it, I have spoken about the KCK before. The KCK is definitely not a solution based within the State. I have written about these three approaches in detail in my Road Map. There is a historical introduction to my Road Map. It is an ambitious introduction. I stated my thoughts on how a solution can be attained. Also in the Road Map I cited the five points of the KCK system; economic, social, political, judicial and diplomatic. The social sphere contains matters such as the organisation of education. The international sphere is what I define as the diplomatic sphere. The idea of Davutoğlu (Exterior Minister of Turkey) to form a Strategic Council in the region was taken from my Middle East Democratic Confederation idea which I had spoken about much before. It is an implementation of that."

Baykal's saying "the AKP are implementing Imrali's road map" is true

"The AKP are exploiting my Road Map because it is in their possession. CHP Leader Deniz Baykal knows of the situation a little; he has been saying "the AKP are implementing Imrali's (Öcalan's) Road Map." Baykal's estimation is true. However, the AKP cannot implement my Road Map. They are only taking advantage of it. Davutoğlu is benefiting from it abroad and Erdoğan here. When I was stating democratic solutions for the Middle East in the road map I proposed the Democratic Confederation of the Euphrates-Tigris Basin. Now Davutoğlu is negotiating with Iraq and Syria on this. It is true they are making use of my road map. The AKP are in the quandary now..."

The KCK is the democratic organisation of society based on liberty. It is based neither on Federalism nor the State. It is the self-organisation of society outside and beyond the State. It is the democratic self-administration of society. This is what we call it democratic autonomy. The name may be different, but the essence is the same."

I will not call groups from now on

"The groups that arrived are peace emissaries. This problem will not be solved with the arrival of these groups. They are only peace emissaries. They will work to attain peace. I would like to thank the groups that have arrived. From now on they must work for peace. They must take their places in the Peace Assemblies. The group from Europe is also coming. However after that I will make no other calls for groups to come. This would not be right. But if the State negotiates with the PKK and they agree to send more groups then I cannot say anything. This is a decision they would need to take themselves. Once again I would like to thank the peace groups. The aim of the call for the peace groups to come was this; it was a test. I did it to open the path of the blocked political process and also to test their loyalty, and they listened and came and displayed their loyalty. I wish to convey my gratitude and thank them. The peace groups that came in 1999 were unprepared. We were slightly unfair towards them. It was an uncertain period. We thought the State would take advantage of the opportunity, but the State just imprisoned them."

The Proposed Phases for a Solution in the Road Map:

Phase I: The state will acknowledge the KCK

"From now on there needs to be three phases for a solution, I have cited them in the Road Map. In the first phase the state will guarantee all the rights of the Kurds. They will give us assurances and convince us. And we in return will firstly convince the State that we are not separatists, we will declare it. And secondly we will also declare that we will not resort to violent methods. We will put violent methods out of the question. At this point a ceasefire can be established. There will be no conflict or violence. The State will accept a democratic resolution and take into account the five principles I presented. They will give the Kurds the opportunity to govern themselves. However, for this to happen I must be given some free rein. All this needs to be discussed in detail. This is what I meant when I said before that I would need 90 days to negotiate the military aspect and then 45 days to negotiate the security aspect. It is not that simple."

Phase II: The guerrilla will leave Turkey's borders

"If phase one is completed then in phase two guerrilla forces will leave Turkey's borders. The third phase will be the change in legislation, ie constitution, laws and regulations, in accordance with the guarantees that were given. The current constitution will need to change. People will return based on how much of this is implemented. I need to be able to express myself during this period. For me to realise this solution the State must take this into consideration, and show its support. There are ten principles in my Road Map. I have sufficiently disclosed how a democratic solution can be achieved in the Road Map."

The parties are testing one another

"The situation now is one of testing. The PKK are testing the State, this is true. And the State is testing the PKK. This situation is not one of dialogue. It is one of mutual suspicion. The AKP must accept the democratic solution. However they are acting in a very self-interested and self-seeking manner. They are making all sorts of calculations. They are also playing with an eye to the elections... This dialogue process didn't begin with the AKP; it has been there since Özal's time. Following this news was sent during Erbakan's term... The AKP want to reap the benefit of everything. The road they have chosen is full of all sorts of deceptions, tricks and fraud. The explicit massacres committed by the Ergenekon are less dangerous than this secretive and deceptive annihilation process."

We are in favour of a solution

“We are for a solution, for a democratic solution, however the State must also be for a solution, it must accept the democratic solution. Moreover, we are in favour of a solution with the State, the State that is the real State. The State must accept the democratic resolution model in which the Kurds can govern themselves... I would like to call on the Turkish people: For 80-90 years there has been a veil put over us. Together we can lift it. Acting together we can bring peace and democracy, we will gain altogether. We are in favour of the democratic solution.”

2 November 2009

Peace needs seriousness

“This is not a game, it needs a serious approach. It needs respect. Everything has been understood. The arrival of the peace groups and the Kurdish peoples’ reception and honourable stance has uncovered the government’s real face and intentions. The government’s plan has fallen through. The people who went to greet them were not just DTP or PKK sympathisers. AKP supporters also went. This is what is scaring the government. They are afraid of losing votes. However, this situation is not one that can be conducted with the fear of losing votes. Peace needs seriousness. I would like to thank all the friends who complied with my call and came. In this way they have shown their loyalty. With the arrival of these groups and the response of the Kurdish people, we have shown that we are in favour of peace. The Kurds have declared their desire for peace. However, the government has not responded to this in a serious manner. This will not do. On one side the Interior Minister is saying one thing, on the other the families of martyred Turkish soldiers are going to Parliament and meeting with the President of the Assembly and talking disrespectfully and insultingly, saying it is terror and such like. This is disrespectful.”

The AKP is not sincere, they do not want peace

“The AKP is not serious. Being a statesman is a serious business. Peace is a serious business, the AKP is not sincere, they do not want peace. The point that this expansion process has reached is one of trickery and deception. Once again they are attempting to scapegoat the Kurds for what has happened. Their approach is like trying to trick a fifteen year old girl. This is the approach they are taking with me. However, they will not succeed. They are saying we will reassess the process; it cannot go on like this. I am calling on Erdoğan for some seriousness. There will be no more groups from now on. There is no need for them from now on.”

The expansion is a lie, the real aim is to annihilate the PKK

“What does ‘we will start over’ mean? They can do whatever they please. They do not have intent for peace anyway. They are not serious or sincere for peace. Their only aim is annihilation. The Prime Minister has no right to act emotionally. I have been kept here for 10 years as the most isolated person on the planet and still I do not act emotionally even in my hardest moment. The peace process cannot be conducted out of concern for votes. They are still worried about their seats. The AKP is not sincere. The AKP’s plan has been exposed by the arrival of the peace groups. They think by supposedly using me they can solve this problem according to their own wishes. They cannot use me in this way. The expansion is a lie, the real aim is to annihilate the PKK.”

The Turkish supra-identity is a horror

“Baskin Oran in one of his works says ‘the Turkish supra-identity is frightening.’ It is a judgment that has come too late. He has probably read my writings; he has his own studies as well. He is saying this and so am I. Furthermore there is no real Turkishness in the Turkish identity. Yes, the Turkish supra-identity is frightening; I am calling it a horror. The Turkish supra-identity is being forced upon all the Peoples (of Turkey.) Using this Turkish supra-identity they have tried creating a dress that is too tight for all the Peoples left over from the Ottoman Empire. They are trying to fit in 10, 20 people in a dress that is too tight and too thick and bound by stiff and permanent laws. By doing this they tried to dissolve cultures and create a compound.”

They cannot annihilate the PKK by attempting to use me

“I do not know what will happen from now on. They may kill me using medication or with some other method. It is up to the USA, the powers that brought me here. There have been approaches to force me to retreat, solitary confinement, physical intervention and such like. However I didn’t retreat, I will not. Regardless of whether I live or die the Kurds will not accept, should not accept anything apart from an honourable peace, they will protect their freedom. The Kurdish people have come to this point. Also they cannot annihilate the PKK by attempting to use me, it is impossible.”

Even Hitler did not do this

“There was a girl who was teaching children Kurdish in Diyarbakır, her name was Medya. This 12 year old girl was teaching her mother tongue. A prosecutor of Turkey couldn’t even tolerate this. An investigation was begun. Your prosecutor cannot even tolerate the Kurds learning their mother tongue; is this an expansion? The Kurds learning their language is not even being tolerated. This is cultural genocide. Where in the world can you find such a thing? Even Israel didn’t do this to Palestine. Even Hitler didn’t do such a thing.”

The rights recognised to Corsica should be recognised

“We do not want much. It will suffice if they recognise the rights France, who they take as an example, has given to Corsica. Was France’s unitary structure destroyed when they granted the Corsicans their freedom, rights and territorial autonomy? No. They are not even allowing Kurds to learn their mother tongue.”

Nothing apart from an honourable peace can be accepted

“It is evident from the arrival of the peace groups that I am still capable of convincing the PKK to put down their weapons. They listen to me, they are loyal to me. However, from now on I will not interfere. I have carried out all that is my responsibility for a democratic resolution and peace. The Kurdish people are honourable; they will not accept anything apart from an honourable peace. The Kurds’ will for peace has been formed. We must not let those against peace be victorious. As I have said, I may die here, or be killed. With or without me the Kurds and the Kurdish Movement have come to the point where they can make their own decisions and not compromise their freedom and honour. I cannot make decisions here regarding war, I will not. This decision can only be made by the PKK.”

7th November 2009

The Turkism of these people is the forfather of Hitler’s Fascism

‘This mentality rests on a hundred year history. It begins in 1906 with a coup. It begins with Abdulhamit’s dethronement. Abdulhamit was the sultan, but he was a man of his time and was doing what needed to be done. In that period his mentality was better than this (Turkism), he was someone who understood his age. Abdulhamit’s dethronement wasn’t due to one military officer; the Germans and English were behind it. The situation of 1915 and the Armenians are well known; Hitler stated ‘they are my teachers’ about the perpetrators of this genocide. He said ‘they killed the Armenians and nothing happened, we can also do this.’

With this lesson Hitler went on to massacre the Jews, he took heart from this. It may seem like an exaggeration but the Turkish nationalism – Turkism of these people is the forefather of Hitler’s nationalism – Hitler’s fascism, this is its nature. The situation of the Kurds is similar to the Armenians, in fact it is worse, the Armenians were massacred once, the Kurds have been massacred many times and this massacre continues. This policy has its roots in the mid-19th century. I have read and am reading Baskin Oran’s series of articles. He talks about the Turkism ideology created from above and enforced on the people, he says this Turkism is terrifying. I have been saying this for a long time.

They cannot annihilate the PKK

Turkey must realise that they cannot get a result with these games. They shouldn’t attempt to annihilate the PKK by using Barzani and Talabani. They cannot annihilate the PKK. Also there are the conglomerates and corporations they have formed in Ağrı, Bitlis and other places. They may be able seduce some Kurds in this way but they will not affect all of them. The majority of the Kurds will not abandon their freedom movement and their honour. The Kurds are on their feet in the South and in the four parts of Kurdistan; the Northern Kurds are standing proud and showing an honourable and resolute stance.

The issue must be brought to parliament and resolved

I am appealing to the President and Prime Minister once more; you must be courageous. This issue must be brought to Parliament and resolved there. Parliament must give the decision for peace and open the path of peace. It must decide for a democratic political resolution. We want to prevent loss of life and pain. I made this decision 16 years ago and have been struggling since. We are saying peace is a possibility.

If the AKP do not resolve this issue they will be eliminated

I have convinced myself for the PKK to be disarmed and channelled into the peace process. I have changed, we have changed. We wanted to resolve this issue with Özal, but it didn’t happen. I replied to Özal’s call a little late. Again I am upset we couldn’t solve it with Erbakan, he wanted a resolution as well. However, in conclusion it can be seen that both of them were eliminated by certain powers. Now there is the AKP. If the AKP do not solve it they will also be eliminated. If the peace process does not develop during these winter months, then a very strong conflict may prevail towards spring. The Government and State must decide on peace as well. If a decision for peace is not forthcoming, then a conflict between Turks and Kurds will be developed and this is what these powers want. For them the death of two million people is a risk they are willing to take.

I will give my last breath with honour

They want to turn Turkey into Iraq. It will become like Iraq and Afghanistan. This is what I am trying to prevent. The PKK must be able to make its decisions itself. The Kurds must be able to make their own decisions. I do not know how much more I can endure here; I will not resort to suicide, regardless of everything I am trying to resist. I would like it to be known that I will strive to struggle as a friend and comrade bound to my people and will give my last breath in an honourable way. I would like to declare something in all certainty; do not expect practical leadership from me. The Kurds should discuss and decide what they are going to do amongst themselves. However, if they want me to play a role then they must give me some freedom and improve my conditions. It has been 11 years, my health issues are connected to my conditions. I cannot follow everything, I don’t receive news of many things.

THE PEACE AND DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION GROUP

Democracy, Peace and Liberty Group 26 people, (4 childrens, 9 women) and 8 people from Kandil " The Maxmur Peace Group, which consists of 4 children, 10 women, a total of 26 entered in Turkey on 19th October . After the calls from the Kurdish Leader Abdullah Ocalan, a peace group of 8 including 4 women will also go to Turkey.

19.10.2009

LETTER OF THE PEACE AND DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION GROUP

To The Honorable Representatives Of The Government Of The Turkish Republic, Its Citizens and Democratic Community

In order to unwind the current halting of the peace initiative in respect of the Kurdish question in Turkey and Turkey's democratisation process, we the peace group acting on the historical initiative of Mr. Abdullah Ocalan, come to Turkey to contribute to a true basis for peace.

Our decision to contribute to the peace process by going to Turkey in no way relates to us wanting immunity from section 221 of the Turkish penal code. We have used our free will in our decision to partake in this peace group. We do so to firstly assist ceasing the bloodshed between the parties, to put an end to our mothers' crying, and to strengthen the foundations for a peaceful solution. As it is evident from this peace initiative we have taken, we are not the root of the problem but rather the side that wants a peaceful solution. Turkey is currently going through a very important, critical process. After the local elections on the 29th of March of this year, the debate surrounding democratisation within Turkey reached a significant level. The road map for a peaceful solution drafted by our leader Mr. Abdullah Ocalan was prevented from distribution to the wider community. Despite this, the road map has had a positive effect on ongoing debates for a peaceful solution, and together with the constructive announcement by government representatives, has strengthened the possibilities for a peaceful and democratic solution.

The fact that a very wide and diverse community seeks to contribute to the debate (although on a limited basis) has itself opened up the possibilities for a real democratisation of Turkey. Community contribution to the debate will enhance common understanding amongst its people and respect for the rights of its various peoples. The Kurdish Freedom Movement is continuing its unilateral ceasefire, and enduring significant sacrifices. Through these developments and the debate which has resulted, the Turkish public has come to face the plight of the Kurdish people. These developments have brought the democratisation of Turkey and efforts for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish question to the forefront of the debate as real issues. The fact that the problems of the Turkish and Kurdish people cannot be resolved through violence but rather through the process of democratic politics, has now reached firm recognition.

As a peace group, we believe that our initiative will assist the democratisation process by providing a fundamental basis for understanding and creativity. The current developments in Turkey provide possibilities for a genuine solution more than ever available before. A democratic solution to the Kurdish question will provide the basis for democratisation and stability within the region. In order to bring this possibility to life we are hopeful that first and foremostly, the responsible forces and responsible communities approach the process in a sensitive and delicate manner.

Whatever the conditions of the solution may be, democracy will not prevail without a common will. The obstacles provided by nationalist, self-serving, chauvinist groups against the democratisation of Turkey and the democratic and peaceful solution to the Kurdish question make this explicitly clear. The wide ranging attacks of these groups against the democratisation of Turkey are designed to prevent a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question. This constitutes a real threat to the democratic initiative that has been developed and ongoing debates to this end.

In order to overcome these threats to the democratisation process, Mr. Abdullah Ocalan has called upon peace and democratic solution groups to go to Turkey. We are therefore, using our freewill to go to Turkey as peace ambassadors to assist the ongoing process. Another reason for our initiative is to uncover historical subversions in order to strengthen the possibilities of our people living harmoniously together.

Some of us represent the people of Maxmur who are made to live through the heavy consequences of the damaging policies that have resulted in the intractable nature of the Kurdish question. During the 1990's the Turkish government forces burned down and destroyed our villages. These attacks resulted in us having to migrate from the very lands that we were born, grew up in and struggled to live through unbearable conditions in order to protect ourselves from the falling bombs. Families and loved ones lost their lives as a result of these unjust policies. Likewise many members of our families and loved ones became the victims of extrajudicial killings by the government forces of the time.

To this day we do not know how these people were killed and where their bodies are. Thousands of people were disabled and hundreds were imprisoned and remain imprisoned to this day. As the people of Maxmur, who have been made to live through all of this suffering, there is nobody that wants to live in peace with the freedom of our own identities as much as we do.

Some of us on the other hand, opted to take active part in the Kurdish Freedom Struggle and remained in the mountains for years under immensely difficult conditions in order to protect an honourable identity. This was in the face of an otherwise unsolvable Kurdish question, with inequalities in the living conditions of Kurds and injustices lived by the Kurds. This became our struggle for our existence - for a democratic, equal and freedom based solution.

Every conflict must have its process of dialogue and peaceful solution. Principally and ethically, we are of the opinion that once the problem has been grasped and made opens to public debate, that both sides need to refrain from

violence for a peaceful solution through dialogue. We firmly believe that a solution will only come from those who believe and advocate peace. As has been evidenced from conflict around the world, we can also with our unique circumstances, reach a peaceful solution through dialogue.

It is for this reason that we consider our contribution to attempting to overcome the halting of the current process to be critical. With the consciousness of this responsibility for the furtherance of the peace process we have responded to the calls of our leader, and the hopes of peace of our people to create the conditions to be able to live together in freedom and peace. We simply ask that the currently halted process be untangled, in order to reignite the democratic political process of dialogue. Despite similar attempts which have not been successful in the past, we demonstrate the will of the Kurdish people and our leader for a peaceful and democratic solution once again. We believe that all those who feel responsible for a peaceful solution will respect and support our peace initiative. It is as a result of this belief that we are demonstrating this sacrifice as a toll that needs to be paid as a demonstration of our readiness for a peaceful resolution. We believe that Turkish government representatives and those in favour of peace will respond to our initiative with the responsibility it deserves.

We list our requests below as follows in order that our message for peace may find life:

1. For the road map drafted by our leader to find its rightful addressees in order that a public debate be initiated.
2. For both sides of the conflict to observe ceasefires in order that a democratic and peaceful process to solve the Kurdish question be initiated.
3. On the basis of recognition of our Kurdish identity, that guarantee and protection of our identity be provided within the constitution to live freely, equally and together as part of a democratic Turkey.
4. To live our mother tongue Kurdish freely: to speak it, learn it, develop it, to live our historic values and culture within our geography in our own mother tongue.
5. To be able to name our children in Kurdish and to educate them in Kurdish.
6. To live our history, culture, literature and music as the Kurdish populace, and to develop and protect the same.
7. To be able to unite with our people as Kurds, and partake in the democratic political process and to freely express ourselves within this process.
8. For the villages, towns and the cities of Kurdistan to be free from village guards and fear of violence by governed forces, and to live in security.
9. For the democratisation of Turkey, with the construction of a democratic civil constitution.

These requests form the basis with which to find a democratic solution to the Kurdish question. We seek to openly debate and advocate peace in Turkey with all of the democratic community. We are taking these steps in order to take this historical opportunity forward. We believe that our initiative will be successful and on this basis we salute all communities in favour of peace.

27.10.2009

THE AKP REFUSES VISAS TO THE EUROPEAN PEACE GROUP

Peace and Democratic Solution Group from Europe

To the Press and Public Opinion

Dear members of the press,

Following the call of Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan, we, as members of 'the peace group' have decided to return to Turkey. Our aims are to serve the democratization process, to contribute to the solution of the Kurdish Question and to overcome the current political stalemate. Our group consists of 15 people: Arif DIRIK, Ayten KAPLAN, Baki ULUDAG, Halime GOKCEN, Hasan AKBABA, Hikmet CETIN, Hikmet KARAHAN, Ismet KEM, M.CEVAT Akin, Mahmut EROL, M.Sait YILDIRIM, Muazzez KAYA, Ummuhan SURMELI, Veli TEKIN, Vesile YUKSEL

Turkey is at an important and critical turning point. We believe that political reforms and democratization initiatives have reached an important phase since the local elections in 29 March 2009. However it is important to highlight that 'the road map' prepared by the Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan has not yet been released by the authorities to the public, and that 'the democratization process' is at an impasse.

Upon calls from Mr Abdullah Ocalan, the Kurdish Movement organized 'peace groups' that consisted of 34 people from Maxmur and Qandil. The peace groups returned home on 19 October 2009 in order to further the democratization process.

The peace groups who came to the country received a rapturous reception from hundreds of thousands of Kurdish people and those in favor of peace who gathered to meet them.

We, the members of the 'peace group' who fled to Europe to escape persecution and oppression in Turkey, had decided to return to Turkey tomorrow (on 28 October, 2009). We made this decision in order to respond to our people's great hopes for an honorable and democratic peace and solution to the Kurdish issue. We made all the necessary preparations and applied to the Turkish Consulate for the relevant travel documents.

The Prime Minister, government and state officials' statements in relation to our people's joyful reception to meet the first peace groups were inappropriate and prevented the peace group from Europe to leave for Turkey. Officials failed to issue the necessary travel documents.

Due to the aforementioned reasons, we have temporarily postponed our return to Turkey.

We believe that the peace process in Turkey can only be successfully pursued if all relevant parties under take their responsibilities with gravity, courage and compassion. Despite the decisiveness, goodwill and persistence of the Kurdish movement towards peace and democracy by sending the peace groups, the government's present attitude is blocking the way for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Kurdish issue.

The ruling AKP government is claiming is that we created a 'crisis of confidence'. On the contrary, the government and state forces are responsible for causing a 'crisis of confidence' by disturbing, provoking and sabotaging the process. It is under these conditions, that we were forced to postpone our journey to Turkey. We believe that our decision to postpone will be understood by our people and all those concerned for the process to be advanced.

With a strong believe in peace and democratic solution, we would like to respond to Mr Ocalan's call and to the Kurdish people's hopes for peace and free coexistence. We are ready and confident to open the way that is blocked by the government and contribute to the process. In the coming days, we will evaluate the government's political and legal approaches and decide accordingly on a date to return to the Turkey. Our decision will be shared with the members of the press and the public.

Only a common effort will make the initiative work. Therefore, we request that the concerned Turkish officials take on this responsibility, and to be courageous in order to make our group's journey to Turkey possible.

It is clear to see the efforts by the CHP administration, MHP and Ergenekon gang in sabotaging the peace and solution process. Rather than being under the influence of this backward mentality which gets its strength from the war, the AKP must be even more accountable, assertive and strong-willed in its approach. The Kurdish people's cry for peace and search for a solution must be understood as a great support for the people of Turkey and an approach of fraternity and solidarity.

We believe that the media, intellectuals, non-governmental organizations and the public opinion in Turkey will support and value our efforts for the peace initiative.

We salute and extend our regards to the people of Kurdistan and Turkey on the basis of a strong belief for an honorable peace and democratic solution.

We thank you, the members of the press for your interest.