

**STRATEGY  
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**TERRORISM IN TURKEY**

**BY**

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## ABSTRACT

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Turkey has been fighting against the PKK (Kurdistan Worker Party) since 1985. The purpose of this study is to define what the PKK is, to explain origin of the Kurdish citizen, to define differences between the PKK and the Kurdish citizen and to try to find a solution to this problem within the frame of democratic rule. Turkey has been the unique target of international terrorism since 1965. To understand fully Turkey's importance one must take into consideration her geographical location, social and economic potential. Turkey has always attracted international attention. It will be probably the same in the future. Turkey is the only Islamic nation in NATO. It is however; totally secular, democratic and based on free market principles. On the other hand Turkey was a major obstacle for the ideological and military expansion of the Soviet Union towards the Middle East. This was the main reason why Turkey had been the main target of terrorism. The PKK has a close relationship to international terrorism and all kinds of illegal practices. Turkey has been accumulating a very costly social experience in the last three decades. International terrorism has been threatening not only Turkey, but also all democratic societies in the world. On account of this fact, the core of the solution depends on effective measures, which will have to be taken by all democratic societies, governments and institutions. **The PKK is not a freedom fighter; it is a terrorist organization.**



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## PREFACE

The modern Turkish Republic was born at the end of WWI following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey, with its democratic institutions, secular system, free market economy, respect for the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms, is in a position to act as a role model for many newly emerged countries and the Islamic World.

Turkey has been fighting against terrorism since 1984. There are two dimensions of this conflict. One of them is terrorism; the other is Kurdish citizen of Turkey.

As you know, terrorism is one of the most important tools which played a part in the great game between the super powers during the Cold War. Within this context, the PKK, which is a Kurdish acronym for The Kurdish Workers Party, was established in 1978. The purpose of the terrorist organization was to found an independent united and democratic Kurdistan State based on a Marxist -Leninist ideology in parts of East and South-East Anatolia. The PKK is comprised mainly lower class ghetto youths, self-styled Marxists.

PKK was identified as one of the ten main terrorist organizations in the world. The PKK doesn't hesitate to raid villages in the southern part of Turkey, burn schools, sabotage economic development projects, and kill innocent civilians, many women, children and the elderly, including ironically the very people it claims to represent. Turkey has lost 30,000 Turks and Kurdish citizen. The PKK also plays an important role in drug trafficking which constitutes one of most evil crimes of our age. The PKK is responsible for 40 percent of the heroin sold in the European Union.

The Kurdish constitutes 10 percent of the people in Turkey. Most of them are living in the eastern region. They have equal rights with other Turkish citizens. Turkey doesn't reject the identity of Kurdish people. They have the right to use their language, to publish books, magazine, and newspaper in Kurdish. They have the right to vote and are elected to political position. All have equal political rights. All citizens can apply for any post or duty. There are many from the region that has become generals, professors, ambassadors, ministers, Prime Minister and successful businessmen.

Turkey has undertaken a massive investment project on the water of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers for the region's economic development. Most of Kurdish in Turkey want to live together peacefully in Turkey. But small groups have been supporting PKK. Some groups want Turkey to recognize their identity, cultural, social economic and linguistic right. Although they have equal rights with other citizens, there is a Kurdish problem in Turkey. In the fact that this problem was not created by the Kurdish people who lives in Turkey. England provoked Kurdish against to Turkey to solve Musul Problem. During the cold war Russian supported the PKK, Syria and Iraq supported the PKK to solve the shared water problem; and Greece supported the PKK to weaken Turkey. To day most of Kurdish People don't want to separate from Turkey. In the fact that, there is no Kurdish problem in Turkey.

Turkey has not rejected Kurdish identity. What is the problem? Turkey couldn't explain the Kurdish problem to Kurdish citizens, others and the European Union. Today it is difficult to say that we

don't have problem in this region. **The Turkish Government has adopted a two pronged approach; first, the elimination of the PKK, second; to improve the living standards of the region's people.**

## **TERRORISM IN TURKEY**

### **BACKGROUND AND SHORT HISTORY OF TURKEY**

The Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, has its roots in two historical sources deep in the depths of the past. One of these resources inherited by modern Turkey, is the successful and shining history of the Turks over more than 4.000 years. The other is the fact that Turks have been settled in Anatolia since the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

To put Turkish terrorism in perspective, it is necessary to draw attention to a few relevant facts about Turkey. As known, Turkey is a sincere and devoted member of the democratic free world. One of the most important and distinctive peculiarities of Turkey is her Islamic religion.

Geographically, Turkey lies at the crossroads of two continents. She is a natural bridge between the East and the West, and borders a region of vastly different political, economic, cultural and religious structures. This special location has made her the main target of Russian expansionism for centuries. Additionally, neighboring countries have also affected Turkey's national security.

In spite of being a country with a long history, the Turkish Republic is still quite young. Following World War I Turkey had to overcome the threat of disintegration with the resolve of the Turkish people. After the three years war of independence, the new Turkish Republic was established by the Turkish people under Ataturk's leadership. In 1923 the Lausanne<sup>1</sup> Treaty was signed and Turkey entered into the longest period of lasting peace in her history. Major social and economic reforms were instituted between 1923 and 1938. These reforms were developed by Ataturk, the founder of the republic, and were known as Kemalism. This ideological platform consists of six main principles, which even today are a guide to all Turkish people and their governments to follow to achieve their national objectives. These principles are:

- Nationalism
- Secularism
- Republicanism
- Populism
- Statism and
- Revolutionism.

Kemalism is not a static idea instead it is a dynamic way of thinking which can be adapted for all situations. Thanks to the applications of these principles, the social and economic structures of Turkey have attached great importance to attaining and maintaining her economic and social development in peace and freedom.

Turkey's principal wishes are:

- To live in peace;
- To maintain good relations with all countries and especially with the neighboring countries;

-To respect the principles of independence and territorial integrity; nonintervention in the internal affairs of others and cooperation based on mutual interest. The traditional policy of Turkey, based on Ataturk's famous dictum "**Peace at home, peace in the world**" remains intact.

After World War II, the Soviet Union's historical demands on the Turkish Straits and some districts of Eastern Anatolia required Turkey to look for new security arrangements. For this reason Turkey joined NATO, and Soviet demands on Turkey ended in 1952. However, it is difficult to say the Soviet Union's historical demands have completely ended as long as Turkey shares its borders with the Soviet Union.

Turkey has been in the midst of rapid social and economic transformation in her recent history. The structure of the society has changed radically in the last 25 years. Beginning in the 1980's the state oriented economic model has undergone a change to a free market economic model. Today, the Turkish Republic has a competitive, free market economy with modern industries. 76 percent of Turkish exports are industrial goods. Per capita GDP is \$6100. Population is 63 million. Turkish's economy is 17<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world. Today Turkey is positioned to be a major regional power in the future, if Turkey can solve the terrorism problem in a short time.

**KURTS; THE TRIBES OF TURKS**

Many persons have been working to determine the origins of the Kurdish people. These people have done their work for very different purposes. Among them are V. Mihorosky, who was Russian and whose aim was to support Russian foreign policy against the Ottoman Empire; Armenian Bogos Nohar Pasha, who was forced by England and France to write something to improve the relationship between the Armenian and Kurdish people at the expense of Turkey. However, the Kurdish people did not want to join Armenia and during the independence war they fought the enemy along side of Turkey Turks. E.A. Speiser, from Pennsylvania University, put forward "Guti-Kurt"<sup>2</sup> theory. There are a lot of theories about the origins of the Kurdish peoples including "Quark-Kurt" and "Ed -Kurt" These theories were based on the language. When the Kurdish language is examined objectively, it is possible to see similarities with the Turkish language. For instance; Gokturk Turkish, which is known as the oldest Turkish, is similar to Kurdish. There are many words that can be shown as examples:<sup>3</sup>

Gokturk	Kurdish	Turkish
-----	-----	-----
Altun	Altun	Altin (gold)
Anca	Ancis	Boyle (so that)
Ani	Eni	Onu (that/this)
Arkuy	Ark	Ark (hole)
Boguz	Bogaz	Bogaz (through)
Beg	Beg	Beg (sir)

Kurdish people speak in Kipcak, which is a kind of Turkish dialect. Kipcak is Oguz Turk. On the other hand, there is an inscription about "KURT" on the grave stone near the Yenisey River, which is the first written information about Turks.

Kurdish and Turkish people have been living at peace for a long time although Russia, England and other countries have tried to separate them. However, these two groups have never fought each other for all their histories. For **20 years security forces have fought terrorists called, PKK, which have been trying to encourage Kurdish people to fight Turks, but there is no way for the PKK to succeed.**

### **THE ORIGIN OF THE KURDISH QUESTION**

The "Eastern Question" involved the competition among the great powers. Its origins may be traced back to the late eighteenth century when the Ottoman Empire suffered military defeats by Russia and experienced growing internal problems in the Balkans. The major players were Britain and Russia. Russia steadily expanded its territories to the south at the expense of the Empire while acquiring growing political influence in the Balkans and within the Empire. Britain's policy was centered on protecting the integrity of the Empire in an effort to counter balance Russia in the Near East. By the end of the nineteenth century the great powers had also begun to take an interest in the Middle East territories of Empire. Britain had obtained a privileged status in Egypt and had built the Suez Canal with France. Germany's growing involvement in Ottoman affairs with the German decision to finance the construction of a railway from Berlin to Baghdad via Istanbul, also drew Britain's attention to the area.

The discovery of the oil in southeastern parts of Mesopotamia and Iran further increased the importance of the Middle East. The competing interest of Britain, Germany and Russia helped to prolong the existence of the Empire. However, the Ottoman decisions to enter WW-I on the side of the Triple Alliance drastically changed this situation. Allies saw the dismemberment of Ottoman Empire as inevitable. The need to avoid conflict among the Allies led to a series of agreements between 1915 and 1917 aimed at the to partition to the Ottoman Empire. With the exception of an area roughly coinciding with central Anatolia and the corresponding Black Sea Coast, the rest of the Empire was to be shared between Britain, France, Greece, Italy and Russia. The great powers pressed ahead with their partition plans and during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 they supported the idea of allocating lands to Armenia and to a future Kurdish State.

The Serves Treaty signed between the allies and the Ottoman Government in August 1920, formalized the division of the Empire and was considered at the time as the final settlement of the Eastern Question. The Treaty had provided for local autonomy to the Kurdish people. However, the Treaty was never ratified by the signatories.

The secret agreements partitioning the Ottoman Empire had allocated an important part of the territories inhabited by Kurds to France. Britain had a definite policy towards the Arabs but not towards the Kurds. Initially, the British position on the Kurds seemed to be the product of the personal initiatives

of Major William Charles Noel, a military intelligence officer, whose romantic commitment to Kurdish independence had earned him the title of "Lawrence of Kurdistan."

Towards the end of the war another prominent member of the Kurdish elite, Kamil Bedirhan evidently promised to create havoc for the Ottoman government if Britain would help him in his quest to become leader of Kurds. However Britain refused to allow a number of the Kurdish tribal leaders to attend the Paris Peace Conference.

Percy Cox, a senior British administrator, argued that the British occupation in Mesopotamia should be expanded northwards to include areas populated by Kurds. According to Cox 'the new entity would be a logical addition to Britain's vast empire' and would include the rich oil deposits of Kerkuk and Mosul. Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India and Winston Churchill then head of the Colonial Office, was two influential officials who favored independence for the Kurds.

At this time the Turkish resistance movement in Anatolia was becoming more organized and formed itself into the government of the (Turkish) Grand National Assembly in April 1920. The resistance movement secured modest military successes against the French in Cilicia, against the Armenians in eastern Anatolia and against two rebelling Kurdish tribes, the Kocgiri and Milli Asiret.<sup>4</sup> These victories were achieved while the Greeks were expanding their occupation of western Anatolia. With the Turks it should be noted that many Kurds were participating in the efforts to liberate the country from foreign occupation.

Britain's policy towards the Kurds was also influenced by the Bolshevik revolution and the establishment of Soviet Russia. Growing Soviet influence was seen as a threat to British interests in Iran and Iraq. The close relations that had developed between Soviet Russia and the new government of the (Turkish) Grand National Assembly based in Ankara made Britain fearful of an alliance between the two that could directly threaten the British presence in northern Iraq. By summer 1922 Britain's strategy of using the Greeks to keep 'Turkey' divided was about to collapse. By the time the Ankara government had defeated the Greeks and the Lausanne Conference had commenced the British were prepared to play the Kurdish card only to neutralize Turkey's claims over Mosul.

After its control over eastern Anatolia was consolidated, the Ankara government sent a small military unit during autumn 1922 to the area north of Mosul. The unit was collaborating with local Kurdish tribes to establish control in this strategically important area. They also feared that in those circumstances the British might encourage the Kurds to rebel against the Ankara government.

The dispute between Britain and Turkey was not resolved when the Lausanne Treaty was signed in July 1923. By summer 1924 Britain had gained the upper hand in the Mosul district and during the autumn an effort by Ankara to regain control failed. At that time Turkey faced a rebellion led by the Christian Nestorian tribes. A major Kurdish uprising led by Shaikh Said in spring 1925 followed this. In July 1925 the international (League of Nations) commission recommended that the district of Mosul should be given administrative autonomy. This finalized the separation of the Kurds in Turkey from those in Iraq. This would have profound effects on the future of the Kurdish question.

Compared with the British interest, French involvement with the Kurds was very limited. The French had a much greater interest in the fate of the Armenians, Assyrians and Nestorians who were all Christians, than with the Kurds. France had feared that Britain was attempting to establish control over the territories of the defeated Ottoman Empire and Middle East at its expense. The French had approached the resistance movement in Anatolia in early summer, 1919. Both sides expressed their opposition to establishment of a Kurdish state. The French, wishing to strengthen the military capabilities of the Ankara government, left substantial amounts of military equipment behind as they withdrew. Evidently, France wanted a strong Turkey to weaken or at least to balance British power in the region. Any British support for the Kurds was perceived by France as an effort to weaken Turkey. Thus France would oppose the awarding Mosul to the British mandate over Iraq.

French support for Turkey has been described as anti-Kurdish. However, it seems that the French government was more concerned to protect its interests in Syria and prevent British ascendancy in the Middle East.

The news in 1919 of an effective resistance movement composed of both Kurds and Turks as well as other Muslim groups of different ethnic backgrounds such as the Albanians, Circassians and Laz, would ultimately forestall the establishment of Kurdish autonomy or independence as envisaged by the Treaty of Sevres.

The peace treaty signed at the end of the Lausanne Conference recognized Turkey's independence and settled most of the outstanding problems between it and the allies. The only outstanding territorial issue concerned the final status of the district of Mosul. The Lausanne Conference had failed to resolve the problem and had left the settlement to negotiations between Britain and Turkey. Turkey's military and diplomatic efforts failed to ensure the inclusion of Mosul within Turkey.

In the period up to the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 the Kurdish nationalists who did emerge failed to form a unified national movement. This was largely because of the lack of ethnic self-awareness among the Kurds. During the First World War the Kurds had remained loyal to the Empire. At the 1919 Erzurum Congress 22 of the 56 delegates who attended were Kurds. The delegates focused on the need to resist allied effort to create Armenian and Greek states in Anatolia. Islam and 'Ottoman patriotism' constituted an important common bond between the Kurds and other delegates.

Kurdish participation in the resistance movement was further strengthened after news arrived from the Peace Conference in Paris in November 1919 that the Kurdish representative Serif Pasa had reached a deal with the Armenians. Serif Pasa had agreed to accept the formation of an Armenian state in areas that included Kurds in return for Kurdish independence in a small part of eastern Anatolia. The revolt among the Kurds in response to this news led to a number of telegrams being sent to Paris. In these it was argued that the Kurds did not want to separate from the Turks. Ten Kurdish tribal leaders from Erzincan sent a telegram to the French High Commissioner in Istanbul protesting Serif Pasa's actions. They declared that Turks and Kurds were brothers in terms of race (soy) and religion.

The Kurds were represented with about 74 deputies in the Grand National Assembly. However, there was also Kurdish tribe, which rebelled against the Ankara government represented by the Grand National Assembly. Between 1919 and the end of 1921 there were 23 revolts directed against the efforts of the resistance movement and then the Ankara government to centralize its authority across the country outside occupied areas. Only four of these uprisings occurred in Kurdish-populated areas and three involved Kurdish tribes and clans. However, some prominent Kurds such as Ziya Gokalp<sup>5</sup> and Suleyman Nazif would eventually become ardent supporters of Turkish nationalism of a civic kind.

### **WHAT IS THE PKK?**

The PKK (Kurdish acronym for the "Kurdistan Workers Party"), formed in 1978 by Abdullah Ocalan, is the most notorious terror organization in the world. It has conducted a vicious campaign of terror against Turkey since 1984 with the external support of certain states and circles whose aim is to destabilize Turkey. PKK has been identified as one of the 30 main terrorist organizations in the world.<sup>6</sup> The purpose of the organization was to found an independent united and democratic Kurdistan State based on a Marxist Leninist ideology in parts of East and South-East Anatolia.

PKK terrorist activities have resulted, to date, in the death of thousands of people including women, the elderly, and children, and in many instance infants. The PKK has also murdered over several hundred teachers, who became targets of terrorist since it was judged that PKK's subversive views could be most easily imposed on the uneducated and ignorant.<sup>8</sup> The PKK has employed murder, intimidation, kidnapping and destruction to further its nefarious objectives. It targets ordinary people, because it aims to coerce the local population in southeastern Turkey into supporting its evil deeds. The PKK has attacked the entire inhabitants of villages in southeast Anatolia. These attacks are also designed to make the region uninhabitable. The PKK destroys schools, blows up railways and bridges, plants mines on roads, destroys on machinery, and demolishes health centers.

The PKK indiscriminately murders the very people on whose behalf it purports to act, Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin. Ironically, the PKK regards Masud Barzani's Kurdish Democratic Party and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the two main Kurdish groupings in northern Iraq, as its adversaries. Due to its ability to strike Turkey from Syria and (after the 1991 Gulf War) northern Iraq, the PKK proved for some time a serious threat to law and order and claimed many victims. Following its operations against PKK facilities in northern Iraq, Turkey has restored law and order throughout the southeastern provinces.

The PKK engages in organized crimes such as drug trafficking and arms struggling, extortion, human smuggling, abduction of children and money laundering in attempt to recruit militants and to obtain financial resources needed to carry out terrorist activities. The "Sputnik Operation" conducted in a coordinated fashion in some European countries in September 1996 exposed PKK's links with organized crime and money laundering activities.

On the other hand, it is known that the PKK, together with other organized crime gangs,<sup>9</sup> is also behind the recent wave of illegal immigration to Italy. PKK's objective is to create international pressure and antipathy against Turkey.

### **THE PKK AND DRUG TRAFFICKING**

The 1992 annual report of the United States Department of State Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement entitled "The International Control Stately "(INCS) suggests that PKK members control much of the European drug cartel.<sup>0</sup> Likewise, the 1996 INCS report underlines the fact that the terrorist PKK uses heroin production and trafficking to support its acts of terror.

The 1998 INCS report, pointing to persistent reports of PKK's involvement in narcotics trafficking through Turkey, reiterates that the PKK not only uses "taxes" extracted from narcotics traffickers and refiners to finance its operations, but "may be more directly involved in transporting and marketing narcotics in Europe" as well. Moreover, the PKK plays an important role in drug trafficking<sup>11</sup> that constitutes one of the most evil crimes of our age. The British weekly magazine "The Spectator" underlined this fact in its 28 November, 5 December 1998 issue by saying that "...According to British<sup>12</sup> security services sources the PKK is responsible for 40 percent of the heroin sold in the European Union" The involvement of the PKK in all stages of drug trafficking has been further documented in a conference held by Dr. Francois Haut of the Paris Institute of Criminology in Brussels on 25 April 1997. It was stated that the PKK is engaged in producing, refining and marketing of drugs and has contacts in numerous countries. The PKK's "turnover" from drug trafficking is estimated at "millions of US dollars." Dr. Haut notes that the problem of narcotics trafficking has entered the Parisian suburbs thanks to the PKK, which he thinks is responsible for 10 to 80 percent of the heroin smuggled into Paris. Similarly, a 1996 report by Jean Claude Salomon, Francois Haut and Jean-Luc Vannier for the Paris Institute of Criminology, utilizing impartial sources as the Interpol comes to the same conclusions.

The revenues from these activities, the report continues, are used for purchasing firearms, munitions and other equipment used by the terrorists. The report cites other sources of revenue of the PKK such as extortion, robbery and counterfeiting.

Last but not least, the final report of the thirty-third session of the sub-commission on Illicit Drug Trafficking and Related Matters in the Near and Middle East, held under the auspices of the UN International Drug Control Program (NDCP) in Beirut from 29 June to 3 January 1998, noted that "there were clear linkages between some narco -terrorist organizations for example the Kurdistan Workers" Party (PKK) and other organized transnational criminal groups."<sup>13</sup>

Turkey's position astride the "Balkan route" makes it a significant transit point for narcotics. Using this route, the PKK smuggles morphine base and heroin from Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan into Turkey's eastern borders. Since the late 1980s, the terrorist organizations have, instead of trafficking externally produced heroin, opted for a more profitable way of producing heroin from non-heroin opiates.

## **COMMENTS ON SEVERAL ARGUMENTS USED BY THE PKK TERRORIST ORGANIZATION AGAINST TURKEY**

As a secular democracy, Turkey has always rightfully prided itself upon the full and equal participation of all of its citizens, regardless of ethnic background, in the richly colorful and vibrant mosaic of its parliamentary democracy.

Ethnic diversity is evident among Turkey's 60,000,000 citizens. While traditionally living in the southeast of Turkey, today's Turkish citizens of Kurdish ethnic origin live scattered throughout the country. It is estimated that more than half of them live in the larger cities of western Turkey. They participate in all areas of social, economic and political life; Citizens of Kurdish descent have become parliamentarians, government ministers, prime ministers and presidents. Indeed, there is no ethnic discrimination in Turkey. Culturally, Turkish Kurds are free to speak the various dialects of their own language, not only in private, but also in all public gatherings. Like wise, publication of Kurdish books, magazines and newspapers is widespread. In short, Turkish Kurds are fully integrated into the mainstream of Turkish society, while being encouraged preserving their own unique cultural heritage.

Turkey's southeastern region, due to a variety of geographic and historical factors, is far less developed than the western part of the country. The southeast is very mountainous and arid with hot and cold temperature extremes. Much of the region's economy is based on animal husbandry and its distance from the main population centers in the west, has made it relatively less attractive for industrial development.

It is in this milieu that the terrorist organization known as the PKK seeks, via the ruthless application of terror to establish a separate Kurdish state. Since 1984, hit and run activities on Turkish territory have steadily escalated, resulting in over 30, 000 deaths, (almost half of which are civilian), and the majority of which are Kurds. Turkey's democratic institutions, as in the case of all Western countries, were unable to produce instant strategies to deal effectively with the growing incidence of PKK outrages. Terrorism has been affected by a number of factors, which bear close analysis. These involve nationalism and ethnic identity, economic factors, changes in the region precipitated by the collapse of the Soviet Union, rising Islamic fundamentalism and the still unresolved post-Gulf War crisis.

**The PKK argument is" In Turkey, there are two national communities, the Turkish and the Kurdish peoples."**

Nineteenth century nationalism, while a major factor in the dissolution of the Ottoman polity, was slow in reaching the Muslim population of Anatolia. Identity in the Ottoman Empire was based not on ethnic origin or race, but rather on religion. Thus, following World War I, when the Greek armies invaded, it was the Muslim population (Turks, Kurds and others) which successfully blocked their occupation of the Anatolia regions. Consequently, the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne (subsequently signed by other parties in 1924), viewed the Muslim in the newly formed Turkish Republic as a whole, and reserved the status of "minority" in the technical legal sense only for the country's Greek and Armenian Christians and Jews. This minority status was designed specifically to protect the religious rights of these groups.

**The fact:** The Turkish democracy is based on the concept of the "**nationalism of citizenship**". The point of the term "**nationalism of citizenship**" is that it is based on individualism and does not reflect a collectivist approach.

To further elaborate, the term "Turkish people" includes all Turkish citizens, whatever their ethnic roots, and it is an expression of their togetherness as equal individuals. Therefore, ethnic roots of the citizens is a special subject which is a concern for the citizens themselves and not for the state. The PKK's aim today is to create a model of "ethnic nationalism" against "nationalism of citizenship" in Turkey. "**Ethnic nationalism**" is a collectivist and authoritarian term in nature which rejects a focus on person as an individual and which is not democratic.

During the elections of 24 December 1995, a party which defines itself as a "Kurdish Party" (HADEP) competed with other parties. The PKK labeled the elections as a referendum, which would test its alternative nationalism model against the "nationalism of citizenship." This approach was openly declared in the MED TV and the "Ozgur Politika" Newspaper, which are both the propaganda organizations of the PKK. The result was that HADEP received one seventh of the votes of all Kurdish citizens of Turkey. Six sevenths of Kurdish citizen voted other parties<sup>14</sup>.

This proves that the citizens of Kurdish origin in Turkey reject ethnic nationalism. This is only natural. "Nationalism of citizenship" gives the citizens a supra-ethnic identity and at the same time, does not reject the ethnic identities of individuals. Nevertheless, "ethnic nationalism" is based on the exclusion of other ethnicity.

**The PKK argument:** "PKK is the representative of the Kurdish people and talks on behalf of the Kurdish people."

**The fact:** It is crystal clear that the real representatives of the citizens that are of Kurdish origin in Turkey are the parliamentarians elected by their votes on 24 December 1995. Among them are many Kurdish parliamentarians Kurdish. This proves that the PKK or the so-called "Kurdish Parliament in Exile" has no right to speak on behalf of Kurdish citizens.

**The PKK argument:** Turkey rejects the identity of the Kurdish people. Turkey does not allow Kurdish people to become involved in politics.

The PKK and their adherents claim that the Kurds in Turkey are of a different race. Answers to this lie in scientific research. Research has in fact, been carried out as to whether the race is separate or otherwise. Books and documents are available in support of both views. However, when delving into the matter, the most important point to consider is the credibility of the publishing houses and authors and the validity of their scientific approach. Serious works emphasize the fact that Kurds and Turks are of the same race.<sup>15</sup>

To substantiate this claim, they point to research into customs, traditions, language, folklore, historical monuments, tombstones and other similar cultural data. In fact, it is not all that important which point of view is accepted. Although there was a mosaic in Turkey that remained intact for centuries, we

have now reached the 2000's and it is no longer possible for anyone to fully pinpoint their separate identity and roots.

These facts prove that, contrary to allegations of the PKK, the Kurdish identity in Turkey is not being rejected. What the constitutional order in Turkey rejects is the approach of "collective identities" and the allegation that there is a separate "Kurdish people" in Turkey apart from the "Turkish people"; an approach based on "ethnic nationalism." Recent elections proved that the Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin also rejected these biased approaches. Apart from this, no one in Turkey is punished or ostracized when they label themselves as Kurds or when they speak Kurdish.

The allegations that Kurdish people are not free to be involved in politics are a distortion of the truth. Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin in Turkey, like all other Turkish citizens, have been using the right to vote and to be elected freely. In addition to this, a party which labels itself as "representative of the Kurdish people" competed in elections on 24 December 1995 but received only a small percentage of the votes from those citizens of Kurdish origin.<sup>16</sup>

**The PKK argument:** There is a war going on between the Government of the Republic of Turkey and the PKK. The PKK has declared a unilateral cease - fire. To end the war, the other side should also declare a cease-fire and both parties should start negotiations. To this end, the international community should exert pressure on Turkey.

**The fact:** The PKK has been trying to present its terrorist actions and the fight of the Turkish security forces against these actions, as "clashes between two warring parties." In doing this, the aim of the terrorist organizations is to make the international community believe that events taking place in southeastern Turkey fall in the category of "armed conflict" or "civil war" in line with the 1949 Geneva Conventions and its additional protocols. Thus, the terrorist organization aims to gain a legal status based on such allegations. Under the Geneva Conventions, the events taking place mainly in the southeastern parts of Turkey can't be evaluated in the way the PKK intends.

**The PKK argument;"** The PKK insists that Kurds cannot use their own language."

**The Fact;** Even though the Constitution stipulates that the official language in Turkey is Turkish, for those citizens who do not speak the language there has never been any barrier to utilizing the services of an interpreter in official institutions, independent courts of justice and hospitals. Tolerance has always been displayed in this regard. This tolerance has been ratified by law during the past few years. That is to say that, speaking the Kurdish language, publishing books, magazines and newspapers in Kurdish and singing in Kurdish songs is not prohibited. It is interesting to note, however, that the publication of books, magazines and newspapers and the production of cassettes of Kurdish songs have all come to a virtual stop, because of a lack of buyers. At the present time all these activities have stopped because there is no wide spread interest in the Kurdish language in Turkey.

## **THE ECONOMY AND TERRORISM**

Beginning in the early 1960s, two decades prior to the advent of PKK terrorism, the government of Turkey, in recognition of the region's economic needs, began the Southeastern Anatolia Development Project (GAP),<sup>18</sup> a massive investment project designed to harness the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers for the region's economic development.

Water from Ataturk Dam (one of the 23 dams comprising GAP) will irrigate 310,000 acres of land. The other 22 dams and 17 hydroelectric plants now in various stages of completion will cost over \$32 billion. When completed, this project and its accompanying infrastructure, including six-lane highways linking the cities of Adana, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa and Diyarbakir, will provide employment opportunities for the local people, some 50,000 of whom are still nomadic.

Although Turkey is one of the world's seven agriculturally self-sufficient countries, investments in the southeast designed to increase agricultural production are based on a commitment to bridge the gap between the development levels of the country's western and eastern regions. PKK violence has affected public investment and diminished private investments in the region with negative consequences on the local economy. Delays in industrial plant construction result from the understandable reluctance of the business sectors to have anything to do with the PKK.

To counter PKK activities in the southeast region of the country the government has adopted a two tiered approach: first, the elimination of PKK terrorism by security operations in strict compliance with the rule of law; second, active measures to further improve the living standards of the local people who suffer from impaired public services and a slow-down in economic development.

### **SPONSORING COUNTRIES OF THE PKK**

Armenia, Syria, Greece and some EU countries have supported the PKK in pursuing their interest in the region. The PKK has been supported and sheltered by some of Turkey's neighbors, as well as by some others outside the region. Syria and Greece are the principal countries that have been supporting the PKK for years. However, with the signing of the Adana memorandum on October 20, 1998, the Syrian connection has been broken. Syrian authorities have promised not to support terrorist activities against Turkey and have taken some steps in this direction. Turkey closely monitors Syrian compliance with the Adana agreement.<sup>19</sup> Yet Greece, a NATO ally, backs the PKK and its affiliates by every means at its disposal. Confessions and testimonies of dozens of PKK militants arrested in Turkey reveal that Greek support to PKK terrorism goes much beyond what was generally estimated. Most recently, revelations made by the PKK member Fethi Demir and by Semdih Sakik, PKK's "second man" captured in northern Iraq, have helped to confirm concretely the continuing Greek support to the PKK. The statement made by Greek Premier Simitis on November 26, 1998, leaves no room for doubt about the position of Greece vis-à-vis the PKK: " The PKK is an organization fighting for the rights of the Kurdish minority and using various means to reach this end. Can there be a more explicit approval of PKK terrorism? There is of course other evidence and documentation concerning Greek support to the PKK terrorism. Apdullah Ocalan was arrest by Turkish commandos in Kenya on February, 15 1999. Ocalan

had been hiding in the Greek embassy in Nairobi. US Secretary of state Madeleine Albright met with the leader of the opposing party Kostas Karamanlis for 45 minutes on 10 April 1999, in Athens. She mentioned the Ocalan issue in the meeting, hinting that the US is sensitive to the rumors that PKK received aid from Greece. " Greece is not the only country that hasn't solved its terrorism problem in the EU."<sup>20</sup>

Armenia is another case study on how regional states manipulate the Kurdish issue to suit their own interests. In recent months there has been an increase in PKK attacks along the northeastern Turkish border adjacent to Armenia. Clearly, the PKK is being provided with a safe haven in that neighboring country.<sup>21</sup>

To comprehend why, one has to recall earlier comment on Syrian unease over Turkey's GAP project and its effects on the downstream flow of the Euphrates River. As this brief overview indicates, the Turkish government is faced with the dual task of addressing the problem of PKK terrorism, both at home and abroad.

### **WHAT IS A NATION? WHAT IS AN ETHNIC GROUP? TURKS AND KURDS IN TURKEY**

There has been a debate among scholars over whether more emphasis should be given to subjective or objective criteria in defining a nation. According to one argument, the members of a nation must feel bound by a sense of solidarity, common culture and national consciousness. Self-awareness and self-perception are key determinants.

What objective criteria would be necessary for a nation? A certain territory, and shared language, religion, culture and a common descent are some characteristics, which come to mind.

The term "nationalism" is obviously closely connected with the concept of nation. Nationalism in its modern sense is commonly traced back to the late eighteenth century and the success of the American and French Revolutions. It was linked here with the doctrine of popular freedom and sovereignty and the need for a people to be united and have its own territory.

Nationalism gives ethnicity a political direction. The term ethnicity is also defined as the state of being ethnic, concerned with identification with a particular group. A common language, religion and race are some of the important attributes of ethnicity and ethnic groups, although the group should also be conscious of being a distinct entity on the grounds of ethnicity.

How should one distinguish between a nation and an ethnic group? The distinction is not obvious bearing in mind that all nations have at their center a dominant ethnic core, that is, a dominant ethnic group. Some ethnic groups, therefore, are able to become nations. To qualify as a people nation usually have common legal codes with equal rights and duties for all, and have a territorial base. These are features not associated with ethnic groups, although an ethnic group may have an association with a particular territory.

There may be different types of ethnic groups. The leaders of some may aspire for nationhood, thereby hoping to acquire independent statehood or at least a considerable degree of autonomy. In other ethnic groups the leadership may be aiming to ensure the respect of its cultural rights. All ethnic groups

are politicized to the extent that their leaders wish to maintain what they perceive to be a separate group identity.

They must be self-defined. In order to at least enjoy the possible rights of an ethnic minority, they would also need to be defined by the government of the state in which the ethnic group resides. If a government or governments recognize the demands of the leaders of an ethnic group for nationhood, the ethnic group may then be regarded as a nation.

How was the Turkish nation created? Nation building had to run parallel with state building following the demise of the Ottoman Empire, and moves toward the establishment of a modern Turkish Republic. How was a Turkish ethnic core for the Turkish nation shaped? Although key élites projected the line that they were working for the development of a Turkish civic nationalism, how did other groups within the Turkish State perceive this policy? What of the role of the elites and masses within these various groups? What impact did the previous millet system of the Ottoman Empire have on these developments? One must bear in mind that, according to this system, a measure of autonomy had been allowed for non-Moslem minorities within the Empire, while all Moslems irrespective of their ethnic background were grouped as one category.

Certainly, both intellectual elites and a professional intelligentsia consisting mainly of military officers and leading bureaucratic officials did play an important role in the replacement of the Ottoman ruling class with a new leadership which would aim to foster the image of a Turkish national identity. The Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 had referred only to the presence of non-Muslim minorities: Armenians, Greeks and Jews. According to the millet system of the Ottoman Empire, Non-Moslem communities were allowed a measure of self-government, but the Moslem inhabitants were considered to be united as members of the 'nation of Islam' and were thus subjects of the Sultan who was also their Caliph. The Turks, along with the Albanians, Arabs, Bosnians, Circassians, Laz, Pomaks, Tatars and Kurds, were grouped together within the single nation of Islam. A dominant ethnic group within a newly established state may be able to win over the support of people from other ethnic groups by making modernization a key plank of the new state's ideology.

In the case of Turkey, Turks, Albanians, Bosnians, Circassians and other groups, including also Kurds got together rapidly along these lines.

It is still far from clear what the term 'Turk' actually signifies. Different parties and individuals within and outside the Turkish ethnic group in the Turkish Republic have perceived this term from time to time in a civic or ethnic sense. However, as previously emphasized, all nations, whether based on civic or ethnic lines, in practice have at their core a dominant-ethnic group. The so-called Turkish nation is no exception. This nation is both self-defined and other-defined. It was reconstructed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his associates, making use of myths, symbols and interpretations of Turkish history, tracing the origins of the nation to a historic territory in Central Asia. These are important ingredients for a Turkish nation. The objective criteria of this nation are a well-defined state, a single economy, common legal rights and duties, and a shared language.

What of the Kurds within Turkey? Is one able to make a firm categorization of such a population group, which is scattered throughout the region and has had no tradition of independent statehood?

Even within Turkey the Kurds are a divided population. The boundaries of this ethnic group are not well defined. What does it mean to be a Kurd? The question of self-perception is crucial. It would seem that some Kurds have become assimilated into Turkish society to the extent that they are no longer aware of a separate ethnic consciousness. Other Kurds in Turkey apparently recognize themselves as both Kurds and Turks. Some Kurdish groupings in Turkey and in other states have become more politicized and aspire to autonomy or independent statehood.

Their history is one of tribal divisions and of a population scattered largely across what came to be the Persian and the Ottoman Empires. Local aghas and chieftains, and in more recent times religious leaders or "shaikhs" provided, in effect, the Kurdish elites. This was especially true after Ottoman and Persian pressure led to the dismantling in the mid-nineteenth century of a number of Kurdish principalities ruled by prominent families. By the early twentieth century some Kurdish communities within Turkey migrated to urban areas where they could come under the influence of Kurdish intellectuals and the professional intelligentsia. **The fact that the Kurds are now widely scattered throughout Turkey and that many Kurds reside in the largest city, Istanbul, the major business center of Turkey, attests to the dispersal of the Kurds.**

Religious, tribal and linguistic differences (although, ironically, the common use of Turkish among Kurds in Turkey may be a unifying factor) have contributed to divisions. Tribal identity remains important today for many Kurds, especially for those still living in rural areas. In spite of modernization, tribal identities have not disappeared nor lost their relevance in Turkey.

The picture is a complex one. The Kurds in Turkey may feel that they have a multiple identity. Whichever identity a Kurd may choose to emphasize would be dependent on the situation. Thus a Sunni Zaza speaker may be a Zaza, a Kurd, a Sunni Moslem, a citizen of Turkey, the member of a certain social class, tribe or village, depending on the particular context.

One scholar has contended that Mustafa Kemal and his associates should have opted to name the Successor State to the Ottoman Empire "Anatolia"<sup>23</sup> rather than 'Turkey'. The term "Anatolian" is supposedly more neutral and all embracing than the terms "Turk" and "Turkish." One could perhaps then argue that the Welsh and the Scots within Britain are more willing to regard themselves as British and not English citizens living in "Britain" and not "England", although it is the English which provide the dominant ethnic core in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Even in this example of a political community there are Welsh and Scottish nationalists aiming to secure more autonomy if not independence for what they regard as separate Welsh and Scottish nations. Developing this argument further, would not the concept of a common Anatolian citizenship also have assisted in the peaceful co existence and, perhaps, to some extent the voluntary integration of the separate Turkish and Kurdish ethnic groups or nations within a state known as Anatolia? It was not until the nineteenth century that a nationalist movement developed with a Turkish identity at its core, and an important challenge facing the

reformers of the Republican era was formulating a Turkish identity, which would provide the basis for national unity. In the famous declaration of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk -'**Happy is the man who calls himself a Turk**' with its emphasis on the self-acclaimed status of Turkishness meaning that a person would be considered a Turk as long as he calls himself a Turk. Thus, Turkishness was accepted as a self-claimed status, rather than an ascribed status determined by race, religion or ethnicity, and this set Turkish nationalism apart.

The implication here was that the importance of common citizenship had not been adequately stressed in the past with reference to the designation 'Turk.' What did Mustafa Kemal exactly mean when he referred to a Turk? Was a specific ethnic group, an ethnic group of the Turks, actually implied? Or was the term 'Turk' meant to be an all-embracing and inclusive one where if someone said he/she was a Turk then that person was indeed a Turk? Thus, of course, to whoever says, "I am Turk," race is not important. This person is a Turk.

Significantly, President Suleyman Demirel in his end of year press conference in late December 1994 stated that the constitution of the Turkish Republic did not specify origin, belief or language as the basis for citizenship or 'national belonging.' Membership of the Turkish nation merely entailed that one must be a Turkish citizen. Therefore a Turk was anyone who was a citizen of Turkey. Hence, in practice, the term 'Kurdish Turks' was permissible, i.e., referring to a people of a different origin who were currently Citizens of Turkey.

Finally the Kurdish people have never been a separate nation anyway. They are an ethnic group like other groups who are living in Turkey.

### **THE EXAMPLES OF THE SOLUTIONS**

#### **REPRESSION AND ENFORCED ASSIMILATION:**

Originally, modernization and social mobilization theories argued that improvements in communications and transportation and the development of mass education and literacy programs together with increased urbanization within states would lead to more intense contacts among population groups whose separate ethnic identities would in effect wither away. In practice, the reverse could take place. The processes involved in modernization may threaten the continued existence of separate ethnic groups which could longer remain isolated, but which may at the same time be made more aware of the differences between themselves and other ethnic groups within the same state.

Certainly, beginning in the 1960s groups such as the Bretons, Catalans, Basques and French Canadians have been striving for autonomy within their states and have even pushed for secession. With the crumbling of communism in eastern Europe and the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union, the issue of nationalism and ethnicity are likely to remain a prominent feature of European politics for the foreseeable future. Many Marxists had believed that the advent of socialism would lead to the disappearance of ethnic consciousness and the tensions and conflicts associated with it. The heightened in recent years of the international community in the question of the right of self-determination as a basic one of all peoples, and the increased concerns of human rights organizations to monitor and

attempt to prevent the discrimination and repression of ethnic groups by particular regimes, are also likely to encourage the mobilization of what were previously quiescent 'communities'.

In the past many countries tried to assimilate their ethnic groups by using a variety of methods. Some countries forced separate ethnic group to leave their countries, for example: Bulgaria, Russia, and Sirpistan.

Turks and Kurds have been living together for at least 1000 years. During that period Turks have never attempted to destroy the identities of other groups. All ethnic groups have the right to protect and to improve their identity. Turkey has accepted the Kurdish identity but we have not been able to explain this real situation to the world. If we look at the past, we can easily see that many countries and ethnic groups lived together with Turks in the Ottoman Empire and they protected their unique identities.

#### CULTURAL AND POLITICAL AUTONOMY:

What is meant by autonomy? The term is vague and open to varying interpretations. In practice there are several forms of autonomy, which differ in their nature and extensiveness. Autonomy is an 'amorphous concept,' which ranges from very limited options to complete control over all matters except foreign policy. Autonomy may be based on territory where ethnic groups are geographically concentrated. Non-territorial, cultural forms of autonomy are also possible where ethnic groups are widely scattered and intermixed. In the latter case, groups are able to control the cultural aspects of their life. With territorial autonomy, groups may be able to establish more control over cultural, political, social and economic issues by making use of their geographic concentration.

If ethnic groups do not have a specific regional base, cultural autonomy is a possible alternative to territorial autonomy. In this instance the representatives of an ethnic group would have full control over aspects of their cultural life including matters of education and language.

Autonomy falls well short of any kind of federalism, and the exact terms would need to be devised among a great number of possible arrangements. What would be the political-administrative powers granted to the region? As desirable as autonomy-based solutions appear, the correct determination of their exact details is essential to their success or failure. The most significant example of the granting of regional autonomy is Spain. The Madrid government offered regional autonomy arrangements to all parts of Spain, but the aim was to defuse ethnic conflict primarily in the Basque and Catalan regions. Short of a federal solution, the autonomy arrangements provide for the regional assemblies to reorganize their own territory administratively, raise taxes, develop tourism and other infrastructure, and perhaps most important, to create local police forces. This last provision defuses conflict between a segment of the security forces and the local population by integrating the locals in the functioning of law and order. Spain has maintained Castillian Spanish as the only official language, although at the regional level it has granted a certain degree of leverage to local government, provided that Castillian speakers are not excluded. Catalan is widely used as the daily language of Catalonia, and public signs are written predominantly in Catalan.

Still, no such autonomy arrangement can do away with all forms of ethno-nationalism. The Basque terrorist group ETA (Basque Homeland and Freedom) continues to exist, though in much diminished form; it has lost most of its popular support but has not completely ended. Its use of political violence Basque and Catalan nationalist parties have their pluralities or majorities in their respective regions, forcing the central government to deal with them. There are also continues skirmishes between the center and these regions, which seek to maximize areas of functional autonomy and chip away at the powers of the center.

Most of Kurdish people live in western Turkey. It is difficult to give regional and cultural autonomy only to Kurdish people. Where would this autonomous region be? As noted before, Turkey contains a multitude of ethnic, religious and cultural elements. For that reason it is not possible to give regional autonomy to any one group in Turkey.

#### FEDERAL SOLUTION:

Federal arrangements may also facilitate the resolution of ethnic conflicts. Federalism and territorial forms of autonomy may be closely interconnected. In unitary states all powers are reserved to the central government, which may choose to devolve powers to sub-units of government. Powers devolved to these sub-units may easily be transferred back to the central government.

The degree of federalism can differ markedly from country to country. By definition, federalism requires only two levels of government, one at the national level and remainder as subunits. Both levels rule over the same territory, and each has at least one area of independent decision-making. There are different types of federalism. Germany and United States are classic examples of administrative federalism. Federations may be based on ethnic lines as in the past cases of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Canada is an example of a type of federalism that is based both on administrative and ethnic lines.

Some federations, such as the former Soviet Union, were federations in name only with most powers actually reserved for the central (federal) government. Federations could allow for substantial powers to be devolved to the submits, including even the right to secede (which should not be a mere right on paper as was the case in the Soviet Union).

At present ethnically based federations are disintegrating. The Soviet and the Czechoslovak models dissolved peacefully, unlike the violent unraveling of Yugoslavia. Even Canada is confronting serious problems with its French-speaking minority and the increasingly more vocal demands of its indigenous peoples. Federalism may encourage ethnic groups to attempt to secede eventually because of possible frustration with the policies of the central government? A minority ethnic group would always be outnumbered and probably thus outvoted at the level of central government. In general, federations may encounter difficulties in distributing powers between the center and the sub units of government and this could generate hostility, particularly in the case of ethnically based federations. In Yugoslavia, for example, the Croatian and the Slovene republics were opposed to providing increasingly larger amounts of money to the federal fund to subsidize the poorer republics inhabited by other ethnic groups.

What regions would be considered Kurdish, merely those with a Kurdish majority? What would be the cultural rights and minority protections granted to Turks in the Kurdish regions of the country, and what would be the corresponding Kurdish cultural rights in Turkish regions?

Especially considering the fact that by now nearly half of the Kurds in Turkey no longer live in their ancestral lands in the southeast but have moved to more western parts of the country, what are the implications of such an arrangement for those Kurds who have settled in places such as Istanbul and Izmir? It might further aggravate intercommunal tensions or create ones where none had existed before.

#### **UNILATERAL STATE-LEAED PROCESSES:**

A state-led unilateral initiative involves recognition by the state of certain needs within the ethnic community and a unilateral move to fulfill them. For instance, the state could -on its own and without reference to the ethnic community-officially recognize the existence of a within the country and grant them certain cultural rights including media and private education. It could also unilaterally lessen the scope of military and security action in conflict region and assist in the reconstruction and economic development of the conflict region. These measures would unquestionably have a powerful impact upon the ethnic community and would weaken some of the appeal of the terrorist activities. These measures could be implemented without threatening the territorial integrity of the state. In short, this limited unilateral approach would undoubtedly have major impact upon the situation. Whether or not it would put an end to the conflict depends on the extent of the reforms as well as other accompanying factors such as the health of the economy, which would affect the resources available for investment in the region, providing food, solving health problems. Today the state has been doing these activities for these people, but these are not enough.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Turkey has been labeled as the only secular, democratic, political system with a market economy in the Muslim Middle East. In the post-Cold War era, Turkey is singled out by the Western alliance as an oasis of stability in the midst of the instability that surrounds Turkey in almost all directions. In this bright picture, however, an important destabilizing element is the ongoing intense conflict between the Turkish Security forces and the PKK.

As the first melting pot and encounter point of many different civilizations and cultures, present-day Turkey contains a multitude of ethnic, religious and cultural elements. Turkey is proud of its great heritage. This centuries' old shared way of life is second nature for the people of Turkey. The state does not categorize its citizens along ethnic lines nor does it impose an ethnic identity on them. The Kurdish issue, some claim, is a device to weaken Turkey that traditional enemies such as Greece, Russia and Syria are exploiting. This definition of the conflict leads to the continuation of the approach to the conflict. Kurdish people still have the right to use their language, freedom to publish and broadcast in Kurdish and tolerance for cultural activities of all types that celebrate Kurdish diversity. Turkey has had difficulty in explaining the real situation to its own people inside and abroad. The separatist PKK manages to

mislead some Kurdish people and the Western public by invoking high values such as peace, democracy and human rights. It is difficult to say everything is all right in this region. This region is undeveloped compared with the western region, but there are some areas even more undeveloped in Turkey. Turkey is faced with a Southeast Anatolia problem arising special regional condition. If a name is to be given to the problem, this is "**Southeast Anatolia Problem.**"

As noted before, How can we solve this problem? The state should do something for this region to reduce the involvement and criticism of other countries. Some countries want to control Turkey by playing the Kurdish card. The state should provide a suitable environment to develop economically, promoting human rights and use of the Kurdish language, expressing their identity, reducing security measures, and promoting education.

No solution leading the division of Turkey is acceptable. As noted before autonomy and federation can lead countries to separate. Also, terrorist groups usually continue to struggle against the state to reach their independence goal. On the other hand, Turkey's situation is different: there are many different ethnic groups in Turkey. During the Ottoman Empire some countries forced her to give a measure of autonomy or extra rights to some national groups. This finally caused the collapse of the Empire.

Turkey has been fighting terrorism since 1984 within the framework of human rights. During this period Kurdish and Turkish people have never fought each other. There is no struggle between the two societies. The PKK and its sponsor countries want encourage civil war between Turks and Kurds. Most of the Kurdish people have not supported the PKK.

The international community should be aware of Turkey's legitimate security concerns and be mindful of the wider dimensions of the Kurdish question in the region. In contrast to Iran, Iraq and Syria, Turkey is an easier target for Western governments to criticize because of its democratic credentials. Ironically, therefore, Western officials' condemnations of the policies the Turkish government are also in effect a demonstration of indirect praise for the working of Turkish democracy. At least there is the possibility that this criticism if couched in diplomatic language, could be taken up by politicians in Turkey. Criticisms directed against Syria, Iran and Iraq are much more likely to fall on deaf ears.

Turkish officials to forestall moves towards the encouragement of a multicultural society should use regional tensions as a pretext. However, the success of multiculturalism in Turkey is dependent on considerable progress being made toward resolving the Kurdish question and the economic problems of this region.

Turkey is determined to continue the fight against terrorism without compromising its unitary structure or its respect for law and human rights, democratic and secular. **Turkish Government has adopted a two pronged approach; first, the elimination of the PKK; second, to improve the living standards of the region's of citizens.** Today there are many conflicts in the world, most of which are ethnic. Some countries have supported this ethnic conflict. All countries have to define carefully and

correctly what they will find as acceptable strategies for minorities to define themselves and pursue their specific ethnic objectives.

Many have argued that Turkey is on the threshold of a golden area, and indeed it does appear that opportunities are available to it in number of areas:

Short term measures;

-To explain to people inside and outside Turkey what the PKK aim is, and identify which countries and support the PKK and why.

-To force and educate people to obey and respect normal laws. This region's citizens usually are not familiar to work regular, because there are not enough jobs for people, and the state has been providing everything for them.

-To aid people who are living in this region, to raise their living standards, to provide income security, to provide some equipment for their farms and for stock breeding and to address their health problems

-To prepare special TV educational programs for this region, especially for women. The government should provide a TV set to all families to watch these programs.

-To educate soldiers to improve their sense to share and participate common sense and common history in the arm forces.

-To reduce security forces in this region. Emergency rules and Forces have affected people think negatively against state.

-To invite EU's journalist to Turkey to see for themselves the real situation.

-To allocate officers, soldiers, teachers and other state persons to educate people, to rebuild this region. Especially, we should have none-government organization, and religion person, who will be educated for this aim, help this people.

-To help especially people who are relocated from east to the west to integrate to west. This is very important to gain these people's trust again. Especially, we should have non -government agencies participate in the integration and, education these people. The states provide jobs for this people in the west.

-To encourage to all countries to stop support to the PKK.

Long term measures:

-To complete the South Anatolia Development Project as soon as possible.

-To abolish all emergency rules for this region after established security in the region.

-To restore local authorities, the rule of law and the sense of popular participation in the affairs and progress in the region.

As a result; education and economy are very important to solve the "Southeast Anatolia Problem."

Word count =10,173

## ENDNOTES

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4 Kemal Kirgci and Gareth M. Winrow, The Kurdish Question and Turkey. 70.

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