

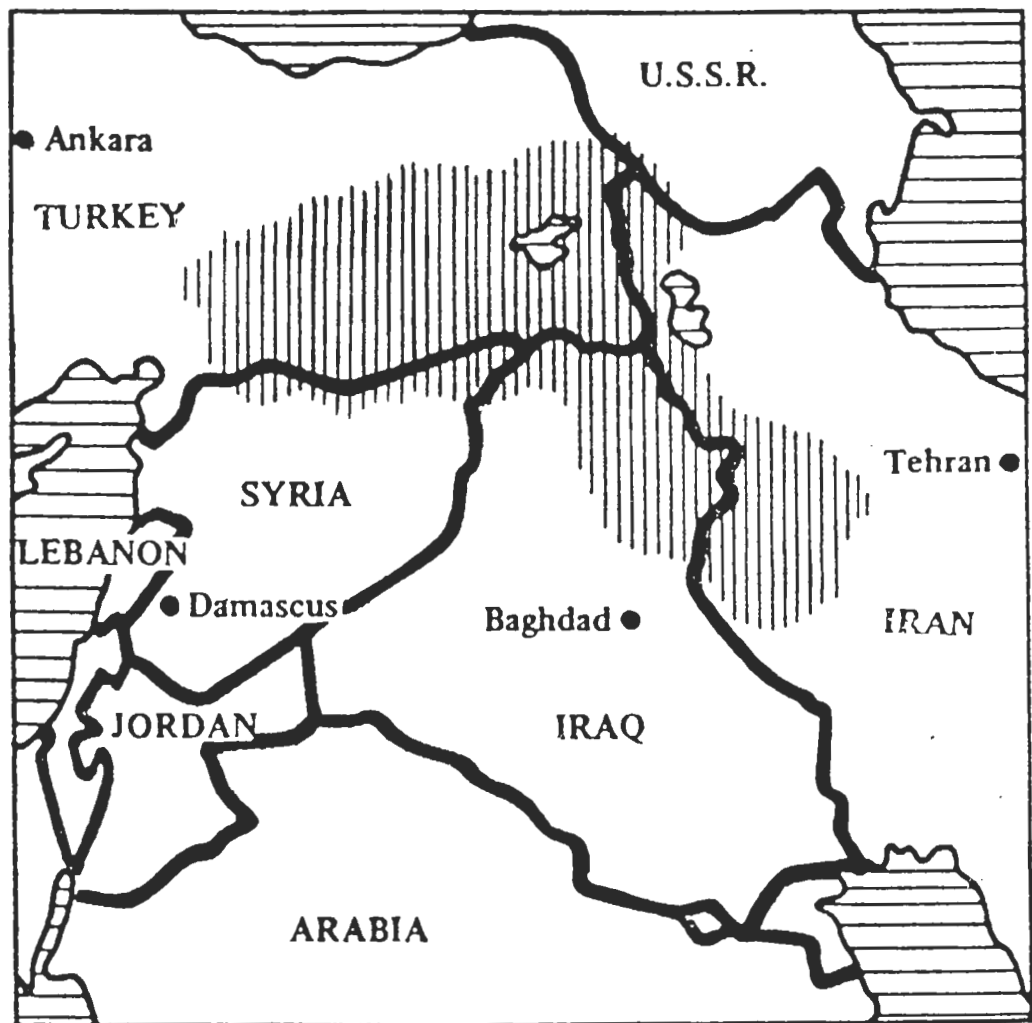
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KURDISTAN: AN INTERSTATE COLONY

PART I

VIEWS ON KURDISH IDENTITY AND
KURDISTAN

Translated by A Baran



||||| KURDISTAN

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INTRODUCTION

Mass arrests and mass trials took place in the "East" in 1971. DDKO [Revolutionary Cultural Centres of the East -Tr] and [underground-Tr] Kurdistan Democratic Party were the most significant organisations that represented large masses. In Martial Law detention centres there were many people from many segments of the Kurdish society. They included students, villagers, shop keepers, workers, low level public servants, landlords, Sheikhs and tribal leaders etc..... Military prosecutors in Martial Law courts in the [Kurdish-Tr] provinces of Siirt and Diyarbakir were pressing claims formulated in well known moulds by the official state ideology on the Kurds and Kurdish language. They were classifying those who did not speak even a word of Turkish as Turks. Despite the presence of interpreters between the accused and the Prosecutor and/or the bench, claims were being made that there was no such language called Kurdish and that the language known by that name was a dialect of Turkish. Professors and the universities were enthusiastically endorsing these views expressed by the prosecutors. They were saying this is the scientific view, the latest scientific research had proven these assertions. The irreconcilable contradictions between these claims and the facts of life were one of basic dimensions of the 1971 trials. Therefore, the 1971 trials brought about the dawn of a very important new era in the history of the Kurdish people. During trials the Kurdish people began pondering on their own identity, on Kurdish society, Kurdish history, Kurdish language, Kurdish Culture, and Kurdistan. The processes of understanding, appreciating and discussing continued also after the detention, trial and imprisonment with a heightened intensity.

This process gave one of its most significant fruits in the mid-70's. The development by the Kurds of the colonial thesis on Kurds and Kurdistan is closely linked with this process. The views that Kurdistan is a "Colony" and "the Kurds are a colonised people" gained favour with virtually all Kurdish and some Turkish organisations from 1974-1975. All Kurdish and some Turkish organisations made contributions to the development of this thesis. These views were mirrored in many especially the younger segment of the Kurdish society and they began to define and defend the Kurdish identity in intelligent and determined ways.

Note: "East" in Turkish vernacular means Kurdistan. For many years, indeed decades the words Kurd and Kurdistan were illegal to use and were erased from Turkish dictionaries-Tr

It is well known that in the 1980's, the process of acquiring knowledge about Kurdish community developed in much greater depth and wider circle. This process has affected the Kurds' basic thoughts, attitudes and behaviour. For example, during the 1971 trials the Kurds were endeavouring to explain that Kurdish is a distinct language from Turkish. In the 1980's they are using the Kurdish language and are trying in an earnest and determined way to defend themselves in courts in their own language.

These efforts are aimed at drawing closer attention to the subject from within Turkey, the Middle East and the rest of the world. When looked at it this way, it becomes evident that the status of Kurdistan is even lower than that of a colony and the status of the Kurds lower than that of colonised people. Here the purpose is not to explain how Kurdistan and the Kurds became colonised or how they have fallen below such status and cannot even be regarded as colonised. These are of course subjects that need to be investigated. The aim here is merely to draw attention to some dimensions of the subjects and pose some questions.

THE EMERGENCE OF COLONIES IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Historically colonies are classified into two categories: full colonies and semi-colonies. Full colonies are those communities which had not developed to form a national government yet. To expand the frontiers of its empire a powerful country would make the economy of a traditional society subservient to and dependent on its own economy. To facilitate its exploitation from a political point of view, it would also set up a political infrastructure in the colonised country. Clearly this infrastructure was the product of the colonising country. All political, administrative, military, cultural and economic aspects of this infrastructure would be controlled by the colonialists. Through this infrastructure the colonialists would transfer their tools of trade to the colonised society. Chief among these were Governor-Generals, Viceroys, Commissars, Military Governors etc to govern. But this political infrastructure would exercise its sovereignty within pre-defined borders. It is therefore appropriate to apply the concept of "Colonised

State" to such a political system.

The British had this sort of arrangement in Asian countries such as India, Ceylon, Malaysia and Burma, in African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, Sudan and Tanzania, in America's Honduras and in Oceanic country of New Zealand. France had similar arrangements with countries such as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal, Ghana, Mauritius, Upper Volta, and Dahomey; Belgium with Zaire, Portugal with Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau; and Holland with Indonesia. There was need for local personnel to fill positions created by the establishment of colonialists' economic, political, social, cultural and even religious institutions in these colonised countries. But these personnel would have to be educated in the western tradition. Such personnel would be trained to preserve and protect the interests of the dominant countries. In this regard they amounted to an extension of the colonialists.

Semi-colonies were in fact the ones who already had a government of their own. They were established along traditional values and had a long history. China, Persian Empire and Ottoman Empire were semi-colonies. In the face of increased power and influence of the colonialist countries, these semi-colonies were feeling the necessity to train their leading personnel and reorganise their economic, social, cultural and military institutions.

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF KURDISTAN AND THE KURDS:

A COUNTRY WITH A STATUS EVEN LOWER THAN THAT OF A COLONY, A NATION WITH A STATUS EVEN LOWER THAN THAT OF THE COLONISED, A COUNTRY WITH NO IDENTITY, A NATION WITH NO IDENTITY.

The status of Kurdistan is not compatible with that of a colony or semi-colony. Kurdistan doesn't even enjoy the status of a colony. The Kurds have not even reached the status of the colonised people. The status of the Kurds and Kurdistan is much lower than that of even a colony. Earnest efforts are underway to strip the Kurdish people of their identity to condemn them to bondage to erase their name, culture, heritage and language from pages of history and face of this earth. The aim is to annihilate Kurdish identity. The

Kurdish people are rejecting this status or more precisely lack of any status imposed upon them by the colonial masters of the world and their local collaborators in the Middle East since the first quarter of the 20th century are resorting to all sorts of measures including armed struggle to secure their freedom.

Here it is necessary to dwell upon the terms "the colonial powers and their local collaborators". The states that have collaborated with the colonial powers in order to destroy the Kurds and Kurdistan are at the same time invaders. Various states can collaborate with the colonial powers in relation to a variety of matters. Entering into a military alliance is one example. But the collaboration of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria manifests itself as occupation. These states have occupied and annexed Kurdistan.

The use of a colonised region for the purposes of exploiting its natural resources such as petroleum, copper ores, coal, phosphates, land, forests and waters and of using it as a market for manufactured goods is no doubt relevant to Kurdistan too. But in Kurdistan there are also factors that are never seen in traditional colonies and that act as identifiers. It is these factors that are seen not in colonies but in Kurdistan that keep the status of Kurdistan lower than even that of colonies. Although it was explained above there is benefit in reiterating it. For example, let's look at the relation between Uganda and England. There was a country called Uganda. It was a colonised state with defined borders. There was a people living there. They were not English. Ugandan soil was not considered English soil. There was no effort to Anglicise the Ugandans. These were known to the English and the natives. In the 1960's, when as result of constitutional discussions Uganda became an independent state its borders did not change. Uganda became independent within the same borders. England's relation with India, New Zealand, Kenya, Somali, Botswana has been the same. It is possible to see the same dimension in France's relation with Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. People living there are not French and there is no effort to make them French. These are known to the French and the locals. The same can be said for Portugal's relation with Angola and Mozambique.

The situation is not at all like this in Kurdistan. The Kurds are not seen as Kurds anywhere. In Turkey, they are deemed to be Turks, in Iran as Persians, in Iraq and Syria as Arabs, naturally, as second class "Turks", "Persians" and "Arabs".

Therefore strenuous efforts are expended to Turkify, Arabize and Persianize them. The identity of the Kurds and Kurdistan is being adamantly denied. The rights the Kurds have won through armed struggle in Iran and Iraq are of course another subject to be studied.

After WW I, that is after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, states such as Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon were established as colonies (mandates). But, no state of Kurdistan was established. For example, Kurdistan occupied by the British did not become a state of Kurdistan. The Kurdish nation and Kurdistan were divided, carved up and parcelled out with the view to erasing their names from lips and pages of history. The pieces were left to the states of Iraq under British mandate, Syria under French mandate and Turkey. Eastern Kurdistan has since the middle of the 17th century been under the control of Iran. In the face of these impositions, the Kurdish struggles for freedom and independence and efforts for their national rights have been drowned in blood. For example, in southern Kurdistan the struggle under the leadership of Sheikh Mahmud Berzengi and then Molla Mustafa Barzani, in eastern Kurdistan under Simko and then Qazi Mohammed and in northern Kurdistan the struggle at Kocgiri and the ones under Sheikh Sait, Ihsan Nuri and Sayed Reza....can be cited. All drowned in blood with the agreement between and joint efforts by the colonial British and their local collaborators. The borders of Kurdistan are not well defined. The states that use Kurdistan as a common colony have made significant changes in its population and natural borders via internal and external exiles, forced resettlements, wholesale slaughters, genocides and the politics of settling Afghan refugees and Bulgarian Turks in Kurdistan in a frantic effort to Turkify, Arabize and Persianize the Kurds. To forcibly remove the Kurds from their ancestral homeland and resettle the Turks, Arabs and Persians in their place, to use the most productive land in Kurdistan as State Reproduction Farms and Military Garrisons is the earnest and diligent policy of the states that use Kurdistan as a common colony.

It is necessary not to forget the fact that there is also a small part of Kurdistan in the Soviet Union, within the borders of the Armenian Republic. Forced resettlement policies have been implemented over there as well. The Kurds were en masse transferred to Central Asia in 1944.

THE OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY THE
"DIVIDE AND RULE" POLICY FOR THE
COLONIALISTS

The "Divide and Rule" policy provides many opportunities for those who apply it. This is quite clear. The application of this policy becomes easier when it is applied to one country in the common interests of several countries and when it protects their common interests. When several countries claim a distinct piece of another country, the friction between the claimants reduces. The claimants in order to protect their interests enter into close collaboration and seriously seek ways of reducing their differences. The need to keep their share is the underlying reason for these countries to establish and cultivate friendly relations.

Between 1915 and 1925 there was a colonial struggle over Kurdistan. Those who made claims on Kurdistan, those who saw opportunities in Kurdistan entered into an intense and open conflict in order to secure a greater share. The main characteristic feature of this period is conflict and armed struggle. But at the end of this period the parties making claims on Kurdistan chose compromise. The compromise brought about the division and sharing of Kurdistan. The main feature characterising the period thereafter is collaboration. The countries that have divided, carved up and parcelled out Kurdistan know that to protect their interests they need to strengthen their collaboration.

Comparing the policies Israel applies to Palestinians and the policies Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria apply to the Kurds yield useful clues. For example, since the beginning of 1988 the conflict between Palestinians and Israeli security forces is given extensive and detailed coverage by both TRT [Turkish Radio & Television Authority, state run national radio and TV networks-Tr] and the Turkish press. Photos in the press and TV screens reflect the events for very, very long times. Demonstrations to condemn the Israeli treatment of the Palestinians, meetings, open forums and panel discussions are being organised. The daily press and TRT cover these events as well. The Left and the Right both enthusiastically participate in these events. Of course, these are the necessary duties to be performed. That the daily press and TRT are sensitive to the events, too, is quite normal. This is not the issue. The issue emanates from looking at events taking place in another corner of the Middle East.

In the middle of March 1988, the Kurdish town of Halapcha in Southern Kurdistan fell to the hands of Kurdish Peshmerges [Kurdish freedom fighters-Tr] in joint operations with the Iranian forces. The colonial Iraqi regime was compelled to abandon the town. But when retreating it bombarded the town with chemical weapons. According to international newsagencies, 5000 Kurdish human beings lost their lives and over ten thousand were wounded. The Kurdish sources are emphasising that the casualties are in fact much higher than these figures. No doubt this is genocide on a big scale. In this genocide the children, women and the aged en masse lost their lives. In view of this barbarism, the attitude of the Turkish government, political parties, universities, writers, daily press and TRT is worth studying. These institutions that strongly protest the death of one Palestinian and make the public aware of it preferred to remain silent in the face the genocide in Halapcha in southern Kurdistan that left 5,000 Kurdish human beings dead and over 10,000 wounded. They pretended to be unaware and uninformed. This is the focal point of the issue.

USA was unable to use chemical weapons in Vietnam, the Soviet Union was not able to use them in Afghanistan and Israel is unable to use such weapons against the Palestinians. However, angry and frustrated it may be against the Palestinians and the PLO, Israel is not able to use these weapons. Even if Israel thinks it desirable to do so, it cannot in reality use such weapons. It is quite evident it doesn't have the courage to use this sort of weapons because of the reaction from the islamic world, from the Arab countries, from its neighbours from the international public opinion. Even more significantly, it cannot use chemical weapons because of the reaction of its own population. It is important not to forget the democratic nature of the Israeli society. On the other hand, Saddam Hussein is able to use such weapons with ease. He knows that when he uses chemical weapons against the Kurds he will not be condemned by neighbouring countries, by Arab states, by Turkey, or by Islamic countries. Therefore the main reason for Saddam Hussein to perpetrate such horrendous crimes, to engage in genocide in southern Kurdistan is lack of proper reaction. No doubt, this is a facility provided by the "Divide and rule" policy. In fact during the Iran-Iraq war both sides used chemical weapons against the Kurds, the Kurds who are engaged in a national liberation struggle.

The use of chemical weapons by the fascist and colonialist

Iraqi regime took place on 16th March 1988. The Islamic Conference summit meeting took place on 20th March. The conference reportedly discussed in fine detail subjects ranging from the Afghan question to the Palestinian question to the Iran-Iraq war to the suppression of the Bulgarian Turks' rights and adopted resolutions. But the genocide against the Kurds did not make it to the agenda, it was not discussed. The Soviet Union was condemned because of its presence in Afghanistan, Israel was condemned because of its policies towards Palestinians, Bulgaria was denounced because of its policy of Bulgarising ethnic Turks' names. But no one thought of condemning or even mentioning Saddam Hussein who perpetrated a genocide that instantly left over 5,000 Kurdish children, women and old men dead and over 10,000 seriously wounded. Here lies the chief reason for Saddam Hussein's regime to find it easy to resort to genocide. Because of this action he won't be denounced by Islamic Conference meetings, by Arab institutions and he won't be called to account. He knows the issue will not be referred to international organisations as is warranted. In meetings of such organisations the participation of the Kurds will be vehemently opposed anyway. These are the facilities provided by the "Divide and rule" policy to the colonialists. It becomes necessary to understand these relations from the concepts of "exploitation of Kurdistan as a common colony" and the "assessment of Kurdistan as an interstate colony".

There are many significant differences between the colonisation and division of Africa between the colonialists such as the British, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Spain and Germany in the 19th century and the division, partitioning and sharing of Kurdistan during the first quarter of the 20th century between the Anglo-French colonialists in collaboration with the Kemalist Turks [followers of General Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who ruled Turkey with an iron hand from 1923 until his death in 1938 and still revered by the official circles-Tr] and Iran. There are today close to 50 sovereign states in Africa. And they became independent within the borders drawn up in 1885 by the above-mentioned colonial powers. The Kurdish nation numbering close to 30 million in the Middle East has no political status commensurate with its size. It is engaged in armed struggles to protect its identity and trying to make ineffectual the repressive, racist and colonialist solutions.

During the first quarter of the 20th century the colonial powers divided the Arab nation as well. But they ensured the

emergence of Arab nation as distinct sovereign states and mandates (colonies). Eventually they all became independent after WW II as result of constitutional discussions. From this point of view there are significant differences between the division of Arabs and the division and sharing of Kurdistan. The division of Germany, Korea and Vietnam can be looked at in the same light. All of these divisions resulted in establishment of sovereign states. Kurdistan on the other hand was sliced and shared among the states that emerged with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire with the intention of destroying the distinct identities of the Kurds and Kurdistan.

JOINT COLONY KURDISTAN

There are profound differences between the Palestinian and Kurdish issues in the Middle East. The Kurds are surrounded by hostile forces. As if in a real hell, the Kurds are endeavouring to protect themselves and perpetuate their existence. All around Palestine on the other hand are friendly forces or forces that may be described as such. Palestine has but one enemy: Israel. Palestine is not alone in being hostile or at least unfriendly to Israel: There are 22 Arab states and 42 Islamic countries as well. Division, partitioning and sharing of Kurdistan has increased the number of their enemies and left them with no friends. In more recent years we see the emergence of nations friendly to the Kurds and their number is on the increase. But they are geographically far away from Kurdistan.

The Palestinians in their fight against Israel can always get political, moral and material support from neighbouring Arab countries. When pressed during their struggle or when Israel intensifies the pressure they can seek refuge in one of these Arab countries. They can pursue their struggle there. They can go to Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Tunisia, Kuwait, S Arabia, Algeria, Yemen etc. At least theoretically this is so whatever their contemporary relation with any one of these countries may be. To satisfy their own people, these countries are obliged to help the Palestinians and the PLO politically, morally and materially. This is so whether they like the Palestinians' current policy towards Israel or any other country.

It is a known fact that the Kurds who had to cross from southern Kurdistan into northern Kurdistan under Turkish

control to save their lives as a result of the use of chemical weapons were held in communitado surrounded by barbed wires [in Turkish vernacular this means being subjected to physical and psychological torture. Physical torture typically takes the form of severe beatings especially on the sole of feet - Tr]. Moreover, many obstacles were erected on the way of these human beings during their attempts to cross into Turkey. Because Turkey too is trying to do whatever it can to stamp out Kurdish movement. It is only natural for Turkey to collaborate with Iraq. Its development and exhibition of an attitude and behaviour against the Kurds becomes a self evident tangible reality.

On the other hand, the consequences of division and sharing manifest themselves in international politics as well, because the Palestinian question emerges as an Arab question. Therefore those countries who want to cultivate friendly ties are compelled to seriously support the Palestinians and the PLO. They feel this obligation. But the Kurdish question appears as an anti-Arab. When countries want to develop good relations with Arab countries they feel they have to support the Arabs and therefore Iraq and Syria against the Kurds. They pretend to be unaware and overlook the Kurdish national liberation efforts and struggle for their existence. The Arab countries are of course rich in oil. Developing trade and commerce with the Arab countries, increasing exports to these countries, investing in them, successful tenders, sending capital there emerges as a very significant economic and political activity. Moreover, the Kurdish struggle does not manifest itself as just anti-Arab. It is also anti-Turkish and anti-Persian. Therefore those countries that want to develop friendly relations with Turkey and Iran also pretend to be unaware of the Kurds and overlook their just struggles. They take sides with the Turkish and Iranian racist and colonialist policies. The development of trade and commerce pushes way back some contemporary and universal values such as human rights and the equality of nations. Countries like Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran know ways and means of skilfully using their potential for foreign trade and investment and tenders as a leverage. "If you adopt resolutions against us regarding such and such subjects or if you help with the acceptance of resolutions in international fora, you will be excluded from such and such tender.... If you don't do this or that thing against Turkey, we will buy two squadrons of fighter planes from you" etc.

For all these reasons, the Palestinians are supported in

international fora and by international institutions in a warm and determined way. And even though the Kurdish cause is at least as just as that of the Palestinians, the Kurds are left without support. Their plight is again and again ignored. For example, the Palestinians' struggle against Israel began in mid-1960's. But in a relatively short while the Palestinians became observers and represented in international institutions such as the UN and Islamic Conference. The Palestinians have many supporters and they are effective in international politics, international institutions. On the other hand the Kurds have many enemies. Their supporters, mindful of the Kurds' enemies avoid making serious efforts to help the Kurds in their just cause. This is of course true only of governments and certain international bodies. It is evident that the democratic world public opinion is very closely supporting the Kurdish cause and this support is increasingly becoming more deeply rooted and pervasive.

Countries such as the Soviet Union and USA as well as organisations such as European Community too tend to form their policies within such a frame. They take into account the buying power and industrial potential of 100 million Arabs vis a vis the Kurds. They look at Turkey and Iran in the same manner vis a vis the Kurds. The policies of socialist and communist countries too come into being in more or less the same way. Looking at the question from one of the foundation principles of socialism that every nation is entitled to self-determination leads to undesirable conclusions. When looked at the realities there are no substantial differences between the policies of the East and the West. In fact, as far as pretending to be unaware and unformed, the socialist and communist states excel by far. For example, for its use of chemical weapons against the Kurds in southern Kurdistan Iraq was condemned albeit half-heartedly in USA, various European and other countries but not even a faint voice of protest was heard in either the Soviet Union or any of the other Eastern bloc countries. Neither did PLO voice any expression of protest or condemnation. This too is pitiful. All of them behave as if they approve of Saddam Hussein's crimes, attempts at genocide and fascist and colonial measures. And they facilitate the implementation of Saddam Hussein's genocidal measures against the Kurds. They are giving courage and confidence to fascism and colonialism. At the focal point of all this lies the fact that Kurdistan is exploited as a joint colony where interstate colonial measures are implemented.

We stated above the fact that Israel is unable to use chemical

and biological weapons against the Palestinians. Even if the probability is rather low, let us assume for a moment that it did use these weapons. What will happen then? There will be tremors all over. In Arab countries, in Islamic countries, in other parts of the world in international institutions there will be meetings and protests for days, weeks and even months. Panels, conferences and open forums will be organised. Israel will be condemned and deplored. Resolutions will be adopted in national parliaments. The issue will be taken to international institutions. One after another resolutions will be carried. Attempt will be made to isolate Israel in international arena. The questions of economic, moral and material sanctions will be included in agendas. But these weapons were used against the Kurds. There were no tremors. A few half-hearted protests are not sufficient to dissuade those who conceive and implement genocidal measures.

All these are the concrete realities brought about by the division and sharing of Kurdistan. The "Divide and rule" policy facilitates implementation of such measures. The joint exploitation of Kurdistan encourages collaboration between the states concerned.

THE KURDISH QUESTION IS NOT A MINORITY QUESTION

It is necessary to emphasise here that the Kurds are not a minority. The Kurds in Kurdistan are living in their own homeland in their own country. They are the original inhabitants and they have not migrated there from anywhere else. In contrast, the Turks' arrival in Anatolia corresponds to the middle of 11th century. The Kurds like the Arabs and the Persians are indigenous people of the Middle East. But the Kurds have been divided, carved up and parcelled out by the colonial policies. This division does of course make the number of Kurds appear small within the political boundaries of each country. There can be no minority of 15-million people. The concept of minority is different.

In recent days, some racist and colonialist Turkish politicians such as Bulent Ecevit [a former prime minister and presently head of a small left wing political party-Tr] make the claim that the Kurds are not a minority but just like the Turks are the majority who helped establish the Republic of

Turkey. Therefore they say the Kurds should not claim linguistic, cultural, national and democratic rights... If they did claim these rights, if they did speak in defence of these rights, they would have engaged in separatist and divisive activities. Because, they say, the Kurds just like the Turks are the people who established the Republic. Moreover, the word Turk is not a name that identifies an ethnic group. It is a name of a nation that was made up of a mixture of Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Cherkes within the borders of the Republic of Turkey drawn up by the National Pact.

It is necessary to reject this deceptive line out of hand, too, because, where can one see a "majority" that does not even enjoy the rights enjoyed by minorities such as the Armenians, the Greeks, the Jews etc in Turkey. In order to reject the national and democratic rights of the Kurds, Turkey has chosen the way of denial by claiming "There is no people known as Kurds, everyone is a Turk". In other words, it is denying the existence of the Kurds and then saying one cannot claim rights for a people, for a nation which does not exist. Some racist and colonialist Turkish politicians and intellectuals such as Mr Bulent Ecevit follow the line that the Kurds belong to the majority and thereby deny their national and democratic rights. These are slightly different versions of the official state ideology. And they can only be a product peculiar to the Turks, the Turkish mentality and the Turks' understanding of democracy. A racist and colonialist mentality can only produce this sort of democracy.

Yet such people vehemently react to a statement "If they haven't learned Bulgarian, it is not the Turks who ought to be blamed, but the Bulgarian state which has failed to teach them Bulgarian " by any journalist in Bulgaria in respect of the Turks there. Such people claim that speaking and learning Turkish is a fundamental right.

In a nutshell, this is racism. Claiming rights such as cultural and linguistic rights for one's own kind, but denying them to another people, another nation. This racist and colonialist mentality compels people to adopt double standards in behaviour and in application of laws.

Turkish politicians and intellectuals like Mr Bulent Ecevit accuse western governments and public opinion in the west of duplicity for not protesting with enough vigour the oppression of the Turks in Bulgaria. Such people cannot hide their own duplicity even when they are making such accusations. Because the oppression of the Kurds in Turkey is many times more

severe than that of Turks in Bulgaria. Turkish politicians and intellectuals will not be taken seriously in the West as long as they do not condemn their own government's oppression of the Kurds, do not oppose racist and colonialist measures, do not struggle against these measures, as long as they favour them, that is, as long as they adhere to double standards. In recent years, the West has shown a better understanding of the Kurdish issue. The interest of Western democratic institutions and public opinion in the plight of the Kurds is increasing daily and it is becoming more intense.

The Kurdish issue is not a minority issue. It is not a question of the rights of a minority. At the foundation of the Kurdish question lie the division, partitioning and parcelling out of the Kurds and Kurdistan by colonial masters and their collaborators in the region and the confiscation of the right of the Kurdish people to have their own independent state.

On this subject, there is also a need to draw attention to a matter that is being emphasised recently. Personalities which are synonymous with Turkish racism and colonialism such as Messrs Erdal Inonu [head of social democratic people's party, SHP, and leader of the opposition-Tr] and Coskun Kirca [a columnist-Tr] have begun to speak of a concept they call "pan Kurdism". Mr Erdal Inonu says that they will not include in their platform any Kurdish question, if they did that would be separatism and divisiveness. That racist and colonialist Turkish politicians and writers who have nothing to say about the division of Kurdistan by the Anglo-French colonial powers accuse the Kurds who are making efforts to form a movement, find out about one another of "pan Kurdism" is a lesson to be learned. The status these people confer on the Kurds is slavery. They therefore expelled 7 deputies of Kurdish origin [members of parliament called Turkish Grand National Assembly-Tr] from SHP because they attended a conference called "The Kurds: Human Rights and Cultural Identity" held in Paris on 14-15 October 1989. Before that they had expelled another deputy of Kurdish origin for having made a speech about the Kurds in a Turkish-European Community joint commission. The behaviour of SHP which is an extension of the symbol of Turkish racism and colonialism CHP [Republican People's Party was headed by Mr Erdal Inonu's father Ismet Inonu, an avowed enemy and butcher of Kurds, for many, many years. The party's name was banned after the military take-over in 1980-Tr] doesn't come as a surprise at all. This party does not formulate its policies in line with the wishes of the people

but according to the official ideology, the wishes of "sensitive circles" [meaning Turkish generals who are self appointed guardians of anti-Kurdish state ideology-Tr]. In fact this is what he is trying to say by his statement "Not just 7, even if 57 deputies leave the party in protest, even if we do not get a single deputy from that region, their expulsion from the party is necessary. This is a national question".

Use of the Kurds in the application of these racist and colonial policies and the Kurds'[sic!] consent to it is a disgrace to humanity. The behaviour of some SHP deputies who attended a conference of Western European parliamentarians as observers at the beginning of December 1989 in Brussels is a dramatic example. The conference adopted a resolution along the line "The Kurds should have cultural and administrative autonomy in the countries where they live." SHP delegation opposed this resolution and tried to rescind it. "We are very happy in Turkey, we don't want autonomy." European parliamentarians looked down on these SHP members who said they don't want to be autonomous, they want to remain as slaves. They did not neglect lecturing these Kurds [sic!] on human rights, freedom and democracy. (Turkish daily Cumhuriyet 6 December 1989). That SHP sends deputies of Kurdish [sic!] origin to such meetings is a cool, calculated and conscious policy. It is an ugly manifestation of Turkish racism and colonialism. It expels those who say the Kurds ought to be autonomous, those who participate in conferences where such things are said. On the other hand, it sends those who can say "we don't want autonomy, we want to remain in bondage" to meetings where the Kurdish question is discussed. Moreover, the government want SHP to assume this job because it is supposedly a social democratic party [sic!].

There is benefit in briefly dwelling on the subject of racism here. One mustn't view racism just in terms of segregated suburbs, schools, restaurants, beaches etc as was the case in USA and is the case in S Africa today. The following is Turkish style racism: The state resorts to terror to annihilate Kurdish culture and impose on the Kurds Kurdish language and culture, to deny the very existence of Kurdish language and Kurdish nation and claim everyone is of Turkish origin. There is nothing like this sort of racism in the whole world. It is far more destructive for example than the racist policies in S Africa. It is a part and parcel of the Turkish colonial policies implemented in Kurdistan.

DECOLONISATION OF CLASSIC COLONIES AND KURDISTAN

There is one more significant difference between traditional colonies and Kurdistan. At the end of the Great War, when colonies were established or more correctly when the new status of colonies was specified under the auspices of the League of Nations, it was not meant to be a permanent arrangement until eternity. The colonising power would strengthen the economy, the political infrastructure and the administration and then would recognise the colony as a sovereign state and withdraw. In the process it would have also discharged its duty of "civilising" the local population and would leave behind a civilised people. For example, the number of countries that won their freedom through armed struggle is few in Africa. Independence in Africa has been more often won as result of constitutional conferences. The Kurdish nation on the other hand was put into a situation which was meant to be permanent. The Kurds were expected to remain till eternity divided, partitioned and parcelled out, in bondage, isolated from each other, with no identity. From this point of view the status of Kurdistan is even lower than that of colonies. Kurdistan is not even a colony. Kurds and Kurdistan have no identity.

The reasons for establishment of classic colonies are also relevant to Kurdistan. However, they are not what define the Kurdish issue, the question of Kurdistan. It is the fact that Kurdistan was left with far more difficult issues. Let's look at 19th century. The main reasons for colonisation are as follows: The industrialised countries felt the need for raw materials such as oil, iron ore, chromium, rubber etc. And these could only be found in the Middle East, Far East, Central and South America and Africa. Like it or not the presence of these raw materials heightens interest in those regions. Markets for goods manufactured in industrialised European countries were also needed. The regions rich with raw materials were also seen as markets.

An important race began among the industrialised countries on how to reach these regions. The thought of "If I don't take that region someone else will" became prevalent in industrialised countries. They began to search for ways to tie the region's economy to their own in the shortest possible

time. Sending their technicians, administrators, merchants, trainers, missionaries, security forces etc commenced too. Here another reason for the emergence of colonialism manifests itself. Protection of their people from the locals, the cannibals, the red skins emerges as a significant factor which becomes the reason for increasing the number of security forces there.

Beyond all these, some strategic reasons play important roles for colonising a region or pulling it into the sphere of influence. For example, it is more appropriate to view the relation between USA and Vietnam in this context. Here exploitation of natural resources and use of the region as new markets are not the primary concerns. The primary objective is strategic. The power that controls Vietnam possesses the opportunity to control the whole of Far East. Loss of control over Vietnam by a power would lessen its influence in the whole region. This is known as the "Domino Theory" in the lingo of American foreign policy. If the revolutionaries, the communists came to power in any one of South East Asian countries, the other countries would in turn follow suit. The American foreign policy would therefore suffer in South East Asia.

It is possible to observe these characteristics in the colonisation of Kurdistan as well. "If I do not lay claims to Kurdistan's oil reserves, water resources, copper, phosphate, coal reserves and other natural resources of Kurdistan, someone else will" mentality and "I am protecting my people there" pretexts are very important starting points in the process of colonisation. But, these are not the characteristics that define the Kurdish issue today. What defines the issue is the division, partitioning and parcelling out of Kurdistan. That is it is the colonisation and the application of colonial measures by a number of countries as well as the expectation of a strategic benefit from this arrangement.

The application of colonial measures by several states instead of just one shouldn't be viewed merely as a question of numbers. That colonialism is maintained by four states as in Kurdistan alters the essence of the relationship between the colonised and the colonisers. We are trying to explain this by the concepts of "a country that is not even a colony" and "a nation that is not even a colony". It is also necessary not to confuse the issue of "Bulgarisation" with the act of dividing, partitioning and parcelling out of Kurdistan.

"Bulgarisation" too is a sort of "divide and rule" policy. Here two people are made each other's enemies and the region where they live is made politically unstable. These are the people who live side by side and mixed with one another. Conflicts are created between these people and are made deep rooted. People are made hostile to each other. This in fact is a manifestation of super powers' conflict of interest. We see the exact opposite to this in the process of dividing, partitioning and parcelling out of Kurdistan. The countries that have colonised Kurdistan are compelled to cooperate with each other in order to perpetuate the situation. When there is conflict between the Kurdish national forces and one of the colonising countries instability comes about. This is instability regardless of what the colonialists think or do.

THE COLONIAL PLOT TO DIVIDE KURDISTAN 1915-1925

The divide and rule policy is of course the policy of the colonialists. But, it was Kurdistan that was divided in the first quarter of the 20th century, it was the Kurdish nation that was dissected and parcelled out. One of the most significant aspects of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne is that it is a treaty to divide the Kurdish nation and Kurdistan. The Treaty of Lausanne therefore means extremely different things to the Turks and the Kurds. For the Turks, it means the establishment of a sovereign state. It is the guarantee of recognition by the international community of an independent Turkish state. For the Kurds on the other hand the Treaty means bondage, the institutionalisation of being enslaved, of being colonised. It is the establishment of an interstate colonialist system. Looking at history from the point of view of class struggle alone, overlooking at the will and aspirations of ethnic groups does not always provide the answers. It is also necessary to look at history from the point of view of the will and the aspirations of ethnic groups. For example, the Turks and the Greeks look at the Turkish-Greek war quite differently. The Turks and the Arabs give entirely different accounts of the Ottoman Empire in WW II. It is also known that the Turks' and the Armenians' views are rather distinct. Similarly, the Bulgarian and Romanian historians and the Turkish historians see the Ottoman Empire in different lights. That the Iranians and the Arabs give different interpretations of the Iran-Iraq war is common

knowledge. Therefore the Kurds need to research, study and interpret their own history. The history of the Kurds cannot be written by the Turkish universities, Turkish press, Turkish educational institutions and Turkish intellectuals. Turkish universities and Turkish writers can only write for the purpose of perpetuating colonialism and legitimising it as they have maintained all along that the Kurds are really Turks.

Let us reiterate the significance of looking at historical events from ethnic groups' points of view. When looked at it carefully, it is a fact that this is what everyone is doing. For example, Turkish Marxists who emphasise that they look at events from class point of view are in fact looking at events as "Turkish Marxists". Moreover the need to look at events from class perspective should not obliterate the need to look at them with a Kurdish ethnic identity.

The following need to be said in respect of the divide and rule policy. To be the victim of a divide and rule policy is one of the worst misfortunes that can befall on a nation, because the divide and rule policy damages the brain of a nation and destroys its skeleton. A nation that sustains such a heavy blow cannot easily regain control. The Kurdish nation sustained such a misfortune in the first half of the 17th century. At the beginning of the 20th century the blow was even bigger and more devastating. For 70 years the Kurds are trying to overcome the damage this divide and rule policy has inflicted upon them. They are trying to tell the world democratic forces the unfairness of this policy. At the foundation of the Armenian question too lies such division and parcelling out. The Armenians too are a people that were divided first between the Ottoman and the Iranian Empires and later between the Czarist Russia and the Iranian Empire.

During the Turkish-Greek and the Turkish Armenian wars in the 1920's, the Kemalists' struggle with the British was in fact all about getting a larger slice of Kurdistan. The struggle was a colonial struggle, was about Turkish colonisation of Kurdistan. The Kemalists' struggle against the British did not have any anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist feature.

What can be a greater misfortune for a nation than to be the target of a divide and rule policy? There can be a very powerful earthquake that may take the lives of 20-30 million people. People may disappear in the face of an outside physical force as was the case in Central and South America

at the beginning of 16th century and in North America in 18th and 19th century. The Spanish and Portuguese colonialists and other Europeans who arrived with a lot of firepower demolished the American Indian, Aztec, Inca and Maya people and their civilisations. Undoubtedly the arrivals were the greatest misfortunes experienced by those people. But, falling victim to a divide and rule policy, too, yields at least as destructive consequences.

There are significant turning points in the history of Kurdistan. It is important to study the Ghuti-Assyrian, Medean-Persian relations. There are records about the Ghouties dating from 3100 BC. And the Ghouties are one of the indigenous people of Mesopotamia.

That the Assyrians conquered the land of the Kurds and that it is written in a clay tablet that "The Ghouti land lying between Mt Ararat and Harran was painted with blood" is a significant event. Around 600 BC the Medes ended the Assyrian occupation.

7th century AD is a very important turning point in the history of the Kurds. This is when the Kurds were converted to Islam. As is known the Kurds confronted the Islamic Armies in 640 during the rule of Khalif Omar. It is also known that the confrontation was bloody. Therefore the following needs to be researched: What sort of social and political orders did the Kurds have until 7th century? What was the economic way of life like? What did they sow, what did they reap? How did they sow, how did they reap? What sort of production means and techniques did they have? Before being islamicized, what was their religious life like? What sort of social and political institutions did they have before their conversion to Islam? How did Islam change these institutions? These are important subjects in the history of Kurdistan that need to be researched.

11th century is again a turning point in the history of the Kurdish people. Because since the second half of the 11th century the Kurds confronted with Oguz Turks migrating from Central Asia. It is important that how this confrontation took place and the consequences be researched. Up to this confrontation what sort of social and political institutions did the Kurds have? What was their religious life like? How did the confrontation with the Turks alter these things etc.

13th and 14th centuries too are important turning points in

the history of the Kurds. The Kurds this time confronted with the Mongols and Tamerlane's attacks. Research into these events and their effects on the Kurds and Kurdistan are clearly important subjects to be researched. The events taking place in the first quarter of the 16th century are also important to the Kurds. This is the period when a large part of Kurdistan became a part of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the 1514 battle at Chaldiran between the Ottoman and Iranian forces, a large part of the Kurds in line with the views and deeds of Idris-i Bitlisi [Kurdish prince and the author of Sherefname, a history of Kurdish principalities written in early 16th century-Tr] recognised the sovereignty of Yavuz the Grim, the Ottoman Sultan.

17th century is again an important turning point in the history of the Kurdish people. Because in the middle of 17th century Kurdistan was divided between the Ottoman and the Persian empires. And thereafter this division became more and more deeprooted. What were the reasons for this division? Who are the ones who conceived and implemented this division? How was the division and parcelling out achieved? How did the division, slicing and parcelling out facilitate the making of the Ottoman and Persian policies? What is the Kurds' weakness? In applying the divide and rule policy, which weaknesses of the Kurds are their enemies taking advantage of? etc.

In the first quarter of 19th century we see that the part of Kurdistan under Iranian hegemony is divided into two in the aftermath of the wars between the Russians and the Iranians. We see that a large chunk of land in northwest Kurdistan is appended to Russian Empire. Throughout 19th century there are conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and the Kurds. From this point of view, the events that took place in this century too are significant in the history of the Kurds.

Although the turning points briefly mentioned above are very important, the events that shaped up the present day situation took place in the aftermath of WW I. If there is a Kurdish question today, or if the Kurdish question has reached our day, the events responsible took place between 1915 and 1925. This is when the colonial struggle for the division of Kurdistan took place and the division was realised. Here, it is not relevant whether the Kurds had an independent state or not. That is, the sayings, "the Kurds did not have a Kurdish state then" or "the Kurds have never had an independent state" are irrelevant. We see that in 1885 Africa was parcelled out

by European colonial powers and colonialism was institutionalised further. But this was not realised in a way to end the existence of independent states in Africa. Colonialism was imposed on traditional societies that had not reached the stage of forming national governments. The borders were virtually drawn up with a ruler. Each square kilometre of Africa was shared.

Posing these questions and seeking answers become very important responsibilities. What is the reason for the Kurds to become the target of such a devastating colonial divide and rule policy in the first quarter of the 20th century? Who conceived this policy? How was it executed? Which countries have benefited from the application of divide and rule policy to Kurdistan? Why is it that Kurdistan was not made a colony-state such as Iraq, Jordan, Syria etc. But was carved up and appended to the newly created colony-states of Iraq and Syria and old states (Turkey as a continuation of the Ottoman Empire) and Iran? What was the Kurds' weakness that they fell victim to the divide and rule policy?

Let us look at the first quarter of the 20th century. The Ottoman Empire is about to disintegrate. The nationalities such as the Arabs, the Albanians, the Bulgarians, the Armenians, the Kurds etc within the empire are embarked on the road to self determination. The Anglo-French colonial powers have considerable interests in the area. The Germans and the Italians are looking for new opportunities. Czarist Russia has a big interest in the conflict. With the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the world is turned upside down. Hence, the Kurdish question needs to be looked at in the context of balance of power in the Middle East and the outside world. During the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire where does the Kurdish question stand in the midst and interrelation of the Arabs, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Jews, the Bulgarians, the British, French, German & Italian colonialism, Czarist Russia, Bolshevik revolution, Union and progress party, Enver Pasha, Mustafa Kemal, National Force, Reconciliation etc? It is necessary to explain all these relations in as much detail and as many facts as possible. It is not sufficient to merely explain the relation of National Force with the British or the French or the Bolsheviks. At the same time it is necessary to explain the relation between the Bolsheviks and the consequences of these relations.

In Turkey, in official documents, in press, among writers, in the works of political parties the word Kurd is not used.

More often the word "divisive elements" are used. This can be looked at as an attempt to cover up to prevent people from learning the application and the consequences of the divide, rule and destroy policy to the Kurdish nation and Kurdistan in the first quarter of the 20th century. What was divided was Kurdistan. What was sliced and parcelled out was the Kurdish nation. And those who effected this division are the Anglo-French colonial powers, and the Kemalists, the Shah of Iran and the Arabs who collaborated and joined forces with the Anglo-French. We have already mentioned the fact that the northern part of east Kurdistan went to Czarist Russia at the end of the wars in the first half of the 19th century.

Statements such as " They wanted to divide and slice Turkey, they wanted to annihilate the Turkish nation and erase the Turks from the pages of history, they wanted to enslave the Turkish nation, they wanted to put the Turkish nation that had been free and independent for centuries in bondage..." uttered by government and leaders of political parties on national days in Turkey has the purpose of hiding the divide, rule and destroy policy against the Kurdish nation. Preventing people from learning facts, hindering Kurdish human beings in their efforts to query these matters to contemplate on these matters is known to be a chief objective.

The often repeated slogan "the integrity of the State with its indivisible people and land" served the same purpose. What this slogan tells is that the division, slicing and parcelling out of Kurdistan will continue till eternity. The purpose of this insistenty repeated slogan is this: to hide the application and the consequences of the "divide, rule and destroy" policy. The Ottoman Empire made up of various nationalities such as Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Croatians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Kurds, Cherkes, Lazes...etc was known as a "cosmopolitan empire". How does the Republic of Turkey which houses at least two of these become homogenous? How do they arrive at the conclusion that the Turks plus the Kurds equal the Turks? Isn't the sum of the Turks plus the Kurds still the Turks plus the Kurds?

In the aftermath of WW I, that is with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish-Greek, Turkish-Armenian, Turkish-Kurdish war at Kochgiri and Kurdish-British wars in southern Kurdistan, Kurdistan was divided, sliced and parcelled out. And thus, states such as Turkey, Iran, England (Iraq) and France (Syria) ended up with their own Kurdistan. We have already stated that some of these states were colonies

(mandates).

Why was Kurdistan divided and parcelled out, why was the divide and rule policy applied to Kurdistan, what sort of consequences did this yield? It is very important to study these historical events. But this is not my purpose here in this study. I explained at the beginning that my purpose here is to draw attention to certain aspects and pose some questions.

THE FOCAL POINT OF THE KURDISH QUESTION:

THE DIVISION, CARVING UP AND SHARING OF KURDISTAN, THE APPLICATION OF THE DIVIDE, RULE AND DESTROY POLICY TO THE KURDISH NATION.

Kurdistan is in the midst of the Middle East. The division, slicing and sharing of a country in the Middle East is a very meaningful event. Why Kurdistan was divided and sliced, why Kurdistan was shared, why the divide and rule policy was applied to the Kurdish nation is not a secret to us. More or less we know all the reasons including its oil deposits for the divide and rule policy to Kurdistan. From this point of view the divide and rule policy applied to traditional colonies manifests itself as the divide, rule and destroy policy when applied to Kurdistan. What is being destroyed, subjected to genocide are the makings of the Kurdish nation, the right to have a Kurdish community, the identity of the Kurds and Kurdistan, Kurdish national identity and values. In spite of state terror and repression if the Kurds are not being subjugated, enslaved and their national demands are not suppressed then the state resorts to physical elimination, annihilation of the people. Those who struggle for these rights are physically eliminated in a variety of operations and state terror.

Although divide and rule policy is a colonial policy, divide, rule and destroy policy is the policy of, not the colonialists, but their local collaborators. Colonialists do not destroy the culture and the people of the lands they invade. Even if the colonisers in search of raw materials and new markets for their goods did not encourage the development

of the local cultures and traditions, they did not obstruct them either, they overlooked them. Moreover, one can also say they have made significant contributions in some areas. For example, the British opened up schools for the Kurds where the language of instruction was Kurdish. The French did not oppose Kurdish publications in Syria and did not thwart efforts to develop Kurdish cultural heritage. On the other hand attempting to annihilate the people with the use of chemical and biological weapons is not the policy of the colonialists but of their local collaborators.

To the Turkish Historical Society in 1930 Mustafa Kemal gives his view on the national liberation struggle of the Balkan nations against the Ottoman Empire as follows: "Why did we lose the Balkans?" He answers the question himself. He emphasises that the Balkan nations established Slavic research institutions, that they undertook extensive research in their language, literature, history and culture. He then explains that this extensive research and discussion on this research increased their national awareness and consequently prompted them to rebel against the Ottoman Empire. (Ref: Utkan Kocaturk, The thoughts and views of Ataturk, Turhan Publishing House, Ankara 1984 p.149)

It is necessary to carefully dwell on Mustafa Kemal's thoughts on language, culture, national consciousness, national history etc.. It is also necessary to dwell on the above stated views. One can draw two significant conclusions from the above views: The first one is about those who do not want to live in bondage but want to lead decent, honourable and free lives as equal to others. Such people need to claim ownership of their own history, language, culture, literature and arts. Mustafa Kemal initiated such a process for the Turkish people after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. A new Turkish alphabet was prepared and research organisations such as Turkish Historical Society, Turkish Language Society were set up. Institutes, schools and centres at Turkish universities were put into action to research and study Turkish language, culture, history, literature and arts. The new generation was moulded with such training and cultural policies. To further research and studies in these areas, students were sent abroad with the help of state resources. Directives were handed down to the Turkish press and administrators along these lines.

It is also possible to draw another conclusion from this and similar speeches. Here it is: If you want to keep a people

subjugated, if you want to keep that people in bondage with no identity, if you want colonialism to indefinitely continue in a region, if this is one of your primary objectives then you need to leave that nation without an alphabet. You will ban that people's, that nation's language and cultural heritage. You will resort to all sorts of measures to obstruct the development of that language and culture. In short, you will prevent that nation from gaining national consciousness. Because when it develops national consciousness it wants to lead its own free life and rebels against you. Because a nation that is unaware of bans on its language is one that is subjugated, unfeeling and enslaved. It is possible to perpetuate all sorts of economic and political exploitation in a country where such a people live.

When we look at the spiritual dimension of bans on a language more closely we can say the following: Banning a person's language is like chopping off that person's tongue. The ban tears apart their social and spiritual as well as their physical wholeness. Unhealthy, sick, feeble, unbalanced, diffident people who put themselves down and see the government officials as extraordinarily mighty come into being. The communities that these people make up are feeble and unhealthy. It is extremely easy to rule such communities. It is possible to make such communities do everything by means of threats, beatings and caning. They can be channelled every which way with little effort. The only avenue of recovery for such communities is to become aware of bans and start questioning their identity. The thing that shakes the colonial system more than anything else is the development of this questioning.

It is therefore imperative to assess the bans and restrictions on the use of Kurdish language and cultural practices, obstacles to studying and researching Kurdish language, culture, literature and history within this framework. Everything has to be done to prevent the Kurds from gaining national consciousness. Every preventative measure must be resorted to, every avenue must be tried. No prints of the Kurdish language, literature, culture, history and Kurdish way of life must be allowed to survive.

The divide and rule policy is undoubtedly a colonial policy. It benefits the coloniser. The divide and rule policy creates most favourable situations for the colonisers. Kurdistan in the midst of the Middle East has been divided, sliced and shared. For this purpose, the Turkish, Arab and Persian

rulers have collaborated with the Anglo-French colonial powers. This fact on the other hand shaped up the political, military and economic makings of at least 4 states in the Middle East along the interests of colonial powers. This meant the containment of the new ideas the 1917 Bolshevik revolution brought with it within the borders of Czarist Russia. It meant the protection of the British colony India and the road to it.

Kurdistan was carved up at a time when the Middle East was exuberant with the principle of every nation's right to self determination. Through implementation of joint policies by several states Kurdistan has been subjugated. That this was not understood by the Bolsheviks, or if it was and they failed to intervene must be one of the significant weaknesses of the Bolsheviks. This reality also demonstrates the stark contradictions between the written socialist principles about the right of nations to self determination and the socialism in action. The efforts of the Soviet officialdom pointing to the socialist applications that were diametrically opposed to the theoretical socialism, telling everyone and every institution, "This is socialism, this is the way to socialism" and making them accept it thwarted the ideals of socialism and shattered people's confidence in them. It was of course necessary to discuss and debate why there was so much contradiction between the theory and the practice and how this contradiction could be removed with the help of tangible evidence.

From this point of view, it is not sufficient to merely study and research the Kemalists' connections with the British, or Kemalist connections with the Bolsheviks after WW I and during the Turkish-Greek and Turkish-Armenian wars, during the development of Kurdish-British and Kurdish-Turkish struggles. It is also necessary to study the development of the relations between the Bolsheviks and the British or between the Bolsheviks and the French.

AN INTERSTATE COLONY: KURDISTAN

One of the most tragic events in the history of the Middle East and of the world in the first quarter of the 20th century is the implementation of an interstate colonial system in Kurdistan. This is a real tragedy, a tragedy born out of the despair of a people who reject the cruel fate imposed upon them and are prepared to fight in order to alter it. Since

the first quarter of this century, to determine their own destiny the Kurds have been engaged in an intense life and death struggle against the world's most powerful colonial powers and their local collaborators.

We can only describe it as "tragedy" their persistent and determined efforts in the face of chemical and biological weapons. Such persistent and determined struggle will surely be successful.

Here we see a whole new dimension among the reasons for colonisation of a country. That is strategic interests, geopolitics. It is quite evident that the division, slicing and sharing of Kurdistan forges bonds between the aforementioned 4 states with the colonial powers. Because it is an obvious fact that the Kurds will rise up to fight for their freedom and independence whenever opportunities present themselves. No nation willingly accepts bondage and annihilation. To suppress the Kurds, to thwart their efforts for freedom and independence the governments in the region will look up to and seek help from the colonial powers. And this ties them with the colonial powers. Verily, all Kurdish uprisings in south and east Kurdistan have been suppressed with the help of the British. It is a gross distortion that the British helped Sheikh Said [leader of the Kurdish uprising against the Turkish government in 1925-Tr]. At the time the British were engaged in bloody armed conflicts with the Kurds in south Kurdistan. Moreover, the Turkish army units that suppressed the revolt were transported there via the railway line through Syria. One mustn't forget that Syria was at the time a colony of France. Had the French not consented to the transportation of the Turkish units, the revolt could have taken a different course. At the very least one can speak of a possible different outcome.

On the other hand, both the conflicts among the colonial powers and the struggles between their local collaborators and the colonialists have taken place in Kurdistan. The purpose of the conflicts was to acquire a larger share of Kurdistan. The establishment of a colonial system in Kurdistan first transformed the conflicts into compromises then into collaboration. And this collaboration has institutionalised this system of interstate colony.

SLOGANS OF KEMALISM

Despite their intense collaboration with the colonial powers in the division, slicing and sharing of Kurdistan, the Kemalists never neglect saying " We waged the first national liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism. We led the way for the downtrodden colonised people of the east. We gave them inspiration for national salvation.....". They don't want to be reminded of the Kurdish people at all. They consciously avoid any discussion on this topic. They leave you all alone with the police and the prosecutors. At the same they continue with their rhetoric of "We waged the first national liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism." They attempt to silence you by reporting you to the police and securing your lock up in a prison. Continually they speak and parrot their side in press, on TV and radio, in educational institutions, in barracks, in Mosques.... everywhere. The profound contradiction between the writings of Mustafa Kemal as well as these claims and the reality does of course produce lessons to be learned.

Another avenue of covering up the racist and colonialist policy directed at the Kurdish people is to accuse the Kurds of racism. Bans and prohibitions on the Kurdish language and culture, imposition of Turkish and Turkish culture on the Kurds in a variety of ways, application of a heavy handed assimilation policy, replacing the names of Kurdish human beings and villages, fining those who speak Kurdish, erasing even the traces of Kurdish and Kurdish culture.....are the measures Kemalists consider to be democratic and progressive. And the Kurds who want their confiscated national and democratic rights, those who organise to secure these rights are dubbed as racists and chauvinists. On the other hand, if the Turks in Bulgaria want their national and democratic rights, and get organised for this purpose they are deemed to be progressive people rebelling against racism, colonialism, fascism, and inhuman measures.

In a country like Kurdistan that has been divided, sliced and each part controlled by a separate government, how do human rights institutions function in a society that is an interstate colony? What is the human rights concept like among the members of a society subjected to the "divide, rule and destroy policy" with earnest efforts, minefields, barbed wires, guard towers, freshly ploughed fields for footprints to isolate them from one another? Let us look at this subject now.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE KURDS

In Turkey, the Kurds can enjoy basic freedoms and benefit from principle of equal treatment as long as they deny their ethnic identity. It has been made a precondition that before the Kurds can enjoy democracy's most basic premises of equality, human rights and fundamental liberties, social and economic rights they must deny their heritage, their Kurdish identity.

Undoubtedly this is an imposition. It is expressed via pressures, repression and torture at gendarmerie centres, police stations and prisons. It is announced in inditements and court judgements. The press, TV and Radio, public service bureaucracy are utilised to make this mentality reign. The same goes for educational and religious institutions.

Those who deny their ethnic identity, their Kurdish identity, are Turkified and say "I am a Turk and therefore blessed" can enter any profession: Labourer, doorman, member of parliament, student, athlete, county administrator, provincial governor, judge, businessman, soldier, teacher, state minister, professor etc.. And those who want to maintain their ethnic identity, preserve their Kurdish heritage and speak in defence of Kurdish national rights cannot enter any profession. Those in the latter group can become one thing only: To become defendants, to become convicts.

Denial of one's ethnic identity means bondage and no heritage. It is quite clear that those are enslaved with no heritage turn out to be gutless and aggressive. To whom do they direct their aggression when they are so pitifully obedient to all commands handed down by the colonial authorities? Of course against their own relations and friends..... by magnifying the smallest pretext they will spit fire.

DOUBLE STANDARDS IN RESPECT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF "EQUALITY"

That exercise of basic freedoms, human rights, pursuing equal opportunity in social and economic fields and fair and equitable access to mainstream services have all been made conditional upon the denial of one's ethnic and cultural identity is a racist policy. It is a practice that belongs to another epoch, another time. This sort of policies is 100% in violation of international laws and measures aimed at protecting and promoting respect for human rights, of UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, European Human Rights Charter and Helsinki Accord. These expressions are often quoted and referred to by the Turkish leaders, politicians, universities, press etc in denouncing policies of forced assimilation and genocide. Turkish politicians and elder statesmen, Turkish press, Turkish universities defend the ethnic and cultural rights of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria via these declarations and protest their violations. In Turkey and international fora the Turkish leaders, press, universities etc accuse Bulgarian leaders via these concepts. Here we see double standards in thought and action: Condemn assimilationist and genocidal measures applied in Bulgaria and apply more severe measures in more systematic and determined manner for good many more years against the Kurds in their country. Oppose the policy of assimilation against the Turks in Bulgaria and approve and applaud similar policies and state terror directed at the Kurds by the Turkish state and government.

Expressions such as "In Turkey everyone is equal, there is no discrimination. Everyone is entitled to equal treatment regardless of race or language" are frequently parroted by the Turkish politicians, statesmen, universities, press and writers. In the interpretation of these statements too there are double standards. "In Turkey there is religious equality" is explained thus: Muslims and Christians are equally free to worship. The Greeks and the Armenians have their churches and the Jews their synagogues. Everyone is free to worship the way they choose. As is seen the concept of equality with respect to religion starts with naming different religions and the equality between them is emphasised. The claim "In Turkey everyone is equal, there is no discrimination due to language and religion" is interpreted differently. In Turkey everyone is a Turk, all Turks are equal. There is no discrimination

because of language, it is said. Here the difference between languages is not recognised as diversity instead it is merely emphasised that everyone is a Turk and all Turks are equal. This then means that equality is made conditional upon becoming a Turk. Whereas no discrimination because of language should mean those who speak Kurdish should have the same rights as those who speak Turkish. This is what equality means.

It is said that "those who see themselves as Turks are accepted as Turks". At the first glance this statement has some appeal. One can be misled into believing that it means tolerance towards those who do not see themselves as Turks, say, see themselves as Kurds instead. Clearly, this is not the case. There is no such tolerance, because according to official Turkish state ideology being a Turk is compulsory. It is illegal to be a Kurd. In Diyarbakir prison alone during 1981-1984 over 40 Kurdish patriots who refused to say "I am a Turk and therefore blessed", who were determined to assert their Kurdish identity were tortured to death. The patriots paid the price of a message they wanted to convey to the public with their lives. Or these individuals protested the state terror by making supreme sacrifice of taking their own lives. It is also known that the actual number is really much higher than 40.

THE SLOGAN OF "UNITY AND TOGETHERNESS"

One of the most often used slogans in Turkey is about the concept of unity and togetherness. The leaders of the State, government and political parties say "Turks and Kurds are brothers, they cannot be separated. Just like meat and bone are stuck together, so are Turks and Kurds. For a thousand years we have been living together on this piece of land. We share the same religion, we are religious brothers. We are Muslims. There is no difference between us. We are governing the country together." Of course these are not statements officially uttered by the authorities. The authorities make the local politicians and the press utter this official line. More or less all political entities including National Action Party [ultra right, violence prone fascist party-Tr] with notable exception of CHP-SHP [Republican people's party cum Social Democratic people's party-Tr] speak of Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood. Then it begs the question, how was this indivisible union sliced in the 1920's? How was it split and

shared in the 17th century? Why is there an Iranian Kurdistan today? How did Iraq come to acquire a Kurdistan of its own? Why does Turkey have a Kurdistan? What does Syria's Kurdistan mean? Why did Kemalists collaborate with the Anglo-French colonialists in the division, slicing and sharing of Kurdistan, in the application of the divide and rule policy? When we think of these realities we see that these slogans do not reflect the reality at all. Therefore this slogan is designed to perpetuate and cover up the terror, the repression and the injustices perpetrated against the Kurdish nation.

"We are together, we are partners in joy and grief, in fate and aspiration.", they say. "In Cyprus, we fought against the Greeks together, there was no discrimination" they say. The facts of life give lie to this slogan, too. Let us remember the event in March 1988 in Halapcha south Kurdistan. Over 5,000 Kurdish human beings, men, women and children, young and old were slaughtered by the racist and colonial Iraqi regime in a genocidal attempt. Did it elicit any reaction from the Turkish state and government leaders? At the time of this crime President Evren of Turkey was participating in an Islamic Conference summit meeting in Kuwait. Did he mention the massacre of the Kurds at the conference? Is this what being partners in fate, joy and grief mean? To add insult to injury, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal visited Bagdad about two weeks after the event at the beginning of April as if he was congratulating the Iraqi colonialists. It is common knowledge just how the plight of, for example, the Palestinians is verbalised in tragic terms. Turkey did not show even one-thousandth of the concern it shows for the Palestinians for the Kurds in south Kurdistan. On the contrary, from time to time via its air raids it tried to negate the successes of the Kurds there. Moreover, there can be no comparison between the concern voiced for the Turks in Cyprus, in Bulgaria and in Thrace and the concern for the Kurds. When Turkey was trying to settle the Afghan Turks in the most productive lands in Kurdistan it was contemplating on way and means of sending the Kurds into exile. In spite of all these, "We are partners in joy, grief, fate and aspiration" slogan is parroted. How hollow, how meaningless, and how deceptive this slogan really is is quite evident. Every success of the Kurds against Iraqi colonialists overjoys the people in northern Kurdistan. But they worry the hell out of Turkish authorities. And to negate the successes, to obstruct further achievements it frequently sent bombers to southern Kurdistan with the pretext "We are chasing outlaws!" They engage in intense cooperation with the Iraqi regime to

frustrate Kurdish achievements.

The attitude of the press, the political parties, unions and the universities is more or less the same. Their behaviour roughly fits into this frame. For example, there was no reaction to genocide in Halapcha from them. In contrast, their strong enthusiastic reaction to events concerning the Turks, say, in Bulgaria is common knowledge. All these clearly show just how deceptive the "We are joint partners in joy, grief, fate and aspiration" slogan really is. "In Cyprus together we fought against the Greeks, there was no discrimination" is nothing but a cliché. It is nothing but driving the Kurds to a war for their own colonial and racist objectives. Because there is give and take, there is no dispute between the Kurds and the Greeks. It is not the Greeks who are occupying Kurdistan. Kurdistan has not been colonised by the Greeks. From this point of view, bragging about having fought the Greeks together can only be another manifestation of racism and colonialism. If it were the Kurds who collaborated with the British colonialists in dividing slicing and sharing of Kurdistan, a fight between the Greeks and the Kurds could make sense. That this is not the case is all too evident. In this matter the significant thing is this: Can you as Turks along with the Kurds fight the Iraqi colonialists in southern Kurdistan? We all know of course that this is not the case and that you cooperate with Iraq against the Kurds. Therefore, partnership in " joy, grief, fate and aspiration" slogan is nothing but a deceptive cliché and an attempt to cover up the duplicity of a deceitful policy.

How the Bulgarian Turks who were given passports and forced out of the country were greeted is known all too well. "Men of our race", "130 more men of our race arrived", "our arms are open for men of our race", "the number of men of our race exceeds 35, 000". Warm and sincere welcomes, care and concern! It can never be forgotten just how the Kurds who were compelled to run away from Saddam Hussein's chemical and biological weapons managed to reach Hakkari [Kurdish province on the Iraqi border-Tr]. They were kept at the border for a long time. Those who risked their lives to cross the border were handed over to the Iraqi authorities who promptly executed them right there. Later on there was no shortage of headlines in the dailies "Those who came from Iraq are a heavy burden to the budget", "Those who came from Iraq too have become a headache ", "Peshmerges are becoming a problem for us", "They should be sent back as soon as possible". These

grievances began as soon as the Kurds arrived. The Kurdish men, women, young and old were put behind barbed wires. A great deal of efforts was expended to frustrate attempts to meet their basic needs. Helping them being concerned about them was banned. Those from southern Kurdistan were treated like prisoners of wars like convicts. Soldiers were stationed outside the camps' entrances. More measures with barbed wires were introduced.

The Turkish authorities for days, weeks and months announced that a significant part of the burden the 40,000-50,000 Kurds from southern Kurdistan will impose on the budget must be paid for by the West. At every opportunity, they reminded this to the West. But when it comes to Bulgarian Turks, they say "Even if 2 million men of our race arrive here we will accept them. Turkey is a big and rich country", they say.

The Turkish authorities who locked up the Kurds from southern Kurdistan in camps surrounded by barbed wires, who cut off communication between them and their relatives in Turkey, who banned any assistance to them, are trying to join the Bulgarian Turks with their relatives if any. When the situation is so clear how can one speak of partnership in "joy, grief, fate and aspiration"? Who can believe it? The official ideology wants people to believe this slogan and sees those who don't as guilty of a criminal offence.

Therefore it behoves the Kurds not to lose their perspective. The Kurds should never forget these things briefly mentioned here. The Kurds were forced to seek refuge in Turkey in March 1988. And members of the Bulgarian Turkish minority were forcibly given passports and expelled in June 1989.

It is said that in the aftermath of WW I, the Turks and the Kurds fought together against the common enemy during the Turkish-Greek wars in the west and the Turkish-Armenian wars in the east. "We fought against the common enemy together, we saved the country, the nation together", they say. Just who are these common enemies? Why should the Greeks and the Armenians be enemies of the Kurds? Beyond all this, the question about just what the Kurds gained after the "wars against the common enemies" should also be posed. Why Kurdistan was divided, sliced and shared and for this purpose why collaboration with the colonialists was made is a subject worthy of research.

Let's come to the slogan "We don't discriminate. We are

governing the country together. Turkey is the home of all who see themselves as Turks". We have already mentioned, but there is benefit in reiterating it here. It is possible for Kurds to join all sorts of social, political, cultural and economic activities provided they deny their heritage, their Kurdishness. Such people can join public service, indeed, any profession. But as Kurds, asserting their Kurdish identity, advocating national and democratic rights of the Kurds they can get nowhere. There is only one thing for such a person in Turkey: to become the accused, the convict. Any Kurd may join the efforts to research and study Turkish language. There will be considerable encouragement for his efforts to shield the Turkish culture from, say, the American cultural invasion. In fact he will be expected to join such activities with enthusiasm. But if the same Kurd tries to prepare a Kurdish dictionary, advocates measures to shield Kurdish and Kurdish culture from Iraqi, Syrian, Iranian and Turkish cultural influences he will find himself committed to trial and convicted. Of course he can engage in all sorts of political and diplomatic activities to protest and condemn measures against the characteristics making up the Turkish communities in Bulgaria and Thrace. He is encouraged to participate in such activities. But if he criticises or protests the same measures against the Kurdish language and Kurdish culture he will be put on trial and convicted. We therefore say that ability to participate in diplomatic, political and cultural life in Turkey has been made conditional upon being Turkified.

The Kurds are expected to love Turkish, Arab, and Persian language, culture, country and history as much as they love their mothers. If the Kurds do this they are "good citizens, decent people". If they like their own language Kurdish, their own Kurdish culture and their own country, Kurdistan, they become "outlaws", "bandits", "traitors" etc.

In spite of long prison terms, we see that the Kurds have commenced participating in the political and cultural life of Turkey as Kurds and as advocates of Kurds' national and democratic rights. We expect this process will become more intense and more widespread.

There are those who are objectively Kurds that is born of Kurdish mothers and fathers and subjectively Turks that is they deny their Kurdishness. These will seek a resolution from Council of Europe whenever the nose of a Bulgarian Turk bleeds. They attempt to put European parliament into action

over it. The subject of Bulgarian Turks, Thracian Turks and Kerkuk (Iraq) Turks excites them greatly. But they remain silent in the face of, say, the torturing to death of over 40 Kurdish youths in Diyarbakir prison for refusing to say "I am a Turk and therefore blessed". They pretend to have never heard of it. When reminded, they will say that's not their business. During the Iran-Iraq war, as the Iranians advanced into Kurdish regions, as the Peshmerges became more successful, these people began worrying, "What will happen to the future of the Turks in Kerkuk?". They called the government to action. But the death of over 5,000 Kurds with chemical weapons does not concern these people. The colonisers take full advantage of such people. These people are sent to international institutions. The Cyprus question, the question of Bulgarian Turks, of Thracian Turks are recounted time and again by this sort of people. And this too is a tragedy of our time.

It is only natural that the colonisers take full advantage of such people. It is a crying shame that certain intellectuals and democrats do not decipher such things and try to take advantage of the weakness of these people with the sayings like "Here it is even though so and so is a Kurd, he doesn't assert his ethnic identity he claims no rights. He advocates the rights of the Turks better than the Turks themselves!" Are these intellectuals and democrats able to say the same things about the Palestinians who for example advocate Israeli government policy? Are they able to say the same things about Bulgarianised Turks who favour the Bulgarian government policies, or about the Thracian Turks who have become Greeks?

The Turkish press and the authorities call priests and similar people who are in favour of Bulgarian government policies and do not assert their Turkish ethnic identity as "traitors". They call Thracian Turks who have become Greeks "collaborators" and "traitors to the nation". The Palestinians too call those Palestinians who collaborate with the Israeli government "traitors". The Turkish authorities and the press treat with favour those Kurds who deny their national identity and advocate the official state ideology, who have been Turkified, who are objectively Kurds but subjectively Turks. There is no end to the praise bestowed upon them....but this duplicity is becoming known to all and is being questioned.

THE QUESTION OF THE KURDISH INTELLECTUALS' IDENTITY

At this point it is appropriate to say a few words about Kurdish intellectuals as well. Turkish writers both inside and outside Turkey emphasise that they are "Turkish writers". They express their joy and pride at being Turkish. They take their place there whenever there is a need to classify the writers. But can we really say the same things about the Kurdish writers? Why is it that the Kurdish writers are unable to claim their ethnic origin when their Turkish counterparts take pride and joy at proclaiming their Turkishness? The same thing can be said of the Kurdish newspaper reporters, vocalists, actors and actresses etc. Isn't this sad too?

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE KURDS

Questions such as the Kurdish question are the most important questions facing United Nations. It played a vital role in the process of decolonisation after WW II. It sided with colonised nations against the colonial powers such as England, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Spain. Due to its divided, carved up and parcelled out status of Kurdistan, the Kurdish question did not come before either the League of Nations or the UN. The countries that have divided, carved up and shared Kurdistan that is colonial powers England (later Iraq), France (later Syria), Turkey and Iran have acted in a systematic, determined and persistent manner to prevent the Kurdish question from coming before the League of Nations or the UN. Iraq and Syria after their independence from England and France respectively have expended efforts for the same purpose. The relations formed and cultivated with the USSR since 1960's have not altered the fate of southern Kurdistan in any way. If anything, the repression, mayhem, genocide and forced resettlements have intensified from year to year under the Baath party headed by Saddam Hussein. Faced with 1001 massacres, deportations, treacheries, betrayals and intrigues the Kurds have failed to surmount fortified barriers to let these institutions hear their voices, their laments.

In February 1963, there was a military coup by the Baath officers. Abdulkarim Qassem was toppled. After the coup

severe repressive measures were directed at the leaders of the Iraqi Communist party. Repressive measures against the Kurds were intensified. Thousands of communists were shot, tortured. Only those who fled to south Kurdistan were able to save their skins. Here in this atmosphere, USSR took the Kurdish question to UN in order to threaten Iraqi regime. The question was not taken to UN directly by USSR, but by Mongolia at the request of USSR. Towards the end of 1963 there was another coup in Iraq. Those who made the coup took Baath supporters away from positions of power. They began cultivating better relations with the USSR and Iraqi communists. As a result, USSR withdrew its request for the Kurdish question to be heard at the UN and thereby the question was shelved.

After WW I, there was a search for a Jewish homeland under the auspices of the League of Nations. And in the aftermath of WW II, through intense UN efforts a Jewish state was established in Palestine. But there has never been any serious attempts either at the League of Nations or the UN to find an answer for the Kurds. Moreover, these institutions have emerged as organisations that approve of and encourage the application of the divide and rule policy in Kurdistan.

It is a lesson to be learned that the UN which is able to adopt resolutions in respect of S Africa remains impotent in the face of racist and colonialist measures directed at the Kurds. The contents of measures implemented in the regions are of course different. In S Africa, services are provided along racial lines, and the blacks are receiving very poor services. In Turkey the Kurds can benefit from services only if they deny their national identity, if they adopt the dominant people's, that is, Turks' national identity. Compulsion to deny one's national identity, to accept another national identity is far more racist. Turkish style racism follows this latter line.

Within this framework, it is necessary to draw attention once again to the interstate colonial system set up in Kurdistan. From time to time, the Turks in Bulgaria and the Kurds in Turkey are contrasted. This contrast is significant in exposing the duplicity of views and implementation of human rights policies in Turkey. In reality, the subject of the Turks in Bulgaria and that of the Kurds in Turkey are two distinct subjects with no resemblance to one another. More correctly, the Kurdish question bears no real resemblance to apparently similar questions. The chief reason is the fact

that the Kurds are without a state of their own.

The Turkish State supports the Turks in Bulgaria, Cyprus and Greece. If deemed necessary, it resorts to military operations as it did in Cyprus in order to prevent what it says is violation of the Turks' rights. It endeavours to take the plight of the Turks in Bulgaria to international fora. It makes this question a foundation of its foreign policy in bilateral and multilateral relations. The Kurdish question on the other hand doesn't go to international fora. Who will take it there? The Kurds are a stateless people. In any event, the chief purpose of the interstate colonial system set up in Kurdistan is to prevent the Kurds from having a state of their own. This reality does of course facilitate exploitation of Kurdish national resources such as oil, water, mines and minerals. That the Kurds were left with no state is the main reason why their voices are not being heard, why they have no supporters. It is only in recent years that the international democratic organisations and democratic advocates have been making efforts to place the Kurdish question on various agendas.

Let's remember the beginning of Sept 1988. Tens of thousands of Kurdish human beings were forced to move from southern Kurdistan to north Kurdistan due to use of chemical weapons. There were many pieces of evidence substantiating use of chemical weapons. To investigate claims re use of chemical weapons UN decided to send a team to the region. Iraq refused access to the team. Then the team wanted to study the Kurds who fled to Turkey. This time Turkey did not allow a UN team made up of specialists to conduct an investigation. The same Turkey in June 1989 when the Turks in Bulgaria were forcibly given passports and expelled voiced its concern about inoculation of Turks in Bulgaria and appealed to the UN to send a team of specialists to investigate the impact of this inoculation particularly on children. In both cases, Turkey was using the privileges and powers of being a sovereign state. For all these reasons, the interstate colonial system in Kurdistan concerns the UN and other international organisations once more.

Let's look at these facts, too. We have already stated that Turkey has treated the refugees from southern Kurdistan as prisoners of war, has locked them up in camps surrounded by barbed wires. It is also common knowledge that Turkey creates all sorts of difficulties for individuals and representatives of international democratic and humanitarian institutions who

want to conduct investigations in these camps and prevent many from doing so. Yet, the same Turkey takes foreign diplomats in Ankara to Bulgarian border to look at Turks expelled from Bulgaria. It does the same for media representatives.

Turkish authorities, members of the press, political parties etc continually emphasise the need to look after the Bulgarian Turks well to meet their basic needs promptly and effectively. Otherwise, they say Bulgaria will make adverse propaganda against Turkey. Turkish leaders are trying to avoid adverse publicity by Bulgaria. When it treats the Kurds from southern Kurdistan so badly, why is Turkey not concerned about bad publicity? It is quite obvious that in this regard Turkey is certain no country will criticise Turkey. Nevertheless, shouldn't Turkey be concerned about being criticised by international institutions such as the UN for its persistent terrible treatment of Kurdish refugees?

Mistreatment includes mass poisoning attempts of Kurdish refugees in camps. For example, in mid-June 1989 poisoning of 500 Kurds in Kiziltepe camp via bread given to them is but one case. However, the Turkish authorities and press tried to deny the incident, it is factual. It has been ascertained that as result of efforts by Iraqi and Turkish secret services the bread given to the Kurds in the camps had been injected with chemical substances(Ref: 2000'e Dogru, NO. 25, 18 June 1989 p.24)

Turkey sees its repression of the Kurds as its cardinal duty. Even in the heat of its efforts to draw attention to the repression of Bulgarian Turks.

Being expelled from one country into exile in another is of course a terrible thing. There is no doubt about it. But, what about internal exiles? The Turks arriving in Turkey from Bulgaria are greeted by friendly people. They find peace after their arrival. But, is the plight of the Kurds the same? How are we to explain the plight of the Kurds who are forcibly resettled in the desert region of Iraq in the south? Iraq is perpetrating its racist and colonial politics with determination and persistence. Is it not necessary for institutions such as the UN to be concerned about such matters?

KURDISTAN IS NOT THE SAME OLD KURDISTAN

Nowadays many things are changing rapidly. Kurdistan is in the midst of rapid change. Intense politicisation is being experienced in all parts of Kurdistan. Especially since 1980's the Kurds started questioning their identity, their history. Why is there a Turkish Kurdistan? Why is there an Iranian Kurdistan? Why is there an Iraqi Kurdistan? etc... When was Kurdistan divided, carved up and shared? How was the divide and rule policy applied to Kurdistan? What weakness of the Kurds made the application of such a policy feasible? What consequences have been produced by the application of the divide and rule policy? What kind of measures have the Kurds resorted to in the face of the divide and destroy policy? It is not possible to rule a people who are undergoing such rapid changes with brute policies of an inflexible state ideology based on state terror. In short we can say the following : Kurdistan is not the same old Kurdistan. The Kurdish nation is no longer a nation that can be kept down and under with the force of the army, gendarmerie and the police and fed a diet of how great the Turks are and "One Turk is worth the whole world" mythical slogans. These days are witnessing the awakening of Kurdish masses and finding of national consciousness in the midst of poverty that is hard to even describe. National consciousness is accompanied by social, political and economic awareness. People's knowledge is no longer primitive, skin-deep or muddy.

These changes in Kurdistan are affecting the Turkish left and Turkish intellectuals. They are changing their views on Kurds and Kurdistan. The impact of official ideology on individuals and institutions is gradually diminished. The changes of views did not of course happen all of a sudden, did not materialise in a short time. One mustn't forget the cumulative effects over the years to date. The events that took place in Kurdistan under the Ottoman rule, the division, carving up and sharing of Kurdistan, numerous uprisings in each part are very relevant. In southern Kurdistan, national liberation struggles first headed by Sheikh Mahmud Berzengi then by Molla Mustafa Barzani, in east Kurdistan the revolt led by Simko, the proclamation and collapse of the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad, in north Kurdistan Kocgiri, Dersim, Sheikh Said, and Ararat uprisings all have significant cumulative effects. We see significant events in north Kurdistan in the last 30 years, too. Among them are the 49'ers incident in 1959, the 23'ers

incidents in 1963. It is necessary not to forget the 1943 incident known as the event of "major General MM" when 33 people were lined up and shot by a firing squad.

The establishment of the [underground-Tr] Democratic Party of Kurdistan in 1965 is a significant watershed. The establishment of DDKO in 1968 is a very significant event. The setting up of DDKO is a major turning point in the history of north Kurdistan.

Magazines such as Ileri Yurt published in Diyarbakir in 1958, Voice of Silvan published in [the Kurdish town of-Tr] Silvan in 1962, Dicle-Firat published in Istanbul in 1963, Yeni Akis published in Ankara in 1966 and the inditements, arrests, and trials that followed them played important roles in the development of national consciousness. The bulletins of DDKO made significant contributions to national awakening.

Here it is also necessary to mention a newspaper Seresiyar published in Dogu Beyazid in 1970 [the Turkish authorities renamed the Kurdish town of Seresiyar as Dogu Beyazid probably in the 1930's-Tr]. The name of the paper elicited a protest from prof Hifzi Veli Velidedeoglu. Prof Hifzi Veli Velidedeoglu published an article in the Cumhuriyet daily in order to inform the authorities to take legal action against the publishers. The name of the paper was divisive, publishing a paper with a name other than Turkish was treachery, he wrote.

Prof Hifzi Veli Velidedeoglu was accusing progressives and democrats who stood against feudalism of being traitors. For his accusations, the Kurdish name of the paper was adequate. It wasn't easy to understand the actions of Prof Hifzi Veli Velidedeoglu who was known to be a progressive and democrat as an informer of the Kurdish progressive and democrats. In fact, more than the contents of these papers and magazines, the articles by such informants and legal actions against the publishers and writers contributed to national awakening. The Kurdish issue was revealing the limits of Turkish democracy and just how democratic Turkish intellectuals really were. All these were the realities and the processes that opened up and expanded the Kurds' views and horizons.

Here let me reiterate the fact that it is not sufficient to look at issues from class perspective alone and that it is necessary also to look at issues from ethnic perspective. Because Prof Hifzi Veli Velidedeoglu denies the existence of

the Kurdish nation, because he rejects the national question, he ends up becoming an informant when he purports to speak for democracy. Prof Hifzi Veli Velidedeoglu is of course an important personality for the Turks, a patriot and a democrat. But for the Kurds he is nothing but an informant. He is an enemy of the Kurds. He is a racist Turk. He is the enemy of the Kurds' national and democratic rights. He is one of the best advocates of Turkish state ideology based on lies.

Looking at issues from the perspectives of ethnic groups reveals the realities and the personal values more clearly. The ethnic question functions just like litmus paper. People like Prof Hifzi Veli Velidedeoglu are in a position to bring themselves to believe that there can be Kurdish patriots who love their country.

In more recent years, one of the most important factors behind national awakening in north Kurdistan is undoubtedly the Kurdish trials that the 12 March 1971 military intervention initiated. For the first time the Kurds asserted their Kurdish ethnic identity in a conscious, systematic and determined manner in Turkish courts. The impact of all this on Kurdish community has been tremendous. Since mid-1970's, around various publications many organisations with DDKO origin have emerged. Rizgari (Liberation), Ozgurluk Yolu (Revolutionary People's Liberation Association), Devrimci Demokrat (Revolutionary Democratic Cultural Association) etc. There were also publications around organisations such as Tekosin (Struggle) and Kawa [the name of the legendary blacksmith who killed despotic foreign ruler named Dehak and sparked a popular uprising that liberated the Kurds in 612 BC. The Kurdish calendar and new year celebration Newroz originate from this date.-Tr]. Roja Welat (the day of the country) and Roja Nu (New Day) are again important magazines.

Publishers such as Komal, Ozgurluk Yolu, Koral, Yontem published significant studies about Kurdish history, language, literature and social structure.

One mustn't forget Kurdistan Democratic Party and Kurdistan national libertarians either. These organisations and their publications played significant roles in reassessing Kurdistan and rewriting Kurdish history. Since mid-1970's the colonial thesis was developed and adopted by all Kurdish organisations within the same framework and with use of the same terminology. The Turkish left on the other hand -with the notable exception of Liberation- opposed to this thesis as a

bloc. The Turkish political movements that normally have diametrically opposite perspectives united to oppose this thesis and prove it wrong. All these however played major roles in the development of Kurdish national consciousness.

PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) set up in late 1970's, the 12 Sept 1980 coup and the horrendous conditions in Diyarbakir military prisons made dramatic impacts on the awakening of Kurdish nationalism. In Frantz Fanon's term, this can be seen as the "first bullet". At this point it is appropriate to dwell on a resolution concerning Kurds adopted by Turkish Workers' Party in early 1970's. The Party at its second extraordinary general meeting passed a motion along the line "Kurdish people live in the eastern part of Turkey." Because of this the Party was disbanded as a result of a judgment by the Constitutional Court. The Turkish Workers Party failed to resolutely defend its resolution in the Constitutional Court. It chose to make concessions to Turkish state ideology. Therefore splits became necessary.

It is also important not to forget the role of Turkish Workers Party played in organising what has become known as "mass demonstrations in the east" in various cities and towns in eastern Turkey [ie Kurdistan-Tr]

With the advent of the 12 Sept 1980 military coup, Kurdish intellectuals, democrats and reformists moved to Europe en masse. They have played important roles in informing the Europeans and the world democratic institutions of the Kurdish question. The quality and the quantity of publications by the Kurdish diaspora are both good.

The Turkish army's interventions in southern Kurdistan since 1983 are significant events that have shown the international dimension of the Kurdish question

Military campaigns, genocidal measures and forced resettlements in short colonial measures brought about by Turkey in north Kurdistan during 1925-1938 were not monitored by the West. The operations would be carried out without attracting anyone's attention, without eliciting reaction from anyone. There was no concern about public opinion in the West. The first intervention in southern Kurdistan by Turkish army on 25 May 1983 showed that the situation is not at all like the 1925-1938 era. Kurdistan is changing. And parallel to the changes, the interest of the world's democratic public in Kurdistan is becoming keener. This interest is of course

minimal compared with interest in the Palestinian question. Nevertheless, this minimal interest is significant in deciphering colonial measures implemented by Turkey in Kurdistan.

The national liberation struggle against Iraq in southern Kurdistan, against Iran in east Kurdistan and Syria's policies towards some Kurdish organisations all closely affect the developments in north Kurdistan. In the 1960's the Kurds were less concerned about the national liberation movement in southern Kurdistan. The successes and failures of the movement did not excite them very much. For example, the Kurdish youths were more excited by the events in Central America, Africa and Palestine. Of the Kurdish villagers and skilled workers and youth, the former were much more interested in the struggle in south Kurdistan.

Today the situation is different. Any event in any part of Kurdistan is of great interest to Kurds in all other parts. Everyone tries to find out more about the event and endeavours to fully understand it. The military and political achievements make all Kurd happy and failures sadden them.

All these are evidenced by north Kurdistan's strong and intense interest towards Kurdish refugees fleeing chemical weapons in south Kurdistan. In spite of Turkish government's bans, discouragement and terror the continuing interest, assistance and sacrifices are evidence of being united by "joys, grief, fate and aspirations".

A well to do person's giving material assistance to friends is called helping out. A poor person's support of friends is called sacrifice. The Kurds in north Kurdistan have made sacrifices, are making sacrifices towards those from south Kurdistan.

The development of market forces in Kurdistan the dissolution of tribal ties, the increasing ineffectiveness of Sheikhdoms (institutions or religious order headed by Sheikh) are all causing traditional social relations to disappear. People's demands for national and democratic rights become first priority. People begin to contemplate on their national identity and question it. Increases in population and production, establishment of schools in villages, the development of road networks and improvements in communication all intensify demands for national and democratic rights. The spread of mass media intensify these demands even faster.

Wherever they may be in the world all struggles for freedom and democracy are of close interest to Kurdish human beings. The younger generation very quickly questions their families and relatives about their national identity.

To frustrate these rapid developments, to slow them down at the very least to destroy them, the governments have entered into an alliance with the traditional forces. It is making efforts to keep alive tribal loyalties, sheikhdoms and big landlords. In any event, this has been the case since the foundation of the Republic. But, today the government has realised its significance more than before. If these reactionary forces still maintain their existence it is because the Kemalists want it that way. Because these traditional institutions are acting as brakes on national awakening and take the side of the government. When the secret forces of the government win over one sheikh or tribal leader, that means tens of thousands of people have been won over. Through these leaders, the governments then have been able to exercise influence over the masses.

The government is also enlisting the support of non-Kurdish elements in the region, notably, Arabs to control the Kurdish movement.

After the resistance in Dersim in 1937-1938, that is after uprisings in all parts of northern Kurdistan were suppressed, the government gave two alternatives to Kurdish "ruling class": Either you side with the government or like Sheikh Said and Sayed Riza you will find your neck in a noose. The Kurdish ruling class such as tribal leaders, sheikhs and large landowners sided with the government and were transformed into agents of the government. Today, the overwhelming majority of this sort of people is collaborating with the government's secret services. And by forming stronger and closer alliances with these persons and giving them greater material rewards, the government is trying to thwart the national awakening. The government is trying to enhance their influence and prestige by giving them various lines of credit and appointing them sole distributors of a variety of basic commodities controlled by the state.

Political parties, too, instead of due democratic process authorise certain influential people to act on their behalf and appoint them as local party leaders to attract votes. And thus they restrict people's legitimate democratic demands and pacify them. The quarrel in SHP (Social Democratic People's

Party) and the resultant extraordinary general meeting in June 1989 is closely related to this issue. The aim was to cut off the links between the party and the individuals especially members of parliament who wanted to let the voices of people and their demands for democracy and democratic reforms be heard and instead try to form and cultivate links with individuals who have adopted the official ideology and use this centralised powers to replace party's representatives in provinces and counties. It is also imperative to view the so-called Turkish-Islamic synthesis within this framework. In brief, the following can be stated: The aim is to melt Kurdish National Movement in the international dimension of Islam. In spite of all these, Kurdistan is rapidly changing because of the aforementioned internal dynamics. Kurdistan is no longer the old Kurdistan.

THE KURDISH QUESTION AND GAP

The state is viewing the GAP [Southeastern Project-Tr] as an investment in assimilation. It aims at directing foreign investment to the region via various incentives such as a lower tax rate, easier import of machinery and equipment etc. It is expected that with the economic development assimilation will be ensured. This is the line of thinking: As trade, commerce and industry develops, the region will be organically tied to the western regions of Turkey. The development of trade and commerce will play a vital role in pervasive use of the Turkish language. Because as the people in the region begin dealing with people in the western regions they will use Turkish, they will be compelled to do so. Turkish is already a developed language. Kurdish on the other hand is a primitive language. It doesn't have vocabulary and structure to deal with the demands of industry, trade, commerce and banking. Therefore it will be gradually forgotten. It won't even be necessary to apply bans and restrictions in order to ensure that it is forgotten. Since it is a primitive language, it will be forgotten anyway.

This expectation of the state and the government will undoubtedly not materialise. Economic development will increase the pace of democratisation and national movement. Economic development will melt away traditional institutions rapidly. The melting away of the traditional institutions will allow the emergence of free people, people who will fight for their freedom. From this point of view there is a

significant correlation between the emergence of market forces and intensification and spreading of national movement in the 1960's. That Kurdish is a primitive language unable to cope with the demands of industry, trade and banking is a serious mistake. And at the same time it is a racist view. Linguists who have studied oriental languages such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian and also Kurdish by way of examples have shown Kurdish to be a very rich language. To outlaw speaking and writing a language and claiming it is a primitive language, hasn't produced any literary work is duplicity, hypocrisy and racist.

On the other hand, assimilation was halted in 1960's with the emergence of DDKO. It is possible to explain it this way. People who are oppressed and repressed at some stage in their lives become aware of their identity. They begin to question why they don't know their mother tongue and reasons for government efforts to make everyone forget it. They research why speaking and writing Kurdish is restricted why it is an offence to speak and write Kurdish. It cannot be said that anyone who has reached this stage of questioning is assimilated. There are many reasons for the increased pace of questioning: Increased rate of literacy, increased effectiveness of means of mass communication such as radio, TV, print media, movies, improvements in road transportation, increased meeting of people in shops, marketplace and overall contacts. The chief purpose of state run schools, radio and TV networks as well as controlled film industry is of course to increase the pace of assimilation and to facilitate it. Also for a variety of reasons and mainly in their ideological interests they also let people know of the struggles for freedom, equality and democracy around the world. For all sorts of reasons conflicts in Vietnam, Central America, S Africa, Afghanistan and Palestine are mirrored on TV screens or in newspaper headlines. Turks in Bulgaria, Thrace and Cyprus are mentioned. The Kurds are not mentioned but all these things tell a great deal to the Kurds. The Kurds compare what they see, hear and read with their own situation. They become aware of the injustices perpetrated against them and the double standards implemented by the governments ruling them. This process that is the process of becoming aware of one's national origin and of the realisation of one's own existence in international affairs is moving ahead full steam.

At the same time state edicts such as "You are Turks, You are descendants of Turks, you are real, original Turks" and negative slogans of the state ideology such as "Blessed is he who can say he is a Turk", "one Turk is worth the whole

world", "Oh! Turk, be proud, work and trust", help develop and spread national movement.

To be assimilated means forgetting one's language, speaking the dominant nation's language and remaining unaware of these subjects, naturally accepting everything as is. The success of colonial administration in this area manifests itself as preventing the populace from realising the process of making them forget their native tongue. In spite of the state and government preventive measures, the process of assimilation has come to a halt if a realisation of what's happening is dawned on individuals and communities, if the questioning process has commenced. As a matter of fact, a significant percentage of those who founded DDKO in the 1960's did not speak Kurdish. According to the authorities they had been assimilated. But, they had become aware of their national origin and felt the need to engage in a democratic struggle. Some of them later on learned the Kurdish language which they had forgotten or been made to forget. They learned not just to speak but also read and write Kurdish. Again a significant segment of those who produced above mentioned papers and magazines and set up publishing houses in 1974-1975 did not speak their native language, Kurdish. But they had become aware of the situation.

On the other hand, today a large number of Kurds insists on using Kurdish language in their trials even though they speak Turkish. What the process briefly outlined here says about the state's and government's expectations regarding GAP should be looked at within the framework of these relations. The sheikhs tell their followers the following: What matters is to be Muslim, to be human, to have fraternal relations. Nationalism is against Islam. This is of course the voice of the state ideology communicated to people via sheikhs. It is the use of religious institutions to blight Kurdish national awakening. That is, in order to put a brake on national feelings sectarian measures are being implemented and promoted. Beside all these the number and variety of security forces are increasing daily. New prisons are being built. Stations, outposts and barracks are on the increase in numbers and so is the quality of weapons. The state's secret services are in the midst of forming intense and pervasive networks.

"THE FIRST BULLET" THEORY

Frantz Fanon is a man who participated in the Algerian national liberation struggle. He is a black man born and raised in the French colony of Martinique. He studied medicine in Paris and at the beginning of the 1950's became a medical doctor. In mid-1950's he went to Algeria as a French public servant. There he made secret contacts with the Algerian national liberation front and cultivated the contacts.

Frantz Fanon has a noteworthy thesis regarding colonised people. It can be briefly explained as follows: Organising people in a colonised country, elevating them to the point of picking up arms is an extremely difficult task to accomplish. Because people in such countries have been cowed. Their minds have been filled with fear and doubt. The colonial regime expects the colonised people to live in fear, not to behave in any way except in line with its directives. Oppression, repression, insults and belittling efforts have all exacted heavy moral and spiritual tolls from the colonised people. People have no self confidence. They cannot trust members of their family, tribe, village and relatives. They have no faith in tomorrow. People have an extremely diminished view of themselves and members of their families and tribes. In contrast they see the colonisers as extraordinarily mighty and powerful. They believe that fighting the colonisers is out of the question. They have accepted the fate bestowed upon them by the colonisers. They are resigned and left everything to God.

In colonised countries, the colonial administration wants two things from the people: Firstly, they say, never forget that we are the rulers. If it wasn't for us you would be in a terrible situation, because you are a poor, ignorant and incompetent people who know nothing of technology, law, rights and administration of economy. Secondly, fear us and obey us. In such social and spiritual environment the colonised people want to satisfy their basic psychological needs and react to deprivations. It is for this reason that the colonised want to see themselves filling the shoes of the colonisers. In the face of the most severe insults, abuse and belittling efforts the colonised person remains silent and obedient. Yet, the slightest criticism from a relative, friend or a fellow countrymen becomes a question of honour demanding severe retaliation, because such social and spiritual environment produces gutless and aggressive children. Because he

helplessly accepts all the insults and abuse from the coloniser, his anger and frustration are channelled against his own kind.

The colonial masters benefit tremendously from this psychic make up. They make the traditional conflicts within the traditional societies more deeply rooted. They place their divide and rule policy on more solid foundations. They create new conflicts and animosities via new blood feuds they engineer. They ensure traditional roles and institutions are perpetuated. In rural areas, the security forces molest women in front of men. They don't want anyone to protest. Yet, they encourage the natives to "protect their honour" to take revenge, to turn the slightest conflict in a family, village and a tribe into a blood feud.

The colonial administration more often recruits and deploys products of such spiritually deprived environment as torturers in police stations, detention centres and prisons.

All these show that colonised societies are bleeding. Individuals and societies that do not rebel against injustice and oppression are wounded at heart.

Frantz Fanon explains that in such environments organising people, elevating them to a level to fight the colonialists is extremely difficult. He dwells on the need to overcome these obstacles. He points out to the need for intense, determined and conscious efforts and continues as follows: All of these obstacles can be overcome and a new member can be recruited. When the new recruit fires the first shot at the colonial power, he in fact shoots himself dead and he is reborn. According to Frantz Fanon, the first bullet kills off the enslaved, cowed, depressed and fear ridden personality. With firing the first shot, the recruit is reborn as a brave new person who has faith in himself, his family, relatives, and nation. He no longer sees himself as extraordinarily small, nor does he see the colonialists as excessively mighty and powerful. He begins to look at things in proper perspective. He calculates his own power and that of his opponent and behaves accordingly.

It is really necessary not to look at the "first bullet" as an act of violence, but in a broader perspective. The "first bullet" can be different things according time and place. In proper circumstances, an anti-colonial publication, too, can do the job of the "first bullet".

TURKISH STATE TERROR IN KURDISTAN

Today a new generation is growing up in Kurdistan. This generation has witnessed how their parents and grandparents were shoved off, beaten up, belittled, insulted and abused by members of the armed forces, the police force and the gendarmerie. This generation has experienced the torturing to death of their elder siblings, their uncles and aunts. This generation has seen how their mothers, elder sisters, and aunts were dragged by their hair and taken away to detention centres and prisons where they were abused, molested and assaulted. The generation growing up in Kurdistan today has heard their elder siblings, uncles, aunts, parents and grandparents being called "outlaws", "criminals", "bandits" and "traitors". This generation has seen all this, has experienced all this, has heard all this day after day. It is not possible for these kids not to query, not to question all this in a short time. There is no possibility to forget all this or to make it forgotten. And this reality means but one thing: Fighting in order to break the chains of bondage, to secure freedoms, to live like human beings with decent lives, fighting for one's identity.

Colonised societies are wounded and as long as they remain colonised the wound becomes deeper and more painful from day to day. Then, the wound begins to paralyse the body. The most effective medicine for this wound is the struggle to be free, to live like human beings with decent lives, to be equal to all other people. Even if the struggle is not successful in the short term, it is a turning point in the rebirth of individual with brand new perspectives and in breaking the chains of slavery.

Weren't those who set up DDKO in 1968, and those who became the defendants in the 1971 mass trials the 1950's poverty stricken children with swollen tummies, skin heads, crossed eyes, and dirty noses? Aren't those who are waging a relentless guerilla war against the Turkish state the kids who were educated on a staple diet of the "Great Turk" myths in the 1960's? Aren't the Kurdish guerillas who are fighting in the mountains, valleys, villages and towns the kids who witnessed and experienced the brutalities of the government's forces called "commandoes" in the 1960's? Didn't these kids see their fathers and grandfathers devastated by Turkish soldiers who tied ropes to their penises and forced them to walk around in front of their wives, daughters and all other villagers?

The Turkish press and intellectuals have a fascination for these malnourished kids with swollen tummies, skin heads, crossed eyes, bare feet and dirty noses. They never get tired of taking their photos. Newspapers compete with each other at times to exhibit the prevalent misery in Kurdistan. They market the misery and the poverty on a variety of occasions. They win awards for it. And they respond 10-15 years later to these kids' questions such as "who are we?", " why are we in bondage?" and their efforts to seek freedoms and a decent life with accusations like "outlaws are getting out of hand again", "Bandits are on the move", "Traitors' secret plans", "Our enemies support for the traitors revealed". They report these youngsters to security forces and secret police. This is in spite of the fact that the guerillas are the very same kids whose photos depicting misery and abject poverty they were never satisfied to take enough of.

Turkish press and intellectuals are fascinated by the poverty and misery of these kids and at the same time very hostile to their demands for freedom and equality and act as informers to do them in.

What were the Kurdish defendants saying in the 1971 mass trials? Today there isn't enough room for us in your courtrooms. In future our number will swell so much so that you won't be able to fit us in your stadiums, in your soccer fields. Courtrooms and prisons are once again full, chock of blocks, but the conflict has moved to the countryside and mirrored in the mountains and plains.

In the olden days, the Kurds were painstakingly trying not to know those who kill them, those who belittle them. Nowadays, they are questioning the whole process. They are fighting not to die but to survive. Kurdistan is no longer the old Kurdistan. It is not possible to rule a society that is changing so rapidly with rigid, moulded official ideology such as the Turkish state ideology.

THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL BASIS OF THE GUERILLA MOVEMENT

I mentioned above the growing generations of Kurds and their outlook. From these one mustn't conclude that the guerilla movement is a mere reaction to oppression and bent on revenge. I believe it is more appropriate to view the movement as a way to end colonialism. It is necessary to understand the movement as a determined effort to put an end to colonialism which is the basis of being belittled and mistreated. The political awareness of colonialism and colonialist measures naturally give rise to guerilla movement. The oppression experienced does of course constitute the material and moral basis of the movement. But, the aim is not merely to react to oppressive measures. The aim is to do away with it altogether. Moreover, I have at the beginning of this study suggested that Kurdistan is not even a colony and the Kurds are not even a colonised people. They both have lower status.

Mao used to say that an idea adopted by the people, one that has organic links with the masses is a powerful weapon. The biggest might is an idea adopted, internalised by the people en masse. He would say that it is not possible to destroy such an idea with guns and cannons. From this point of view, it is significant for a nation to question its past and present. This questioning gives rise also to enhanced national, social and political awareness. True knowledge of history and society can develop via the question "Who are we?". Oppression, repression, being belittled and snarled at give rise to the question "Who are we?" during a certain stage of political and social development. The nation that asks this question, that queries its identity has already travelled a long way on the road of national liberation.

THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY

What needs to be mentioned here may be described as the negative effects of the official ideologies. The official ideology which frequently boasts of the myths of the "Great Turk", that a Turk is worth the whole world, that it is a blessing to be a Turk, that the Kurds have always been controlled by others, that they are outlaws, bandits, traitors, with no heritage will of course create adverse effects on the people that it is trying to impose these views

on. This is more so when efforts are made to impose these views with the use of torture, repression, and physical beatings.... The negative effects of the official ideology and other factors will help break the chains of bondage.

All these show that Kurdistan is not the same old Kurdistan. It is important that these things be understood by the countries, by the states that have shared and colonised Kurdistan. It is also necessary for the institutions that protect and promote human rights such as the UNO, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament and Helsinki Watch to understand these things. Within this framework the importance of the United Nations is undoubtedly significant. But the United Nations that pretends to be unaware of the issue in fact falls into a situation where it supports and approves of a status that is even lower than that of colonies. This too becomes a reason why the United Nations becomes ineffective and causes its demise.

It is necessary to view the Islamic Conference in the same light. Islamic Conference directs an intense campaign against Israel. It condemns Israel for its oppression of the Palestinians. It applies sanctions against Israel. It advocates international sanctions against Israel. But, it pretends not to see the more heavy handed policies towards the Kurds by Islamic countries such as Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. There is no possibility of success for such a policy based on double standards, because such policy is not taken seriously first of all by Israel. Should Israel say "The many rights enjoyed by the Palestinians in Israel are not enjoyed by the Kurds in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. For example in Turkey the very existence of the Kurdish nation is being denied. Genocidal measures have been implemented by a number of countries against the Kurds. Chemical weapons are being used against the Kurds" etc, what sort of replies can the Islamic countries give? Double standards become reasons for institutions' ineffectiveness and demise.

Beyond all these it is important not to forget the fact that the Kurdish society is an Islamic society. Institutions such as the Islamic Conference are expending extraordinary efforts in order not to see the Kurdish issue. But it is becoming increasingly difficult to remain deaf and mute in the face of colonialist measures that are jointly being implemented by Islamic states. Because contradictions and double standards in thought and action are coming out into the open. They are being discussed and questioned.

For example the damage Turkey is inflicting on north Kurdistan is far more severe than that inflicted on India and other colonies by the British. The developed economies such as the British are able to control their colonies via monetary-banking facilities and commercial and industrial ties. Countries such as Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria can only assert their control over Kurdistan via state terror with the help of the armed forces, police and gendarmerie. These states for example Iran and Iraq are able to easily use chemical weapons against the Kurds. They ruin both the Kurdish population and geography. They burn down forests, make the land sterile and demolish cities.

The aim of this policy is to ruin the people's outlook and spiritual make up, to strip them of their identity and put them in bondage. It is to make fear, doubt and panic their dominant thoughts. It is to keep them in a feeble state of mind when they have no confidence in themselves, in their nation and in their future. The purpose of this policy is to destroy Kurdish cultural and social institutions, to ruin their spiritual well being and thinking process. It is to fully enslave them. It is to obliterate Kurdish cultural practices and heritage and make them forget their native tongue that is Kurdish. It is to transform them into a resigned, surrendered people with no feelings of resistance. Because a people which is surrendered, resigned cannot make claims for national and democratic rights. It cannot do anything but obey the masters' orders.

The colonisers want to perpetually keep the colonised people in such a state of mind. "We are the rulers. Know this fact and fear us!" is their motto. These are the main dimensions of the relationship between the colonised and the colonisers. When studying the coloniser-colonised relationships it is necessary not to forget this mental and spiritual dimension, to pay due attention to it. The study of this dimension is at least as significant as studying the economic dimension, economic factors. The economic exploitation can only be maintained in a milieu of defeat, helplessness and despair.

Turkey is in the grips of making more deeply rooted its policy of divide, rule and destroy through its introduction of "Village Guard" system in response to Kurdish guerillas' increasing actions that cannot be stopped. Through village guards, it is directing the violence, that for a variety of reasons emerges in colonised societies, towards the

guerrillas, their families, friends and villages. Thus, it is trying to control the guerrilla movement and finding an outlet for the violence in the society. In this process the divide, rule and destroy policy goes on as it becomes more deeply entrenched and more intense. This is the system, the arrangement that the United Nations sanctions and advocates in line with the wishes of the member states of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria in the face of demands for the Kurdish national and democratic rights. And this behaviour can only spell United Nations' ineffectiveness and demise. The same goes for the Islamic Conference.

Here I see benefit in reiterating what I said at the beginning of this study. The "divide and rule" policy in classic colonies has become "divide, rule and destroy" policy in Kurdistan. What is being destroyed, subjected to genocide is of course the identity of the Kurds and Kurdistan. It is the Kurds' national values and make up. If in spite of state terror, oppression, repression and torture, there are still those who advocate Kurdish identity, the aim is to physically annihilate them.

The aggression and the brutality of the colonial army is increasing from day to day. The state is looking at every conceivable measure and implementing them. Measures such as surrounding villages, searching every house, torturing all inhabitants, hunting people down, concentration camps, dropping poison gas on population centres and water sources, frequent exiles etc are resorted to and depending on time and place a number of these measures is implemented simultaneously. They place agent-provocateurs, spies and informers among villagers and women and when they get caught they get overlooked.

The colonialist states are able to confiscate the Kurds' properties, lands and homes, produce, animals and feed stocks with a variety of pretexts. Soldiers who arrive in the villages armed to the teeth are able to settle down in their homes and on their properties. They are able to force the villagers to sow and reap for them. They are able to demand that the villagers should protect themselves and make them stand on guard. Should a youth join the guerillas they are able to demand that his/her family find and surrender him/her to the authorities otherwise they can detain the whole family and subject the family members to torture. The expenses incurred to beef up the security of a village is meticulously collected from the villagers. There are two options for the

villagers: Either oppose the measures, in which case the soldiers will open fire and there will be casualties. Or resign to the fate meted out, and beg for mercy. In this case, individuals' self respect and self esteem are lowered, their humanity is lost. Fear and shame destroy characters, shatters one's heart and wounds one's identity. In either case, it can be said that the army and the police force accomplish their missions. From this point of view the colonised societies are mutilated societies. Kurdistan is not even a colony.

All these measures are implemented with the help of specialists, even foreign specialists. They are known as counter-guerilla measures.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY

The most visible policy Turkey is implementing in Kurdistan today is state terrorism. This is the only policy Turkey has about the Kurdish issue. Turkey has no other policy but state terror. The Turkish authorities are guided by a mentality which says

"Let's implement such repressive measures that no one can even utter the word Kurd, can even mention the Kurds national and democratic rights. Let us put into practice such punitive measures that those who mention the Kurdish question are fully aware that not only themselves but also their families, villagers and clan will be punished so that they will be afraid and stay away from this question...."

Nevertheless, in spite of all these measures of torture, massacres, internal exiles, prison terms and poverty studies about Kurdistan are increasing daily. Studies on the Kurdish language and culture are increasing daily. Demands for Kurdish national and democratic rights are increasing in number and intensity. And these demands are being expressed in a variety of ways. Assimilation was halted with the establishment of DDKO. Operation of market forces and democratisation will intensify, speed up and spread the development of Kurdish nationalism. Despite the intense and

comprehensive state terror, the Kurds are determined on their demands for national and democratic rights. Taking into account the state terror and all sorts of risks, they are proceeding with their national liberation struggle. This spells the bankruptcy of state terror, that is the state's policy of terror. Because it renders the state's policy of terror ineffective. And in Turkey, there is no other state policy.

When we study social and political developments in the Middle East within the last 8-10 years we see that every country has a Kurdish policy. USSR and USA have Kurdish policies. Countries like France, Germany and England have Kurdish policies. Iran, Syria and the Arabs have them. Because the Kurds are now a dynamic that affect the military and economic developments in the Middle East. They are a force that must be heeded. Whether or not these policies favour the Kurds, of these policies which ones are in favour of the Kurds and which ones are against them is a separate subject to be researched and studied. But making an observation as such is also important. The Kurds are now a dynamic in international relations in the Middle East.

Those who believe the issue can be resolved with terror are countries like Turkey and Iraq. That is they are the states that are implementing colonial measures in Kurdistan.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GUERILLA MOVEMENT

The guerilla movement initiated by PKK on 14-15 August 1984 in [the Kurdish towns of-Tr] Eruh and Shemdinli has radically changed two things. Firstly, the movement changed itself. Overcoming fear, panic and resignation, it has transformed itself into an informed, determined and persistent militant force. Its informed, determined and persistent disposition in turn transformed it into a side and institutionalised it. Today, the guerilla movement is an important side. The Kurdish people en masse view PKK as a side vis a vis the Turkish army and gendarmerie.

It is possible to demonstrate just how the guerillas overcame the fear, panic and resignation and how this fact is reflected

in real life by the following example. We frequently hear on radio and TV: "... security forces in such and such place met a group of terrorists, informed them that they were surrounded and called on them to surrender. Then terrorists responded by firing on security forces and clashes occurred". In my view this is the most significant indication that the guerilla movement has overcome fear, panic and resignation, that the movement's determination must be underscored and that the movement has become an important side.

After the 12 Sept 1980 coup the political detainees and prisoners resorted to hunger strikes to protest oppression and repression, to live like human beings, to let the public know of the terrible prison conditions in what is known as special type prisons. Faced with the hunger strikes, the commissioned and non-commissioned officers were telling the prisoners the following: "The Army, the state is giving you food and bread, but you do not take it you say you will not take it. Where do you find this courage?" These were said with outrage, disdain and hatred. "The Turkish army, the Turkish state is giving you bread, food and you say you won't take them. Take them and whether you eat them or not does not concern us. Going against the orders of the army and the State cannot be forgiven" In reality, the officers couldn't care less about the prisoners and detainees. They were assessing the giving of bread-food within the framework of the chain of command. What was important was the carrying out of the orders, ensuring obedience to the orders. If the army and the state were giving bread to the prisoners and detainees then it was necessary to take them, necessary to make them take it, it was necessary to obey the orders to ensure obedience to the orders. It did not at all matter whether they ate it or not. Moreover, if it was the civilian prison guards, the civilian prison administrator or the civilian prosecutor who were saying "Here it is, take it", it would matter little whether it was taken or not. But the situation was quite different when the orders were given by commissioned or non-commissioned officers that is the army. How could a member of the armed forces not make sure his orders are carried out? How could the prisoners and detainees refuse to obey his orders? These were the things that could not be understood. Thus, the hunger strikers were not only violating prison rules and regulations but were deemed to be guilty of diminishing the prestige of the army.

To respond to the call "surrender" by firing shots, to engage

in clashes and persist with them for days and weeks with determination must be the most significant evidence that the guerilla movement has transformed itself.

Secondly, the guerilla movement has changed the people in the region. It altered their spiritual side. The people that were full of fear, panic, resignation, that were diffident and cowed began to rise and demand their rights. The guerilla movement, may not achieve the desired results in a short time. Nevertheless, having changed peoples' spiritual make up is an extremely significant development. It cannot be belittled. People will no longer be content with what is handed down to them. They will demand a good deal more. In some regions of Kurdistan, people have already begun to demand equality and democracy. "Democracy first" they shout. The Kurdish people have begun to compare their situation with that of other people in the Middle East and the rest of the world. The Kurds are comparing and contrasting their situation with that of the Turks, the Arabs and the Persians. This contrast and comparison is in political, social, cultural and military.... fields. The Kurds have therefore realised how worse off they are, and what terrible conditions they live in. All this has been the result of the tremendously persistent, determined and conscious guerilla efforts. One mustn't belittle the political and ideological education which is being carried out at the same time. This kind of work that is being carried out both inside and outside Turkey has made very significant contributions to the aforementioned changes.

About 20-30 years ago, in [the Kurdish provincial capitals of -Tr] Diyarbakir, Bitlis or similar cities when the subject of Kurdish national and democratic rights were mentioned, Kurdish villagers would say "Sir, we are all Muslims. We are brothers. It is not important to speak Kurdish either. The state doesn't want to give the Kurds this right. And it won't either, because the Kurds are very weak and the state is very powerful. If we make demands we will be ruined, wiped out. Let the state fix our roads, build our school and give us running water that is enough" And if you said, "Since the State doesn't want to give the Kurds their legitimate rights through peaceful means, then waging a struggle becomes necessary, because a human being's right to speak and write in his/her native language must be one of the most basic rights. And basic rights are worth fighting for", the villagers' reaction would be much stronger. "Sir, a state is needed to wage a struggle against another state. We are a

poor and ignorant people. The Turkish state on the other hand is big and powerful. It has a large army. It has jet fighters, tanks, cannons and guns. It has everything like a police force, prisons, stations, schools, papers, radio network. What have we got? We have nothing. A struggle in such circumstances cannot last. It is better to sit tight..." And if you pressed them further on the "Kurds' national and democratic rights", they would say " Our cause is just very just, but we have no power, no friends and no supporters. This is the moral, spiritual make up that the guerilla movement has destroyed, has initiated the process of its destruction.

The guerillas who do not surrender to the security forces' call to surrender, who kill and die in the clashes have played a major role in creating the situation where people are self confident where they trust themselves, their villagers, their relations and their nation. The people believe that the guerillas are waging the struggle with a good deal of hardship and self sacrifice. They see the guerillas as a significant side vis a vis the security forces. People's trust and faith in what they affectionately call "the students" and "the kids" is increasing, spreading and becoming stronger day by day.

Another indication of the change in people's spiritual make up is the fact that people claim the corpses of the guerillas killed by members of the army and other security forces, people participate in huge burial ceremonies and friends, neighbours, and relations visit the families of dead guerillas to offer their condolences and that sometimes this goes on for weeks.

Before the organised guerilla movement and at its beginning, people were afraid to claim the corpses from the security forces. People were resigned, defeated and frightened of torture. People would avoid being told "Since you are the father of that traitor, that anarchist, you too are guilty" and afraid of likelihood of being subjected to all sorts of torture and other brutal measures that are difficult even to imagine. People would therefore not enquire about their kids. The corpses would remain in the wild... The security forces would collect and put the corpses in a hole in the ground.

In fact the army and the other security forces did not want the people to claim the dead bodies of their children at all. Thereby they would create the image that "a handful of traitors" who had no connection with the people and whose dead

bodies were not even wanted by their relatives were responsible for the clashes. "The outlaws don't enjoy people's support. People are on the government side. No one claims their corpses either" was the propaganda.

In recent years, the situation has changed. People are now claiming corpses from the army and other security forces. In the face of accusations such as "outlaws" and "traitors", the families say their son or relative was a patriot. If they can take possession of the body, they take it to their village for a proper and ceremonious burial.

Events such as the following are frequently seen in Kurdistan these days. When for example a village guard is killed, there aren't enough people willing to carry his body to the grave. No one goes to his house to offer their condolences. But the burial of a guerilla attracts huge crowds. There is no end to those who visit the family to offer their condolences. Those who die in clashes are referred to as the martyrs.

There is a haunting scene in Yilmaz Guney's film, "YOL" [Talented Kurdish writer, actor, director and producer, Mr Guney "directed" this film from a Turkish prison cell and won Palm d'or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1982 -Tr]. There is a fight between smugglers and gendarmerie. A large number of smugglers are killed. The corpses of the smugglers on a trailer are taken to the village. The commander of the gendarmerie unit gathers people around and asks the question: "Is there anyone among these that you recognise? Let everyone identify the one they recognise". No one says, "I recognise that one". They claim they don't know any of the bodies on display. They say "We have never seen these faces before". In reality all those who had been shot dead by the gendarmerie for allegedly engaging in smuggling were from that same village and relatives of those villagers. But they all feel the need to behave this way for the fear of being stained with their crimes, for fear of being told "you are a relation of the smuggler, therefore you too are a smuggler". That is how colonialism make people strange to themselves to their own identity.

That the Kurdish people claim the corpses of guerillas, call them martyrs, set up martyrs' cemeteries in towns and villages are some of the most important social and political developments of recent years.

It is obvious that the Turkish state is very much annoyed by

the popular support for the guerillas. And therefore the State is today in the midst of changing its tactics. More than PKK guerrillas the state is after those who support them, those who give them food, water and shelter. It is endeavouring to isolate the guerillas from the people. It is putting hundreds, sometimes thousands of people in detention centres for wholesale torture via agents provocateurs it places among PKK guerillas and the so-called confessors and informers it creates. Thus it is trying to diminish the influence and the prestige of the guerillas among villagers and shopkeepers. Moreover, it subjects the villagers to all sorts of brutal torture to frighten them. It puts people en masse in detention centres and prisons. It resorts to cruel and inhuman measures such as forcing the detainees to eat human excrement. The purpose of these measures is to destroy people's mental and spiritual well being, to throw them into a state of panic, to strip them of their willpower to resist.

The village guards are being used as a powerful torture machine. The village guards have extraordinary powers in pursuing the PKK supporters, sympathisers and shopkeepers. In addition to their salaries they collect huge financial rewards for killing people according to their ranks in the organisation. They have been empowered to burn down the homes of suspected guerillas, of their supporters and sympathisers, destroy their belongings, kill their animals, burn their feedstock and kidnap young girls. Moreover, a significant number of the village guards were perpetrators of petty crimes on the run or in prisons. They have been told that if they fight against PKK on behalf of the government they would be released from jail, charges against those on the run would be dropped, their files closed or removed altogether. In spite of all these measures, guerilla activities go on on a wider scale and increasing intensity.

I have already stated that the guerilla activities have substantially changed the people's spiritual make up. The people's mental make up too is changing. The ability of the Kurdish people to compare and contrast their situation with that of neighbouring peoples is increasing day by day. For example, the Kurds were able to portray themselves in the situation of the Bulgarian Turks in the TV series Belena screened in June 1989. They are visualising all the tragedies and cruelties experienced in the [Kurdish provincial capital-Tr] Diyarbakir prison after the 12 Sept 1980 coup. The Belena series started with the Bulgarian police taking away the identity card of a school teacher of Turkish ethnic origin and

the other police officers asking "Where is your id card?". Confiscation of one id card or the id cards of all residents of a village is commonplace in Kurdistan. In the Belena series someone locked up in a cell goes mad and dies when he sees rats moving in the pipes. In Diyarbakir, inmates have been forced to eat rats. Let us remember the Kurdish inmates who had all their teeth pulled out after their release because of this horrendous experience.

In the Belena series, the officers and secret service agents frequently shout "Unity, unity, unity". It is common knowledge that "Unity and togetherness" is one of the most significant slogans of the 12 Sept 1980 coup in Turkey. And not only of the 12 Sept but it has been the most important slogan of the state and all governments since the Republic was founded. Belena series shows that the Turks performed circumcision ceremonies in secret. After the 12 Sept coup, an awful lot of efforts was expended to get the Armenian citizens circumcised in the so-called special type prisons.

Belena series show that Bulgarian soldiers and police force frequently organised raids on Turkish villages. Raids on villages, surrounding villages, mass searches are the events that take place, that are experienced every day in Kurdistan. During these attacks on villages and surrounding them the Kurds are forced to eat human excrement, too. Belena series emphasise that the Turks' properties are confiscated by the Bulgarians. Soldiers, special teams, and village guards can confiscate the properties of the Kurds at will. It is frequently claimed that the Turks' names were replaced by Bulgarian names. Banning Kurdish names for the newly born, replacing the Kurdish names of villages with Turkish names are important dimensions of the Turkish state policy. It is claimed in Belena series that the Turks secretly worship, can only secretly practice their religion. Were the pressures and the cruelties by the 12 Sept regime negligible in forcing the Alevi(Shiite) citizens of Turkey to go to Sunni mosques?

In the series the following too is emphasised: Those who do accept Bulgarian names are given many opportunities. What it means is that before they can be equal to Bulgarians they have to renounce their Turkish identity. This is in fact the focal point of the Turkish state policy towards the Kurds, the focal point of the rather peculiar Turkish democracy and Turkish understanding of equality. Kurdish human beings have understood the following fact too: When it comes to the Turks in Bulgaria, the Turkish statesmen and politicians, Turkish

press, Turkish political parties, Turkish unions, Turkish Bar Association etc get closely involved. And when it comes to the Kurds they pretend to have never seen it, never heard of it.

Consequently, the Kurdish guerilla movement has changed not only spiritual make up but also mental set of the people on a massive scale and developed their ability to compare and contrast the events that may take place at different times and places. This mental and spiritual awakening of the Kurdish people undoubtedly impacts on the views and behaviour of their representatives in Ankara. Members of Parliament of Kurdish origin are endeavouring to give expression to people's national and democratic demands. And the political parties that pay attention not to the voices of the Kurdish people but to the directives of the army, MIT [Turkish National Intelligence organisation or political police -Tr] such as SHP, DYP and ruling ANAP are in the midst of stifling these voices coming from the grass roots levels. And they have a considerable body of experience of this kind.

COLONIAL MEASURES AND TURKISH INTELLECTUALS

Here it is necessary to briefly mention the attitude and behaviour of the intellectuals too. The Algerian national liberation war is one of the bloodiest national liberation wars in the world. But during this war the thoughts, attitudes and the behaviour of the French intellectuals are credits to humanity.

The Algerian national liberation war took place in 1954-1960. In this war a significant segment of the French intelligentsia sided with the Algerian national liberation front. The French intellectuals bitterly denounced their government's colonial policies, views and actions. This denunciation was intensified after Frantz Fanon's views and actions became public. The foreword by Jean Paul Sartre in Frantz Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, turned the French people's thoughts upside down.

It is of course necessary not to assume these views to be the views of all French people. Nevertheless, it was without doubt a powerful movement. Even if it wasn't numerically widespread, it was the focus of a vocal and effective opposition. For example, in French universities organisations

with the aim of helping the Algerian national liberation were formed. Even if the founders and the participants were subjected to an awful lot of pressures even if they were kicked out of the universities the organisations did come into being. Among the volunteer workers in these organisations there were many members of the teaching staff. There were professors who said "instead of teaching at the university of a country that perpetuates colonial measures in Algeria, that guns down human beings as if they were mad dogs, I herewith resign". The French press frequently printed news and information in favour of the Algerian national liberation Front. It denounced its own government. It emphasised the injustice of the French being in Algeria. There were also similar activities within some political parties.

In frequent demonstrations, meetings, conferences, panels and open forums the French government's colonial policies and measures in Algeria were criticised. There are very many doctors, engineers, technicians, teachers etc who joined the Algerian National Liberation Front.

During the Algerian national liberation war, the attitude and behaviour of the French churches too was honourable. Openly and secretly many churches and churchgoers gave assistance to the liberation efforts.

The positive attitude towards the national liberation movements is not restricted to the French. Israeli people is another example in this regard. The invasion of Lebanon and attacks on PLO elicited strong reactions from some segments of the Israeli public. There were many big demonstrations in cities like Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv against the invasion decision. It is a great honour for humanity that there are Israeli citizens who criticise, who can criticise their government's policy of invasion, who can advocate PLO's view and actions.

It is a credit to Israel that these people are not seen as traitors, are not subjected to torture and are not sent to prison.

Today there are again significant struggles between the Israeli security forces and the Palestinians in the occupied Arab lands that is the Gaza and West Bank. Some Israelis again criticise their own government's policy towards the Palestinians and exhibit attitudes and behaviours sympathetic to the Palestinians. For this purpose demonstrations and

meetings are organised.

Just how far from the Turkish universities such attitudes and behaviours are is an obvious reality. The Turkish universities take the first place among the institutions that adopt, advocate and propagate the Turkish state ideology based on lies. In the face of the Kurdish issue the Turkish universities do not operate as educational institutions. They operate more like branches of the National Intelligence Organisation [Political police-Tr]. Clearly, doing research on the Kurdish issue is not the job of the Turkish universities. Anyone who undertakes such initiative will be dismissed from the universities. All the Turkish universities do is to engage in propaganda and studies that claim the Kurds are really Turks and that the Kurdish language does not exist.

The same things can be said of the Turkish press and Turkish political parties. When it comes to the Kurdish question they, too, act as branches of the National Intelligence Organisation. For example, when village schools are used as torture centres the Turkish press makes no mention of it. It never mentions the fact that all villagers, children, men & women, young & old are shoved off into the village schools and all are subjected to torture. But, should there be an attack on any one of these schools-cum-torture centres, should one of them be burned down, then the Turkish press will wreak havoc with headlines "PKK burned down a school again".

In Turkey there are Human Rights Organisations formed within institutions. For example, the Human Rights Association of the School of Political Science at the university of Ankara and The Human Rights Association of the Public Service in Turkey and the Middle East can be cited. With respect to the human rights of the Kurds they do not act differently to the Turkish universities, Turkish political parties and the Turkish press. Outside the official institutions, the Human Rights Associations formed by the intellectuals too has so far made no pronouncements. They pretend to have never heard of the issue. Far from supporting the Kurdish national liberation struggle, the Turkish intellectuals are enthusiastically applauding the Turkish state's and government's racist and colonialist policies.

The Human Rights Organisations in Turkey view loyalty to the values espoused by the Turkish state as a great virtue. They think and behave as if they were in a country with no Kurdish question. They do not show even a fraction of the concern

they show for PLO or the Turks in Bulgaria. For this reason their concerns for PLO and the Turks in Bulgaria are not effective and yield no tangible benefits, because double standards do not produce desired results.

The French intellectuals were aware that they had a colony and they were opposed to it and denounced their government's policies towards it. They sided with the liberation efforts because this meant that France, too, was being liberated in the process.

Perhaps it is time for the "Turkish intellectuals" who so often describe themselves as freedom & humanitarian addicts and lovers of culture to know that they, too, have a colony or something much lower in status than a colony under their sphere of influence. And every day crimes are being perpetrated, Kurds are being slaughtered in that colony with the pretext that the Turkish intellectuals, Turkish people, Turkish nation will be freer and the Turkish language and culture will develop there.

THE NEED FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Science is the most reliable, the most worthy way of acquiring knowledge about nature, society and history. Science is the way of looking at, understanding and reflecting facts and their correlation. It is the most significant procedure that the human mind has produced in order to understand and make sense of the world around us. From this point of view the most significant aspect of science is that it deals with facts. Science begins with facts. Scientists continuously make observations about nature, society, history and people. They observe and study facts and the correlation between them. In this way they try to understand nature, history, society and man himself. Then a mental process begins. It is the process of reasoning. In this process, hypotheses based on facts are formed. Through these hypotheses, explanations of facts and between facts are made. Cause and effect are established. Then the hypotheses are tested with facts. They are shown to be either valid or not. In this manner, one arrives at more valid, more certain and more lasting knowledge.

We are faced with a process that begins with observations, formulations of hypotheses through deduction which are then put to the test with observation of facts in order to acquire new knowledge. The starting point of this process is facts. The most significant aspect of this process is that it is based on facts. One cannot think of scientific research that is not based on facts. Therefore those who want to engage in scientific research must at all times take facts into account. There can be no compromises in observations, conclusions and expressions. We cannot have the power to ignore some facts, to overlook them, to pretend they don't exist or never existed. Scientists are compelled to assess what is there not what they wished was there. They must take into account not the "fact" they fantasise in their mind, but concrete facts. Scientists cannot accept ready made conclusions. They accept conclusions after they thoroughly query their validity. They are suspicious of explanations proffered to them. They inquire.

Right here begins the process whereby thoughts become the subject of criminal prosecution. Here it is: The powers that be want an important aspect of Turkey's life to be forgotten, not taken into account and presumed non-existent. It is being emphasised that the State has placed certain taboos on certain subjects and it is absolutely necessary that everyone must extraordinarily respect these taboos. It is decreed that certain facts even if they are tangible and concrete must not be written about. Certain facts and their connection with other facts must not be thought of. They want everyone to parrot the explanations handed out by the state. These explanations cannot be discussed and critiqued. They are adamant that outside these moulded explanations there is no need for any other explanation. It is made clear that those who question these explanations and those who advocate contrary views will be put on trial and sent to prison.

According to the official Turkish ideology mentioning subjects of this sort, that is, the Kurdish issue, the question of Kurdistan is a criminal offence. And it is not merely a misdemeanour, but felony. But such pressures are very much opposed to scientific research and inquiry. Such pressures, such threats also show that in Turkey there is no environment for proper scientific research.

If you are able to advance a point of view and if someone else is able to criticise it without the prospect of being put on trial and sent to prison then there is a milieu for scientific research. Otherwise, there isn't. If all of state's

resources are at your disposal in order to make people adopt your point of view and if you are able to put those who criticise your views on trial and send them to prison then your views cannot have any credibility at all. This is not exchange of views. The name of this procedure is state terror against thoughts. This is like tying the goalkeeper to a goal post and then trying to score points. The attitude and behaviour of the Turkish official ideology has always been like this. Therefore it has no credibility.

In spite of all these the following should be the code of proper behaviour and expression of views and beliefs.

If the world moves and we are able to prove this movement with facts and if there is an official ideology that outlaws the expression of this movement and says, for example, "asserting that the world moves is treachery, it is aiding and abetting our enemies. It is against our national interest to say the world moves. Those who say it don't want our nation's well being and prosperity. Such individuals and institutions will be severely punished. The head of those who say the world moves will be crushed", then how should those who want to study society and history think and behave? This is the essence of scientific inquiry.

There aren't too many alternatives. Either the edicts of the official ideology will be heeded and it will be said that the world is stationary or it will be maintained that the world moves and the consequences will be shouldered. Because saying the world moves does not amount to parroting a false and devoid claim, it is stating something that can be readily proven by tangible evidence.

With the first alternative it is not possible to conduct scientific research. Scientists must be able to criticise the official ideology. Social scientists cannot earn respect unless they are able to criticise the official ideology.

Enlightenment begins with criticising the official ideology. There is no possibility of being enlightened by standing under the official ideology's umbrella and being supported by it. At best it can only produce an insured outcome: nothing but reiteration of the official ideology.

Living with the official ideology is not compatible with the contemporary civilisation. Contemporary civilisation means

the freedom to criticise the state's internal and external policies without the prospect of being put on trial and sent to prison. This is the chief foundation of Western civilisation. Human rights and fundamental liberties can only be guaranteed in this manner. Scientific knowledge can only be advanced in such an environment. And this environment means a social order, a society that is not bound by an official state ideology.

ABUSE OF THE JUDICIARY AS A STATE INSTRUMENT OF TERROR IN TURKEY

DR ISMAIL BESIKCI'S DEFENCE
IN THE COMMITTAL HEARING

18 APRIL 1990

TO: STATE SECURITY COURT NO. 2 ISTANBUL
Ref no.: 1990/143

Your Honours,

I am being prosecuted for my book, "Kurdistan: an Interstate Colony" published by Alancilik Publications, Istanbul, February 1990. Reserving my right to defence in relation to this trial, here I wish to make the following statement:

I. This is not the first time I am being put on trial for my writings about the concept of scientific work and the Kurdish question. Since 1967, I have appeared in a number of courts at various times. In all these trials the essence of the charges have not changed. Since the late 1960's the same old accusations are being reiterated in the same terminology and the same old frame of reference:

"Citizens of Turkey are called Turks. There are no nationalities other than Turks, there are no languages other than Turkish in Turkey. The existence of any other nationality, of any other language in Turkey is unacceptable. All citizens of Turkey are Turks. Regardless of language, race, religion, sex and ethnic origin everyone is a Turk. The basic premise in the constitution is that everyone is a Turk. As far as basic freedoms and fundamental liberties as well as political opportunities are concerned all Turks are equal. It is a criminal offence to say there are nationalities other than Turks, languages other than Turkish or cultures other than Turkish culture in Turkey."

The Turkish State, the Turkish official ideology is denying the very existence of the Kurdish people and of the Kurdish language.

The Kurds are seen as a group of Turks and Kurdish language as a dialect of Turkish. Thus, a sociological reality, concrete truth is being denied via the official state ideology. They are presumed to be non-existent. The official ideology is not just any ideology. The official ideology stipulates penalties. Under the penalty of imprisonment, it tries to prevent the utterance, study and research of facts. The road to prison is pointed out to those who step out of the official ideology, to those who want to look at facts freely, objectively and to those who want to employ scientific methodology in their approach to the issues. This pressure on freedom of thought blights the development of scientific views. This pressure paralyses the thinking faculty, cripples the ability to reason and make brains and hearts dysfunctional. These links between the official ideology and science have become more clearly visible in recent years.

I mentioned above that the accusations by military and civilian prosecutors made against my writings have not changed. The same charges, more or less, with the same terminology have been repeated and reiterated. This is so in spite of the fact that there have been very significant changes in my writings, in the quintessence of my writings, in my understanding of the subject matters and in my grasp and statement of social and political correlations. For example, my writings which were published in 1990 and are the subject of the present charges against me are not like my writings published in 1967. My writings in 1990 are undoubtedly clearer and more accurate. The comprehension and statement of social and political correlations are more straightforward and more satisfying. It is evident that there is no regard for the milieu in which the chains that paralysed the process of thinking, of reasoning, of enslaving the tongue are broken. This is one of the most important aspects of the process which has reached our day.

II. It is here, at this juncture that I think it is necessary to dwell on the concepts of law and legitimacy. I do not share the views expressed in the prosecutor's indictment, because they are the expressions of the official ideology. They are based on lies and denials. It is also wrong that I am accused because I do not think in the same way as the prosecutor does. I do not share the prosecutor's views which I tried to summarise above. I am critical of these views and I believe there is no justification for criminal prosecution. The Constitution, the Turkish Penal Code, the law governing political parties, martial laws, the law that defines mother tongue etc.. claim that everyone living in Turkey is a Turk, and prohibit expressions that there are nationalities other than Turks, languages and cultures other than Turkish in Turkey. These laws may have been properly enacted as well. But, they can never be legitimate. The laws and directives that deny the existence of the Kurdish people, language and culture can have no legitimacy whatsoever regardless of whether they were made by five generals

or 450 parliamentarians. In jurisprudence, legitimacy, that is competence, is far more significant than legality.

The Kurdish population exceed 30 million in the Middle East. For 4,000 years the Kurds have been living on this land, that is, their homeland called Kurdistan. Whereas from central Asia Turkish raids on Khorasan, Iran, Kurdistan, Iraq, Syria and Anatolia and Turkish settlements in these areas began in the second half of the 11th century. Attempts to eradicate such a nation, to erase the language and culture of this nation, that is, attempts to erase Kurdish language and culture from pages of history and face of the earth are acts of tremendous barbarism. There is no possibility that the public conscience can accept such process. Moreover, attempts to eradicate the Kurdish nation, to erase Kurdish language and culture from pages of history and face of the earth can be no source of pride and joy to those who endeavour to do so. The Turkish nation does not want to be the instrument of such barbarism, nor does it deserve to be known as a nation that brought about such barbarism. From this point of view, with respect to the Kurdish question legitimacy and legality are very, very far apart. This distance, this contradiction is manifesting itself in a more moving way these days. Public is becoming more knowledgeable about it. The struggles for freedom along with social and political movements such as human rights, the equality of nations, the right of nations to self determination are becoming stronger by the day. These developments in the world are undoubtedly affecting the Kurdish people, too. In recent years, a realisation has cloaked the Kurdish society. This realisation has made them aware that the Kurdish people are enslaved like no other nation in the whole wide world. The situation that the colonial powers and their Turkish, Persian and Arab collaborators have seen fit is bondage. There is no parallel to it in the whole world. A nation whose identity is outlawed..... a nation whose homeland of four thousand years cannot be called by its proper name.... a nation of over 30 million people... whose dignity has been confiscated a nation that has been snarled at, belittled to a terrifying degree, whose self betrayal has been engineered.....

The Kurdish people have not merely realised these connections, they have not merely become aware of how adverse their status is, they have not just come to know these things... with this knowledge they also began to feel ashamed of their society, ashamed of their bondage. Therefore, it has become necessary to wash away this shame. It is necessary to seek ways to live with dignity. It is necessary to seek ways to live in the community of nations as an equal partner. The Kurdish people's struggle today is for this purpose. And in this struggle the international community has begun to learn and understand the Kurdish question more closely. The world democratic community is very closely following the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom, democracy and equality and trying to support it. The same is true of the Turkish democratic and

reformist public opinion.

III. Therefore, it is necessary to take a fresh look and study a very important subject. A nation of over 30 million people, a nation that has lived on this land for four thousand years...why has its self betrayal been engineered? Why has it been snarled at, and belittled to a frightening degree? How did this nation accept, how was it made to accept living in bondage on its own land? It is, of course, very important to find the answers. Let's keep in mind the fact that the Turks came to the Middle East in the second half of 11th century. They have been living on this land for a thousand years. They have managed to snarl at and belittle the true owners of this land beyond belief, the people who have been living here for the last four thousand years..... When there are independent, sovereign states with populations of 10,000, how was the Kurdish nation of 30 million made to accept leading a dispossessed life with no dignity, how did they accept it? It is of course necessary to study these questions in a patient, cool, calm and reliable manner.

Today, Turkey has its own Kurdistan, Iraq has its own Kurdistan, Iran has its own Kurdistan, Syria has its own Kurdistan. But, the Kurds do not have a Kurdistan of their own, why not? There are Kurds in various Soviet Republics, too. There are Kurds in Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kirghiz, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and in the villages at the feet of Pamir Mountains, why? How did the Kurds manage to go there? What are the reasons for Kurdish exiles, forced resettlements? Why was the divide and rule policy applied to the Kurds?

A nation that is targeted for the divide and rule policy must undoubtedly have a lot of frailties. What is the Kurds' debility? It is necessary to critically study all these questions in details. The road to reliable and enduring knowledge is of course through scientific method. The criticism levelled at the official ideology, the unacceptability of official explanations are significant from this point of view, too. State interests are served not by frustrating scientific inquiries and imposing the official ideology on the people but by creating a proper environment for the development of science.

IV. The freedom to criticise foreign and domestic policy is good for the State's prestige and national interests. This is true in both the short and long terms. There is benefit in explaining this via an example. Let us look at the Armenian question.

It is common knowledge that the Turkish and Armenians views on the Armenian question are very much far apart. According to the Armenians, the Ottoman Administration in 1915 and thereafter implemented intense and widespread campaigns of genocide against

the Armenians. During this genocide 1.5 million Armenians were physically annihilated. The Turkish government's view is exactly the opposite. Far from a Turkish genocide against the Armenians, it was the Armenians who slaughtered Muslim Turks. The Armenians stabbed the Ottoman army in the back. During the war the Turks and the Armenians fought and killed each other. Tragic events were experienced in the process.

It is evident that the explanations offered by the Armenians and the Turks are quite different. They contradict each other. During the last 17-18 years the following has emerged: The Armenians are taking the question to all international fora and national parliaments with the view of getting resolutions about the genocide adopted. International institutions and international human rights organisations are passionately debating the question. There is strong interest by international news organisations, radio and TV networks and newspapers in the Armenian question. The Armenian version of the events is increasingly gaining acceptance. Debates and discussions on the question in the American Congress and the European Parliament are having strong repercussions in the Turkish press, on Turkish radio and televisions. These debates and discussions are having significant impacts on a variety of organisations and institutions such as the Turkish universities, Turkish unions, Turkish political parties, Turkish judicial institutions such as the Bar Association, Religious Affairs Administration and Turkish sports clubs.

Under the circumstances what should be the State policy towards the press? The official view will lose all its credibility if the State gives extraordinary freedom and encouragement to its publication and at the same time bans any criticism. To give undue encouragement to the propagation of the official views and proscribing critical views under the penalty of imprisonment... It is quite obvious that such approach can never be credible. This is the Turkish state policy towards the Armenian and Kurdish questions. To develop and encourage as much as possible and to frustrate the opposing views with the threat of imprisonment... Therefore, the Turkish official views can never be credible. It cannot be reliable because it is not rational. They are imposed views that cannot be criticised or questioned. Those who criticise them, question their veracity or state the opposite end up in prison. The use of professors, at home and abroad, to reiterate the official views merely shows just how divorced these professors are from rational thinking and scientific principles and to what extent they have internalised subservience to the authorities.

The encouragement of the official views and the stifling of the opposite views with the threat of imprisonment cannot earn the State any respect from another point of view either. Respect for the State can enhance only if it gives the same freedom to the expression of opposing views as for the official views. This is in

line not only with the long term national interests but also short to medium terms as well.

V. There is the notion that is widely accepted by Turkish universities, Turkish writers, Turkish political parties and Turkish press. It is also emphasised in the inditement as well. According to this notion in Turkey everyone is equal, no one is treated differently because of their language or culture. Everyone may reach upper echelons of the public service. No one is denied the opportunity. For example, everyone has the opportunity to become a member of parliament, cabinet minister, governor, judge, prosecutor, professor, businessman etc. There isn't the slightest restriction. The arguments advanced in support of this view may be summarised as follows:

"...Neither in the past nor at present has there been any discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin in Turkish administration. No one has been excluded from entering the parliament or reaching the highest office in the land on the basis of his Kurdish ethnic origin". (Ref : Prof. Mumtaz Soysal, Separatism, Milliyet, 14 March 1990)

"...The Kurds have not been deprived of any right. No one has been denied the opportunity to occupy high positions on the basis of being a member of a minority group." (Prof. Mumtaz Soysal, speech at the Copenhagen Conference on Minority Rights in Southeast Europe, 30 March, 1 April 1990 printed in Milliyet)

"...The Kurds have not been seen as a minority either during the Ottoman rule or in the Republic. Citizens of Kurdish origin have always had equal opportunity to occupy positions in private and public sectors." (Prof Dogu Ergil, The Question of the East, Milliyet 23 March 1990)

"...The Kurds and the Turks have for centuries mixed together. Without facing any obstacle, citizens of Kurdish origin have always managed to reach the peak of their careers in military or civilian bureaucracy as well as in trade, commerce and politics.

Today in the ANAP administration there are not just one but many ministers of 'Kurdish origin'

Deputies of Kurdish origin belong to a variety of political parties. There are also deputies of Kurdish origin from metropolises like Istanbul and Ankara." (Ugur Mumcu, Where is the Question?, Cumhuriyet, 28 March 1990)

"... There is no difference between the citizens of the East

and any other region. ..Because it depends on votes, democracy brings about the sharing of its fruits ...Kurds or Turks share the same fate, we are sharing the burden of living in a poor country. No one treats citizens of the East as a second class citizen... There is no Turkish Kurdish distinction." (Ref: Nazli Ilicak, Press Summit at the Palace, Tercuman, 8 April 1990)

"..The Turkish society is not racist. It accepts as one of its own anyone who says 'I am a Turk'. This is how the Constitution defines it, too. Ataturk didn't say 'Blessed is he who is a Turk'. He said 'Blessed is he who says he is a Turk'. There is no racism. Everyone has a Turk, Laz, Georgian, Cherkes, Kurd or another ethnic group in his background. It is a melting pot. Those with a different mother tongue live among us. It is possible to meet migrants from Crete who do not speak Turkish. It is no reason for their exclusion.

In our society, Turks of Kurdish origin have become military commanders, ministers, deputies, prime minister and even president in a higher proportion than their percentage of the general population. There is no discrimination at all. When this is the reality, we are faced with a secret struggle in the southeast.

There is no Muslim minority in Turkey. The language is Turkish. Everyone must learn this language. Primary education is compulsory. If there are those who do not speak it, the teachers or the pupils are at fault." (Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil, Turkey's National Security and an assessment, Gunes, 10 April 1990)

It is necessary to point out that these views of professors, authors, columnists and bureaucrats have no validity. They all emphasise that those of "Kurdish origin" are equal, that those of "Kurdish ethnic origin" can reach high positions of power and authority. But, they turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to the fundamental condition of this "equality". This kind of equality is of course predicated on a prerequisite, an essential precondition. A person of "Kurdish origin" who renounces his ethnic identity, who foregoes his "Kurdishness" and becomes a Turk can occupy any office. a "Kurd" who denies his identity, his nationality can become everything including deputy, minister, governor, judge, commander, professor etc. There is no doubt about this fact. But, this is not equality. This is bondage, annihilation, ensuring self betrayal, belittling of a nation, derision of a people. According to Turkish universities, Turkish professors, Turkish press, Turkish diplomats, Turkish writers this is "equality".... One can never assert that someone in bondage who must deny his identity is equal to the people he is compelled to imitate. Democracy and the principle of equality which is the fundamental prerequisite of

democracy are of course universal. But, the views expressed above can only be "equality according to the Turks" and "democracy according to the Turks".

It is emphasised that those of "Kurdish origin" too can be elected deputies. In relation to this, one must be mindful of these facts: They do not contest elections as Kurds, they are not elected because they are Kurds! The Kurds are a people who have been robbed of their identity in Turkey. Anyone who has a legitimate claim to being a Kurd, that is, any child, who is born of Kurdish parents is automatically given a Turkish identity. The basic right to being a Kurd is denied. Following such denial and process of Turkification, saying all Turks are equal regardless of their race, religion or language does not mean there is equality. Undoubtedly this is not a genuine equality. It is an ideological one. That the Kurds, "those of Kurdish origin" are Turks is a requirement of the Constitution, of other laws and of directives. There is no other way. When everyone is Turkified as soon as they are born, then it is only natural that they can contest elections and become public servants.

That in line with legal and administrative requirements someone is made a Turk is undoubtedly not a sufficient condition for employment in the public service. It is also necessary for this person to renounce the makings of the Kurdish nation, to announce that he is a Turk and prove it with his thoughts, attitudes and behaviour in an open and credible manner. Those who advocate their own identity, that is, Kurdish identity, those who advocate the makings of the Kurdish nation cannot occupy any office. Forget about becoming ministers and deputies, such people cannot even become cleaners, janitors in public buildings. These people have the opportunity to become one thing: defendants and convicts...

It is argued that there are a few ministers with 'Kurdish ethnic origin' in today's government. This is of course factual. They have reached those positions only after renouncing their national identity and proving that they accept bondage. This is evidenced for example by the fact that whenever there is the slightest pressure directed at the Bulgarian Turks, Thracian Turks, Cypriot Turks, Azerbaijani Turks etc it is these "Turks" of Kurdish origin who speak up in their defence. These "Turks" become the advocates of these Turkish communities. It is these "Turks" who attempt to take the problems of these Turkish communities to international fora and advocate their rights. Yet, in the face of most brutal repression in Kurdistan they are totally silent. They turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to the repressive measures directed at the Kurds in Kurdistan.

In the 1980's over 40 Kurdish youths were tortured to death because they refused to say "I am a Turk and therefore content", because they advocated their own ethnic identity, because they did not sing

Turkish national anthem, because they refused to be trained along Kemalist lines. The ministers of "Kurdish origin" did not feel the slightest need to intervene in these brutal measures, these massacres. Chemical weapons have been used in a wide and systematic way in southern Kurdistan (Iraq- Ed). The Kurds have been subjected to genocidal measures on a massive scale. Thousands of human beings were killed, tens of thousands were wounded and crippled, a hundred thousand in misery were compelled to seek refuge in Turkey. They were put into camps surrounded by barbed wires and treated as prisoners of war. The refugee status was not conferred upon them. Clearly, those ministers with "Kurdish origin" made no issue of all these either.

When this is the reality, the assertion by these professors, press and writers that everyone is equal, everyone can become a minister or a deputy can only mean that they approve of the bondage status accorded to the Kurds in Turkey. When as a matter of fact, the concept of equality has been so degenerated, the parroting that everyone is equal shows just how much the official ideology has paralysed the process of rational thinking, how much it has distorted thoughts. When there is such obvious inequality, when the Kurdish society is controlled by iron-hand rules and regulations, saying there are no differences between the Kurds and the Turks in the service of the official ideology shows that not only the brains of these people but also their hearts have been numbed.

That all these assertions are being made by those who teach sociology, political science and law is another subject that should be researched. They also show just how the official ideology abuses education as a tool, just how it attempts to shape up the outlook of the men of science. These men of science who are eager to serve the official ideology, who do not criticise it, who always find it as right and scientific cannot earn respect. Without the freedom to criticise the official ideology, knowledge cannot be furthered, science cannot advance.

VI. It is extremely easy to see the duplicity of the Turkish professors, press and writers. They do not speak in the same manner when it comes to the right of the Bulgarian Turks to protect the makings of the Turkish community in Bulgaria. They were vehemently opposed to the Bulgarian Government's propaganda along the line "In Bulgaria, there is no ethnic group called Turks. They are Bulgarians who were made Turks during the Ottoman rule. Everyone living in Bulgaria is ethnically Bulgarian. All Bulgarian citizens are equal regardless of their sex, race, religion and language". They were claiming this was an unparalleled form of racism, imperialism and a concept from a bygone era. They were meeting out heavy handed criticism to the Bulgarian government's policy of denying the Turks' rights, policy of seeing everyone as Bulgarian. In Bulgaria, too, those who renounced their Turkish ethnic identity were able to occupy high offices of the government and the party.

But his did not prove the equality of the Turks and the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian policy with references to appropriate sections of international agreements and conventions is being passionately denounced. The inequality between the Turks and the Bulgarians is being underlined. Yet, they call the Kurdish-Turkish relations, which are far more backwards, more sinister, that go back not a few but close to 70 years, equality. They boast " Throughout history the Turks have never mistreated anyone because of their ethnic origin." This is real racism. Denying other nations the very same rights that one advocates for one's own people, for one's own nation... Moreover, this racism has been well institutionalised in Turkey. For example, Bulgarian government is able to retreat from its policy towards the Turks. In Turkey, however, there isn't enough courage to even contemplate a change of policy.

Racism does not always manifest itself as segregation in residential areas, restaurants, places of entertainment, schools, beaches etc. Turkish style racism manifests itself as follows: Excessive belittling and sneering at Kurdish language, Kurdish culture, in fact everything that is Kurdish, all the makings of Kurdish national identity; imposing on the Kurdish people Turkish language, Turkish culture, Turkish national identity. In this process state terror is being used as the most effective weapon.

In Turkey, professors, writers and diplomats on the one hand engage heavily in racist practices and on the other hand start writing with the expressions like "Turks don't practice racism". The Turks accept, they tell us, anyone who says he is a Turk.... This is not the issue. The question arises when someone says "I am a Kurd". That's when state terror is resorted to for the purpose of making the Kurds "look like the Turks".

This racism and double standards are not peculiar to these professors, these writers. It is advocated by the whole of the Turkish universities and by the very large majority of the Turkish press. In addition, the Turkish political parties, Turkish unions, Turkish judicial institutions such as the Bar Association, Religious Affairs Administration and the Turkish sports clubs share these views.

Moreover, many judges have written articles that are critical of the Bulgarian policy towards the ethnic Turks there and that are in defence of human rights. The presidents of the Court of Appeals in opening the judicial year ceremonies, the presidents of the consultative courts on the anniversary of its creation have denounced the Bulgarian policy of assimilation and called on international legal practitioners to pressure the Bulgarian government. The duplicity and double standards of these judges who put people like me on trial for saying "The Kurds are being severely oppressed. They are being subjected to state terror. They are being forcibly assimilated." become evident. The application

of double standards by the judiciary undermines the very foundation of the judicial system.

VII. Looking at events with double standards does not stay here. Let's look at the following article:

"...These days you often hear claims such as 'when Turkey's right to put its point of view is under threat because of the Kurdish question, how does Turkey dare speak in defence of the Cypriot Turks' rights?

The daring emanates from the fact that Turkey has never ever applied discriminatory measures against anyone because of their ethnic origin. No one has been prevented from being elected to the parliament or from rising to the highest office in the land because of 'Kurdish ethnic origin'.

This is diametrically opposite to what the Cypriot Turks are subjected to.

Yes, there are problems and especially in regard to the freedom to use one's native language. No doubt, there is room for taking forward steps. But these problems do not originate from differences in ethnic origin and are not the type that cannot be solved with a little bit of commonsense. Therefore, drawing parallels between the situation of citizens of Kurdish origin in Turkey and that of Turks who have been made outcasts in Cyprus is a pretext for either bellowing an unnecessary separatism in Turkey or trying to push the Turks under Greek Cypriot yoke. Or else it is another way of undermining our just cause." (Ref: Prof Mumtaz Soysal, Separatism, Milliyet, 14 March 1990).

Here is a mentality which needs to be dwelled upon and explored. The situation of the Kurds in Turkey is compared with that of the Turks in Cyprus and it is emphasised that the Kurds live under more favourable conditions. That is it is underlined that the Turkish-Kurdish relations develop in a democratic environment and the Turkish-Greek relations in an undemocratic environment. This mentality is not exclusive to Prof M Soysal. It is a mentality which is shared by Turkish writers and Turkish press. It is increasingly becoming the official state ideology. Therefore, it needs to be looked at closely.

1. For over 20 years, an intense and widespread oppressive measures are being implemented against the people in Kurdistan. State terror has been adopted as the principle policy. Various Turkish security forces such as the so-called commandoes, gendarmerie, special teams, hit squads frequently raid villages and conduct searches. All villagers are gathered at one place. Women and children are lined up on one side and adult males on the other

side. The males are stripped stark naked and subjected to torture in front of the women and children. A rope is tied up to their penis and given to women. Then they are forced to walk around in the village. Undoubtedly, this is a degrading, intimidating, in PKK's expression, a dehumanising experience.

One wonders if the Cypriot Turks ever experienced measures of this kind either before the 1974 invasion, or before 1964 or even before 1958? Then how can one claim that the Turkish-Kurdish relations develop in a democratic environment and the Turkish-Greek relations develop in an anti-democratic environment?

2. Today in Kurdistan, people can easily be killed by security forces without any trials or even questioning. Sometimes people are killed for revenge, sometimes just to terrorise the population, to frighten them, to break their resolve. And sometimes, the commanders simply say "Get some heads in return for leaves". A presently detained subaltern who was the station commander in a village in the county of Yuksekova near Iranian frontier has said the following:

"...In a letter to Mr Cumhuriyet Keskin, an SHP (Social Democratic People's Party) deputy from Hakkari, Subaltern Riza Parlak who was the commander of a station for 9 months in 1987-1988 says a price was put on the head of dispossessed people by the commander of the 8th Brigade, Lt. Zahit Engin who told his troops to get him heads so that they could go home on leave. He also said that a gendarme named Mr Nuri Kocak who shot two villagers in the village of Guvenli was rewarded with a 15-day leave." (Ref: Gunes, 14 March 1990)

The victims' relatives get nowhere when they petition the authorities and lodge complaints. There are no inquests, no inquiries about those who give the orders to kill or those who carry out the orders. The eyewitness account by Corporal Faik Candan (a practicing lawyer conscripted for compulsory military service-Ed) is a very significant example. (Ref: 2000'e Dogru, No. 4, 21 January 1990)

When the situation is so obvious, how can one compare the Turkish community in Cyprus with the Kurdish community in Kurdistan? I wonder if the Greeks have arbitrarily killed the Cypriot Turks without even questioning?

3. The Turkish State's so-called Special Forces often disguise themselves as (PKK-Ed) guerillas and commit massacres. The massacre of some 28 Kurdish human beings on 21 January 1990 in the village of Setê (renamed Ikiyaka by the Turks-Ed) is but one example. (Ref: 2000'e Dogru, No. 13, 25 March 1990, p 26, The Confessor said, "I had nothing to confess, they beat me up and put me on TV")

At times, Village Guards (Civilians armed by the Turkish government-Ed) are encouraged to appear as guerillas and slaughter the patriotic Kurdish families in order to discredit the guerillas. The killing of three people , two of whom were babies, at the end of March 1990 in Hakkari is such an example. The incident was reported in the press under the headline "Baby killer PKK" (Ref: Milliyet, 31 March 1990). Then it became evident that the crime was perpetrated by Village Guards. (Ref: 2000'e Dogru, No.14, 1 April 1990)

Was there a policy that would create incidents of this kind between the Turks and the Greeks in Cyprus?

4. Repression in Kurdistan has reached extraordinary dimensions. When villages are raided, male adults and granddads are lined up against a wall. Along the wall across, women and children are lined up. And in front of the children, their fathers and grandfathers are stripped stark naked. A thousand and one insults are directed at the fathers and grandfathers and again in front of the children they are tortured. Grandfathers are grabbed by their beard and thrown on the ground and are jumped on. All these are done by the security forces.

The children who are terrified, cry and scream find themselves at the receiving end of rifle butts. The women are told to "shut up the bastards!", grabbed by their hair and dragged on the ground and taken away. In front of men whose hands and feet are tied, their women are subjected to torture. And all this is State policy. It is widespread and can be seen everywhere. The situation is so evident and so devastating.

5. In spite of this Prof. Mumtaz Soysal has no difficulty in asserting that the Turkish-Kurdish relations develop in a democratic environment and the Turkish-Greek relations develop in an undemocratic environment. All because Turkish citizens of "Kurdish ethnic origin" whose national identity has been confiscated, who have been Turkified, whose true identity is denied can be elected to the parliament. And if they were allowed to sing a few Kurdish songs, they would be cooking with gas! In reality, the Turks before 1974, before 1964 and even before 1958 were being elected to the Cypriot parliament as Turks. They would become cabinet ministers as Turks. The Cypriot Vice President was a Turk. The exclusion of the Turks has never been an issue.

It behoves one to remind these professors that in Turkey the Kurds do not contest elections as Kurds and are not elected to the parliament as Kurds. In fact, the moment they are born, they are registered as Turks. "Equality" begins after a confiscation of this sort. But even this is not enough.... They must actually renounce their Kurdish identity, they must say they are Turks and they must do so in a way that the "sensitive circles" (meaning the Generals who are self appointed guardians of the official ideology-Ed) find

it credible. Of course this is not equality, because the concept of equality, which is the fundamental premise of democracy, is universal. There can be no prerequisites to it. When you tell these professors about the double standards in their reasoning and writings about the Turks in Bulgaria and Cyprus they have no answers to give. They prefer not to hear, not to see such questions. Because you say two times two is four. But, the authorities want you to say two times two is five. That is where the professors want to please the authorities. Of course they know that two times is four, but they make no attempts to convince the authorities of this reality. Instead they say, "Let two times two equal five, but let us try to explain it in such a way that neither the Turkish nor the international community will find it too difficult to swallow. Let us say two times two equals five, let us think and behave accordingly, but let us sound as if we are saying two times two is four."

In spite of all the restrictions and screening measures, if there are some deputies who are beginning to say they are Kurdish, show an interest in the Kurdish question or advocate use of the Kurdish language, then the political parties' committees on discipline act. For example, the disciplinary committee of SHP (Social Democratic People's Party) has convened four times in the last few years. The purpose in all cases was to punish, to expel such deputies. Seven deputies were expelled from SHP merely for joining the Paris conference on the "Kurds, Kurdish Human Rights and Cultural Identity" 14-15 October 1989. Before this, an SHP deputy had been expelled for making a speech on the plight of the Kurds during a joint Turkish-European Community parliamentary session. One can also see strenuous efforts to remove the parliamentary immunity from prosecution of these deputies.

Was there anyone making any efforts to remove the deputies' parliamentary immunity from prosecution for being Turkish or for saying they were Turks, I wonder?

6. The children of Cypriot Turks come every year to participate in the ceremonies and celebrations during the week of 23rd April. Those who have given this week to the children of the world, those who say "We love children. We are the first to give a week of holiday to the children" use rifle butts against the Kurdish children... They are doing all they can to terrify the Kurdish children, to ensure they grow up in fear and panic. Their mothers, fathers, grandparents, elder siblings even their nannies are victimised.

7. On the pretext of searching, the security forces contaminate their basic provisions with soil and spit into their jars. Holes are put into storage containers of their water, oil and other liquid essentials. Their beds are riddled with holes and the cotton or wool inside fly everywhere. Detergent is mixed with their

cooking oil and butter, sugar, salt and flour. All these essential provisions are tossed around and blended. All sorts of measures are resorted to in order to victimise the families. In the process, all too frequently they are robbed of their lightweight valuables such as gold and other jewellery. The might of the state is used for this purpose. An intense state terror is applied. Families are forced to abandon their villages and all this is state policy. I wonder which of these measures were implemented against the Turks in Cyprus? How can the Cypriot Turks be compared to the Kurds in Turkey? What purpose does this comparison really serve?

8. Kurdistan is ruled by decrees and arbitrary executive orders. The civilian governors and county administrators even though are government appointees have no power at all. In provinces and counties, the military rules, the commandants issue edicts and orders. When looking at past and present Turkish-Greek relations can one see similar measures?

9. State terror in Kurdistan is widespread and is intense. People are forced to eat human excrement. By such means they aim to ensure peoples' obedience and loyalty to the state. Have such illegal, immoral and inhuman measures been implemented in Cyprus? Has there been in Cyprus a mentality, a culture that would allow resorting to such measures?

In Kurdistan, people are arbitrarily being killed as PKK militants. After complaints are lodged by relatives, the corpses are burned beyond recognition to destroy the evidence. Have such things ever been witnessed in Cyprus? Then why this comparison? Just how can one reach the conclusion that the Turkish-Kurdish relations are developing in a democratic environment and the Turkish-Greek relations in undemocratic environment.

10. Today, weapons which cannot be used against any other people are easily used against the Kurdish people with total impunity. The United States could not use Chemical weapons in Vietnam. Israel cannot contemplate use of such weapons against the Palestinians. Undoubtedly, no one has even thought of using chemical weapons against the Cypriot Turks. Neither in Afghanistan nor in any other part of the world has the use of chemical weapons been observed. Nevertheless, in Kurdistan at various times and places such weapons have been used. When this is the reality, how can one say the Turkish-Kurdish relations develop in a democratic environment?

11. In addition to measures such as forcing people to eat human excrement and use of chemical weapons, Kurdistan is ruled by deportations. Internal and external exiles are State policies. All sorts of difficulties are created to force people to abandon their villages and towns. And if, in spite of all measures, the masses still refuse to leave their hometowns then they are forcibly

resettled by official edicts. Which one of these measures has been experienced in Cyprus? Has there been any forced resettlement in the Turkish-Greek relations in Cyprus?

12. Shopkeepers in [the Kurdish city of -Ed] Batman lowered their shutters in protest of state terror in [the Kurdish cities of -Ed] Cizre and Nusaybin on 3 April 1990 and sat in front of their shops. In spite of insistent demands from the Turkish authorities they refused to open their shops. Then the so-called Special Teams of the Turkish security forces moved in to break shutters, doors, locks and windows with sledge hammers. They endeavoured to compel shopkeepers to open their shops in this manner. Is there a greater state terror?

13. Kurdistan is an interstate colony. Kurdistan was divided, carved up and parcelled out to the newly created states as result of collaboration between Anglo-French colonial powers, the Kemalist Turks and Iranian and Arab monarchies [in the aftermath of World War I -Ed]. The divide and rule policy is, of course, a colonialist policy. But, it is Kurdistan and the Kurdish nation which have been carved up. The Kurdish nation has been divided, carved up and parcelled out with the intention of erasing all its traces from pages of history and face of the earth. Kurdistan is not even a colony. The Kurdish nation is not even a colonised nation. They are a country and a nation robbed of their identity. It is a nation that has been excessively belittled sneered at and compelled to betray itself in order to remain without an identity, without distinction. It is, in the words of Serxwebûn (a PKK publication printed in Germany-Ed), a dehumanised nation. From this point of view one mustn't compare Kurdistan with traditional colonies. For example there are dramatic differences between the way England ruled India and the way Turkey is ruling Kurdistan. When appointing viceroys and high ranking officers to India, those with the knowledge of and respect for local cultures and languages were preferred. Clearly, the knowledge of Kurdish and respect for Kurdish culture are not considerations in appointing government officials to Kurdistan. Because there are determined efforts underway to erase the name, language, culture and all traces of the Kurdish nation from the pages of history. And this also means excessively belittling the social and political status of the Kurds. This simple and insignificant comparison with India shows just how different Kurdish plight really is.

Undoubtedly, there are no parallels in the Turkish-Greek relations in Cyprus.

14. Cypriot Turks are backed by Turkish state. Turkey guarantees the social, political and national rights of the Cypriot Turks legally on paper and in reality as well. The rights of the Cypriot Turks are also guaranteed via international agreements. Whenever there is an encroachment on the rights of the Cypriot Turks, the

Turkish government promptly reverses the encroachment via diplomatic means and, if it deems necessary, through military means. This is true of the Turkish communities in other countries. Turkey lodges diplomatic protests as soon as it detects a restriction on the right of Thracian Turks in Greece and Bulgarian Turks. Turkey demands stricter observance of Turkish communities' rights. Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry officials intervene and ultimatums are issued. In their bilateral and multilateral relations with other countries Turkish diplomats ask foreign diplomats to denounce the restriction placed on the rights of Turkish communities. Turkey takes the issue to international fora and ensures resolutions condemning restrictions are adopted. Turkey also calls on international human rights organisations to act.

Clearly, this is not the case when the Kurds are concerned. The Kurdish nation numbers over 30 million in the Middle East. But it is a nation that has been divided, carved up and parcelled out as result of joining forces and collaboration between the Kemalist Turks, the Anglo-French colonial powers and the Arab and Iranian Monarchies. The divide and rule policy applied to the Kurdish nation and Kurdistan provides many facilities for the countries controlling Kurdistan. The Kurdish nation has been robbed of its legitimate right to form a sovereign state. Therefore, there is no government to protest to these repressive regimes when they encroach on the fundamental rights of the Kurdish people. No government will remind them of their abuses of the Kurds' human rights. The governments oppressing the Kurds will easily turn a deaf ear to the protests by Human Rights organisations since they are not deemed to be official.

In 1988, chemical weapons were used against the Kurds in southern Kurdistan [Iraq -Ed] at different times and locations. In Halapche alone over 5,000 Kurdish human beings were slaughtered during this genocidal attack. Thousands of people were wounded and left crippled. In August 1988, chemical weapons were used in a more intense and widespread way. During this genocide in Badinan-Imadiye region thousands of people were wounded and crippled. Hundreds of thousands were forced to flee their ancestral homeland and seek refuge in countries that are not friendly to the Kurds. Homes were burned down and villages were levelled to the ground. Bridges were blown up, forests were set on fire and the animals were slaughtered. Hundreds of thousands of people were forcibly deported to the Arab desert in the south as result of state terror in Kurdistan. The state destruction in Kurdistan was complete. (Ref: From Halapche to Refugee Camps, report by the Human Rights Association, Istanbul Branch, March 1990)

Have such incidents been experienced in Cyprus? Is there in Cyprus a mentality that allows such genocidal measures?

The measures are the biggest genocidal measures since the bombing

of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. But, it did not create a significant repercussion in the world at all. The genocidal measures directed at the Kurds by Iraq was not condemned. Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq is extraordinarily at ease. In fact because it knew it would not meet a strong concerted protest it had the temerity to resort to genocidal measures.

The genocide in Halapche took place on 16 March 1988. On 20th March 1988, the Islamic Conference summit meeting was in progress in Kuwait. The conference did all it could to avoid even mentioning of the genocide against the Kurds. The Summiteers condemned Bulgaria for changing Bulgarian Turks' names, for giving them Bulgarian names. They also condemned Israel for oppressing the Palestinians. The Greek Cypriot government, too, was condemned for its failure to recognise Turkish Government of Northern Cyprus. The Soviet Union was denounced for its presence in Afghanistan. But, there wasn't the slightest discussion on the subject of Iraqi genocide of the Kurdish people. None of the 42 leaders of Islamic countries felt the need to raise the subject. Here is why when Saddam Hussein's regime commits crimes and genocide against the Kurdish people it is at ease. There is no government that will take the plight of the Kurds to international fora.

VIII. I have tried to give examples of State terror against the Kurds. It is necessary not see state terror as physical repression. State terror cannot be viewed merely as violence for the purpose of bodily harm, of indignity, of belittling, of "dehumanising". It is necessary not to ignore, not to overlook the mentality behind acts of violence, terror, torture and physical repression. I believe it is also necessary to critically look at this mentality. The significant dimensions of this mentality are " Turkish brand of Scientific concepts", " Turkish brand of Democracy", "Turkish brand of the concept of equality", "Turkish brand of nationalism", "Turkish brand of patriotism" and "Turkish brand of news and press freedom".

According to Turkish brand of scientific research, lies are the order of the day. What matters is "patriotism". "Patriotism" dictates that it is quite ok to turn a blind eye to vital facts and distort tangible evidence. This is necessitated by "national interests". Democracy is of course necessary for the Turks. Turkish leaders say "Democracy is a lifestyle which the Turks can never forego." But, there is room for torturing opponents in this democracy. How else can the "patriots" show the right path to the "traitors" or those who are not patriotic.

Patriotism is of course necessary. But, one of the most significant prerequisite of this patriotism is to love others' country so much so that the natives have to be controlled by guns and cannons and if necessary expelled from their homeland. Nationalism is of course something the Turks cannot forego, but it also behoves the

Turks to annihilate the national makings of others and impose upon them Turkish national characteristics and make them indistinguishable from the Turks.

If an event, the news about an event, regardless of its importance, is deemed to be against national interests then it must be suppressed. This must be one of the most significant responsibilities of the Turkish press.

Behind state terror, torture and repression lies this mentality, this concept of science, this understanding of democracy, this sort of nationalism and this view of patriotism. All this legitimises torture, repression and injustices. It is the mentality behind organised, systematic torture, repression and injustices. The advocate of torture and injustices is the same mentality at home and abroad...

Consequently, Turkish state terror in Kurdistan is propagated and intensified with the help of Turkish universities, Turkish press, Turkish political parties and Turkish judiciary.

IX. One of the concepts underlined in the inditement is that of "partnership in national joy and grief". Accordingly, it is claimed that there is an organic union between all citizens in respect of sorrow, joy, pride and aspiration. First, it is pointed out that everyone in Turkey is a Turk and then it is claimed that all Turks have common feelings in respect of sorrow, joy, pride and aspiration.

In reality, however, the situation is not at all like this. The reality can be seen everywhere, and it has been so, for nearly 70 years. Whenever there is an oppressive measure directed at the Turks in Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Azerbaijan etc, Turkey loses no time in informing the rest of the world and invites everyone to share the sorrow it feels. It demands all nations to denounce the oppression, to take measures to prevent oppression and to support preventative measures. For example, it wanted everyone to support Turkey during its invasion of Cyprus. It sought both moral and material support. Everyone should retell just how right the Turkish cause in Cyprus is. Whenever, there is an oppressive measure in Bulgaria against the Turks, Turkey calls on everyone to join the campaign of denouncing Bulgaria. It calls upon them to explain in all international fora just how right Turkey is and help change Bulgaria. But, should any Kurd living in [the Kurdish provinces of -Ed] Siirt or Hakkari try to help a Kurd fighting the Iraqi government in southern Kurdistan by sending him, say, much needed medicine, he must be immediately apprehended, punished and sent to a dungeon. All sort of help must be given to Iraq to ensure its success over the Kurds. Iraq must be supported. Here it is, this is supposed to be partnership in sorrow, joy, pride and aspiration.

This situation is clearly seen by the treatment of and attitudes towards the Kurdish refugees from Iraq and Bulgarian Turks sent to Turkey. In August of 1988 as result of intense and widespread use of chemical weapons nearly one hundred thousand Kurds were compelled to seek refuge in Turkey. At first Turkey didn't want to accept them as refugees and in fact it apprehended some and handed them over to Iraq. Later on for a variety of reasons, Turkey was compelled to allow these Kurds to take refuge in Turkey. But, then it refused to confer the status of refugee on them and began treating them as prisoners of war and placed them in camps surrounded by barbed wires. Undoubtedly, the treatment of and attitudes towards the Turks sent from Bulgaria is nothing like this. The Turks from Bulgaria were welcomed as "racial brothers" and were given all sort of moral and material support. Those with relatives were accommodated with them. To be able to express themselves the [state owned and operated -Ed] radio & TV networks and press were placed at their disposal.

The treatment of the Kurdish refugees was succinctly summarised by the saying "There is no difference between killing a Kurd and a pig!". Not only the Kurdish refugees were not allowed to unite with their relatives, but their relatives in northern Kurdistan [Turkey -Ed] were prevented from giving them any moral or material support. Turkish government made statements like "Our doctors have conducted necessary studies and found no traces indicating use of chemical weapons" even though use of chemical weapons was widespread. It thus covered up Iraq's genocide and protected Iraq thereby ensuring the victimisation of the Kurds. Turkey prevented the United Nations' team of specialists from conducting studies on the Kurdish victims of Iraqi chemical weapons. The team was not allowed to enter either Turkey or Iraq. In contrast, to investigate the inoculation given to the Bulgarian Turks the same Turkish government invited UN team of specialists to Turkey.

Is this partnership in sorrow, joy, pride and aspiration? The Turkish press even claimed that the Iraqi genocide was very much in line with the "ultimate interests of the Turkish nation". Moreover, the poisoning of the Kurdish refugees was assured through collaboration of Iraqi agents and Turkish secret service. The toxins put into bread baked for the Kurdish refugees ensured that thousands were poisoned.

In the face of this genocide against the Kurds, Turkish government, Turkish press and Turkish security forces are overjoyed. But, the aware Kurds in northern Kurdistan are extremely anguished and worried. They are unable to help their relatives, their brethren. The minimum requirements of the Kurdish refugees are not being met. Turkey has not conferred the status of refugee on these Kurds, and it refuses direct assistance from UNHCR (UN High Commission for Refugees) and a number of governments. The Turkish authorities say

"Give us the cash, we will distribute it amongst the needy." And since these governments willing to help do not trust the Turkish government, they are refusing to hand over the cash to it. They are not at all confident that the help given to the Turkish government will actually reach the Kurdish refugees. The help given to the victims of the earthquakes in Varto, Lice and Van never reached them. All of the aid was used at different places for different purposes.

Turkish authorities on the one hand do not meet the basic needs of the Kurdish refugees and on the other hand prevent their relatives from giving them help and obstruct international assistance. At the same time they never tire of telling about "the burden of the refugees".

Obviously being partners in sorrow, joy, pride and aspiration is not at all like this. The slogan is ideologically motivated. It has no credibility whatsoever. Putting those who do not believe this slogan on trial is not proper either.

X. What also needs to be dwelled upon here is the concept of "national feelings". Advocating freedom for the Kurds, advocating equality between the Turks and the Kurds is deemed to be propaganda to weaken Turkish national feelings. Advocating removal of restrictions on the use of Kurdish language and on Kurdish cultural practices is said to be deleterious to Turkish national feelings. There is no way that advocating the repeal of restrictions on Kurdish language and Kurdish cultural practices can weaken Turkish national feelings. On the contrary, it can only strengthen Turkish national feelings, because advocacy of contemporary ideals and speaking up in defence of human rights and freedoms strengthen society's national feelings.

For example, there is a movement in Germany around "Turks Get Lost!" slogan. This can hurt the feelings of Turkish nationals at home and abroad. But, how can advocating freedom and equality for the Kurdish people hurt the national feelings of the Turks? The accusations laid against 15 Turkish diplomats that they are agents, calling upon Turkish authorities to recall them and referring the matter for criminal prosecution to German courts can also hurt the national feelings of the Turks. (Ref: Sabah, 7 April 1990) In addition, Turkey's inability to retaliate against German actions, Turkey's having to grin and bear it can again hurt the Turkish national feelings. But, how and why should advocating freedom for the Kurds hurt Turkish national feelings?

Some international institutions such as UNHCR and some governments want to help Kurdish refugees in camps. They want to give moral and material assistance. But, because Turkey doesn't confer refugee status upon them, this help does not materialise. That the Turkish authorities say, "Give your help to the relevant Turkish

institutions, it will be properly distributed" and that there is no faith, no confidence in the words of the Turkish authorities once again can hurt Turkish national feelings. On the other hand, those who advocate equality for the Kurds and work for the equality of all people can never hurt Turkish national feelings. From this point of view too the inditement is not credible. The inditement and the official ideology search for factors that hurt Turkish national feelings at very wrong places. The Turkish authorities are unable to act when and where proper reaction is required. For example, when the Turks are expelled from Germany when there are a host of demeaning jokes about the exodus what did the Turkish authorities do? Were they able to repair the hurt national feelings? This is the inevitable conclusion of seeking factors that hurt national feelings at wrong places.

CIVILISATION IS THE FREEDOM TO CRITICISE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES WITHOUT FACING CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

a) In my writings I tried to criticise Turkish universities and Turkish professors. I endeavoured to point out that in regard to the Kurdish question they do not think along rational lines and they do not employ scientific methods. They act as if they are branches and operatives of National Intelligence Organisation (Turkish Political Police -Ed). I am on trial because of these views, because of these efforts. My trial means the authorities want to terminate, want to prevent any rational discussion on these subjects. It is self evident that factual scientific knowledge cannot be furthered under the auspices of police and prosecutors.

On the other hand I am inclined to believe that injustices are being perpetrated against Turkish universities and professors, too. Turkish universities and professors should have the ability, the academic freedom to express their own views. They should not feel the need for protection under the police and prosecutors' umbrella. That the views expressed by Turkish universities and Turkish professors can only be defended with the help of police and prosecutors means that they do not have the ability, the academic freedom to express themselves. And this fact is a tremendous injustice perpetrated against them. The professors should be in a position to respond to those who criticise their views. They should have the ability and the freedom to defend their views.

b) I have also attempted to criticise Turkish press. Turkish press too does not give objective news about Kurdistan. Every bit of news is given according to the measure of "its compatibility with national interests". This fact also makes the press and the journalists as bureaus and operatives of the National Intelligence Organisation. The trial aims at terminating this kind of criticism. The Turkish press and the Turkish journalists should not feel the need to be protected by the police and the prosecutors. They ought to be able to defend their views and actions.

c) Civilisation does not mean construction of bridges, mosques, towers and public bath houses alone. Civilisation means the freedom to criticise the government's foreign and domestic policies and well entrenched value systems. It is the ability to freely criticise without the fear or threat of any kind of repression. It is the state of being free from all sorts of punitive measures by the authorities. This is what lies at the foundation of what we call western civilisation. It is a mentality which starts the process of enlightenment and ensures reliable conclusions.

d) Turkey cannot be introduced abroad by saying we built mosques, we weaved rugs, we wrote Koran or by taking the collection of Soliman the Magnificent around the world. What will make Turkey known abroad are subject matters like the foregoing. Professors with long and impressive titles keep telling us how much respect Turkish civilisation pays to the woman, how dear it holds her. My own writings are about the events frequently experienced in Kurdistan. In Kurdistan, women are tortured in front of the men whose hands and legs are tied. The women are stripped naked and dragged along by their hair and are subjected to 1001 insults, abuses and cruelties. This is the reality in Kurdistan right now, not what the professors with long and impressive titles who are motivated by the authorities keep telling the world how Turkish civilisation respects and values women. This is what the Turkish security forces mete out as just dessert for the Kurdish women. The denial by the relevant Turkish authorities cannot alter the reality one bit.

You cannot convince anyone that you are the inheritors of an advanced and tolerant civilisation while you encourage professors with long titles to make extraordinary claims with moral and material rewards, and print and distribute more and more copies of their books and at the same time put in prisons those who question the veracity of their claims and increase repression right and left. Civilisation is the freedom, the ability to criticise those professors' views and the torture inflicted on Kurdish women by the Turkish security forces. It is the ability to make these criticisms freely without any fear and without ending up in prison. Civilisation is not compatible with turning a blind eye to torture. There can be no torture where there is political freedom and a sensitive public. This is the way to end torture.

The Turkish establishment is fond of saying just how much they like children, that Turkey is the first country to grant children a national holiday. Every year they invite children from all over the world to Turkey on 23 April. For a whole week they keep boasting "We love children. We value children. We are the first to give children a national holiday."

The reality in Kurdistan, however, is that in front of children their fathers, grand-fathers, uncles, big brothers, mothers,

grandmothers, aunties and big sisters are tortured. And such incidents are all too frequently experienced. They are not isolated cases. The authorities' only defence is outright denial.

What will make Turkey known in the world is not the invitations to children from all over the world for a week on 23 April. It is the torture inflicted on children in rural Kurdistan. It is the attempts to silence Kurdish children with rifle butts when their fathers and mothers are being tortured. Turkey with its colony Kurdistan cannot, of course, join the western group of democratic nations. That Turkey is ruling a colony and that it is pursuing a policy unparalleled in ferocity is being realised at home and abroad more clearly with the passage of each day and with all its cruelties. Under the circumstances, Turkey itself will shun away from European community, because at every forum it will be gruelled over its policy in its colony Kurdistan. On this subject, its head is not high, its hands are not without blood. Its disgrace is too much. The only face saving way, the only way to avoid being questioned is to attempt to meticulously stay away from those forums.

Your Honours,

At this point in my trial that is all I want to say.

Yours respectfully,

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18 APRIL 1990