

THE DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVE AND THE KURDISH ISSUE IN TURKEY SINCE 2009

In his article, Önder Aytaç offers a brainstorming session on the “Kurdish issue”. Analyzing the “democratic initiative” introduced by the Justice and Development Party, Aytaç argues that this enterprise carries a potential to remedy the problems caused by the war against terror. To expect that a problem which has become a menacing trouble for the past 25 years to be solved in just one or two years can only be a dream. Only if full harmony can be achieved among all state institutions, including the TSK (Turkish Armed Forces), can we see satisfactory solutions sprouting in the next three or four years.

Önder Aytaç*



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So many different titles have been used to communicate the attempts to reach out to and increase the rights of the Kurdish population of Turkey: a Kurdish initiative that recognizes ethnic minorities, a democratic initiative, the project of national unity and brotherhood, etc. The political will that named this process preferred the title “Democratic Initiative and the Kurdish Issue”. However a more inclusive, and all-embracing discourse could be preferable so as not to deter skeptics. Or, instead of coming up with a grand title and turning matters into a giant ball of problems, it might have been better to gradually come up with a definition through taking small but concrete and decisive steps. Among such steps could be: eliminating despotic bureaucrats; ending the wrong impression of eastern Turkey as the place of exile for civil servants; fighting Ergenekon¹ to the bitter end; promoting industry; making all security officers liable for all their acts and operations before civilian courts; enabling the judiciary to operate in a much more efficient way and finally; promoting an initiative on education and opportunities.

In July 2009, following the statement of President Abdullah Gül in March 2009 stating that “good things will happen very soon”, the government started the process of “the initiative”. The National Information Organization (MiT), consisting mostly of personnel with army origins, must have counseled the President, Abdullah Gül, who does not have expert-level knowledge of deep state powers and security bureaucracy. Having to accept this offer for the initiative, the Prime Minister and the government assigned the coordination of the initiative process to Professor Beşir Atalay, who is also known to be a close acquaintance of President Gül. I think, however, that the government was not properly prepared for this process. They did not know the military bureaucracy enough to offer bold and concrete solutions.

Considering the timing of the democratic initiative, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated: “I will strive for realizing this project even at the expense of losing my government.”² Illegal sub-structures located in the deep corners of the state which are benefiting from the continuation of the 25 year old chronic problem –the PKK– will not want this project that attempts to solve the Kurdish issue through non-military, democratic, civil and social means to be realized. I will now present some examples for the existence of such a desire to leave the problem unresolved. Previously, when former President Turgut Özal took a step to solve the Kurdish problem in a peaceful manner, General Eşref Bitlis was killed and there were even attempts to poison Özal himself. After Süleyman Demirel

¹ Ergenekon is the name given to an alleged clandestine, Kemalist ultra-nationalist organization with ties to members of the country’s military and security forces. The group is accused of terrorism in Turkey and its agenda has been described as Eurasianist and isolationist.

² “Açılımdan vazgeçmek ihanettir” [To give up the democratic initiative is to betray], *Mynet*, <http://haber.mynet.com/detay/politika/acilimdan-vazgecmek-ihanettir/518105>, 22 June 2010.

–predecessor to Özal– formed a coalition government with Erdal İnönü he soon had to completely withdraw from his attempt, and in 2005, when Erdoğan stated (in Diyarbakır) that they recognize “the Kurdish reality”, soon after this speech, he receded from this discourse. Obviously all these drawbacks were the result of threats of the illegal deep state structures that exploit PKK for its aims. Therefore, two paths from this point on are possible. This problem can remain unsolved and this region can continue to be a feudal area which is devoid of proper rule of law and a haven for illegal organizations which illicitly launder billions of dollars, and nearly half of Turkey’s national income can continue to be spent in the combat against terrorism. Or, instead, concrete steps can be taken to find a solution and Turkey can be saved from becoming a total military or police state, flourishing with freedoms and human rights.

Minister of Internal Affairs Beşir Atalay is a questionable choice for being the coordinator of the democratic initiative. As a sociologist with a patient and well-intentioned persona, Atalay can promote a solution. However, working with a very small group of experts, announcing the initiative packet in the Police Academy, not being able to offer substantial and clear proposals for solving the problem, easily going under the effect of military tutelage and not knowing the military bureaucracy very well are his down-sides.

When contemplating whether it would contribute more to the solution if the initiative process was carried out by a commission I think conveying a matter to a commission in Turkey means handing the matter over to insolubility and neglect. The government has negotiated with a great number of NGOs, opinion leaders, members of the business world, unions and political parties and accordingly introduced many good-willed suggestions toward a solution of this problem. Among the articles and reports on this matter, many viable solutions and implementable ideas can be found. Hence, there is no need to break into pessimism and admit defeat on the topic.

Though the National Security Council regards the democratic initiative as a state policy, the army –though being part of the initiative– does not actively direct it. Either sincerely, or pretentiously, the support of the army is obviously important. But in a process that has become exceedingly complicated for the past 25 years, the so-called solution attempts in the region, in the name of the security bureaucracy implemented by martial rule, are useless. In fact, they worsen the situation. Soldiers actually want their own solution which would eventually lead to the continuation of the state of emergency in the region, the lengthening of detention periods and further toleration of human rights violations. However, the key for a lasting and clear solution is for the government to be fully determined, and for police officers, doctors, nurses, teachers and all civil servants serving in the region to not discriminate

against anyone. This only finds form in a citizen-oriented state and not an authoritarian one. The statements of both Yaşar Büyükanıt (former Chief of Staff) and İlker Başbuğ (the present Chief of General Staff), acknowledging that military measures cannot be the only means for combating terrorism strengthen the argument that social, cultural and economic steps should be taken in unison. Hence, the *sine qua non* for a solution involves a process where all segments of society are included and, at the same time, does not oppose the army. The army must assist but not overshadow, obstruct or complicate the process.

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For almost a year, Turkey has been busy discussing the initiative. However, there is no applicable and concrete suggestion for a solution. Furthermore, there are too many executives from the ruling party who appear to be in charge of the process. The Minister of Internal Affairs Beşir Atalay, the Group Deputy Chairmen Bekir Bozdağ and Suat Çelik,

Parliamentarian representing Adana, Ömer Çelik, and the former Minister of Education, Hüseyin Çelik, are those who have defined the contours of the initiative and are responsible for making official statements on the issue.

In regards to the democratic initiative, Mr Erdoğan stated that "democratization is considered as the antidote for terrorism, ethnic extremism and all types of discrimination. The main approach here is that no matter where a person lives and from which ethnic origin he/she comes from, they should all feel themselves as equal and liberal citizens of our country."³ Differences are not considered weak points; on the contrary, for a nation, they are sources of richness. Strengthening our unity can be achieved by showing respect to differences, and not ignoring them. Due to the very blurry and nonspecific claims in the Prime Minister's statement asserting that "through the national democratic initiative operation, democratic standards will be raised and terror will no longer be a threat for our people and the state",⁴ it is apparent that the AK Party has not been able to determine a tangible route for the democratic initiative and the Kurdish issue.

In the following stages of the operation in July 2009, however, the Minister of Internal Affairs presented a much more satisfactory course of action.⁵ Accordingly, if the

³ "Erdoğan: Türkiye'de herkes eşittir" [Erdoğan: In Turkey everyone is equal], *Haberpan*, <http://www.haberpan.com/erdogan-turkiyede-herkes-esittir-haberi/>, 14 October 2008.

⁴ "Erdoğan Eleştirilere Sert Yanıt" [Harsh response by Erdoğan to criticisms], *TRT*, <http://www.trt.net.tr/haber/HaberDetay.aspx?HaberKodu=bc7d7bff-0438-4dbb-aec1-3e9cef363451>, 22 June 2010.

⁵ "Gazete HABERTÜRK yazarları yazdı" [Columnists of HABERTÜRK have written], *Habertürk*, <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/162049-gazete-haberturk-yazarlari-yazdi>, 30 June 2009.

locals demand it as such, it will be made legally possible to reclaim the old names of the settlements whose original names had been changed into Turkish names. Regulations that will broaden the legal sphere of political parties will eliminate the legal hindrances to making political propaganda and will allow political parties to address citizens in their own local language or dialects during campaigns. By ending the state of emergency and the application of martial law, cutting the flow of resources that feeds the terrorists via active and effective foreign policies, eliminating economic and social inequalities and establishing a fair and non-discriminating political and legal system, a new refreshing atmosphere in the country is trying to be created. Facilitating returns to and the rebuilding of villages, allowing prisoners and detainees to speak to their relatives in their mother tongues, and setting up an independent commission on discrimination to receive and solve complaints are some important elements of the initiative. Moreover, through an independent policing mechanism for complaints, tortures will be prevented while false accusations against security officers will also be thwarted.

According to Atalay, the articles listed above are not finalized and moreover, the democratic initiative is not a package with a sealed end; it is a dynamic process that can be further developed and promoted. Although these statements and the plan of action are important, clearer and more solid steps should be taken immediately. For this reason, because the present Constitution is well behind meeting the needs of our society today, Constitutional amendments through referendum will of course some into question.⁶

Solutions to the Kurdish Issue and the PKK Problem

For the democratic initiative to reach significant success, the initiative package should primarily include: protecting and promoting the cultural identity of the Kurdish people without focusing unnecessarily on their ethnic nationality and discriminating them on this basis, and facilitating the use of their free will without being under the effect of any pressure (like the PKK) during elections.

The Minister of Education aptly stated that: “the chanting of the national oath in the primary schools should end. Thus, a Kurdish child will not have to start a day by lying that ‘s/he is a Turk’ and they will not humiliate themselves with the words of ‘happy is s/he who say that I am a Turk’. And Turkish children, on the other hand, will not be a part of a ‘fascistic’ discourse by chanting ‘may my existence be a gift

⁶ “Kışanak: TRT’de Kürtçe Yayın, Kürtlerin Taleplerini Bastırmak İçin” [Kışanak: Kurdish broadcasting in TRT is for suppressing Kurdish demands], *Bianet*, <http://bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurugu/110933-kisanak-trtde-kurtce-yayin-kurtlerin-taleplerini-bastirmak-icin>, 19 November 2008.

to the Turkish existence.' With this little step, we will put an end to disgracing not only our Kurdish citizens, but also all our other non-Turkish citizens."⁷

The Mahmur camp must be evacuated immediately. If new settlement areas and opportunities for earning bread and butter will be provided to those who have lived far from their homeland and civilization for so many years, trust can be built between the Kurds and the state. This will also mean that the PKK, both logistically and discursively, will be tackled.

Operations held by the armed forces in the region should be terminated. Thus, a trump card at the hands of deep state power centers will be taken away. The more lives are lost in these operations, the greater the reaction of the Anatolian people against this initiative will be. In order to come up with a sound judgment in government, the sound of bullets must be cut off.

Legal regulations allowing the media to broadcast in Kurdish should be fully democratic and liberal. Kurds should see that they are not restricted by some impediments like duration, time, subtitles or contents of programs.

The officials of the government must not begin their talks by paying notice to the "red lines".

Instead of transforming Diyarbakır Prison into a training camp, it should be turned into a living museum.

Reports of the Ministry of Education show that the education level of the region is very low. Extra classes and all necessary educational equipments must be provided immediately. There is an urgent need to build 200 new primary schools in the region.

Without the need of any legal or constitutional amendments, the Ministry of Education should be able to add the Kurdish language into the curriculum as a subject-choice, just like English, drama or computing.

Through legal revisions required by the EU regulations, local governments should be reinforced. Living conditions of Öcalan (the leader of the PKK) in the İmralı prison should be arranged according to the standards set by Amnesty International and the European Commission of Human Rights.

⁷ "Çubukçu: 'Andımız kutsal metin değil'" [Çubukçu: Our oath is not a sacred text], *Haber7*, <http://www.haber7.com/haber/20100207/Cubukcu-Andimiz-kutsal-metin-degil.php>, 7 February 2010.

For those who want to leave the terrorist organization, there must be firm legal guarantees.

Government officials and bureaucrats should be able to use the word “Kurdish” very comfortably at all platforms. The AK Party government should not behave in timidity and diffidence due to their initiative attempts, but rather, they should act in complete self-determination and stand resolute against all criticism.

The syllabus on history courses in both primary-secondary and in higher education need to be altered. History lessons should be used no more as a tool for preaching the official state ideology – and they must be taught in line with the doctrines of worldwide recognized historians.

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Bureaucracy should reconcile with local governments, and in resolving local

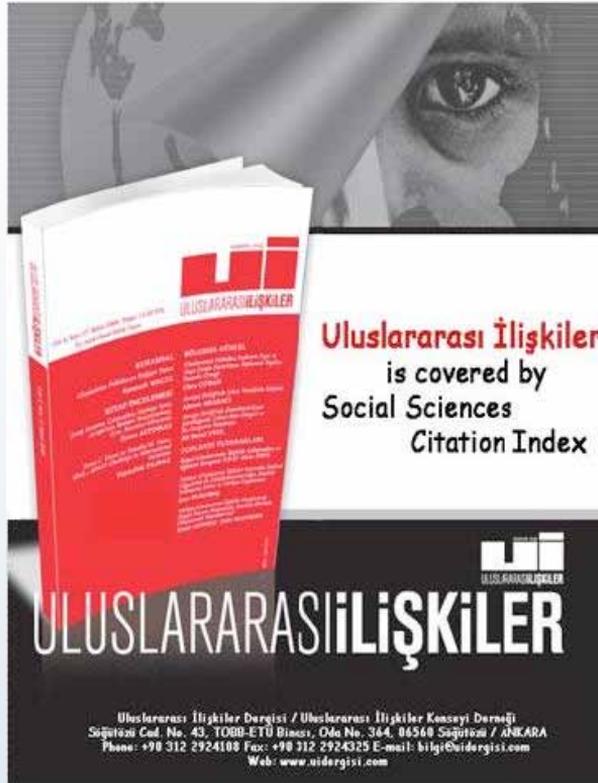
problems of infrastructure, transportation and education, city and district governors must be in full coordination with local councils.

For the resolution, apart from Prime Minister Erdoğan and the government, the DTP (The Democratic Society Party) that attracts a significant amount of Kurdish votes should also participate in the initiative works and in case of the risk of being rejected, they should request appointments from the MHP, CHP and the BBP to negotiate upon the matters of the initiative.

Taking measures and providing facilities to have Kurdish citizens live in a democratic Turkey as free and equal individuals must be considered completely independent of the PKK’s disarmament.

It must be clearly defined whether the PKK problem will be solved by negotiating with the DTP and Kandil, or whether the resolution will be completely blocked by the stubborn resistance of the terrorist leader imprisoned in Imrali. The potential impact of Abdullah Öcalan on the possibility of a resolution needs to be discussed in greater depth.

In order for the democratic initiative to succeed, we should convince our Kurdish brothers that this initiative is sincerely based upon principles of brotherhood and we should, without anymore delay, actualize the cultural, economic and political liberalization which are essential conditions that construct our will to live together.



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Guest Editors: Pinar Bilgin & Bahar Rumelili

In the last couple of decades, International Relations has been enriched by a diverse set of critical approaches that interrogate the practical relevance as well as the normative implications of the key concepts and assumptions of the discipline. These critical approaches stress that the established conceptualizations of power, security, interest, anarchy, peace, etc., in the discipline do not take into account the social constitution of structures, and the role of ideas, norms, emotions, and discourse in international relations. As a result, the international relations discipline not only loses its capacity to identify potential for change, but also partakes in the reification and naturalization of the existing structures of hierarchy and exclusion.

This special issue aims to take stock of recent developments in IR theory that entail a serious rethinking of key concepts. We invite original contributions that re-evaluate the relevance and the normative implications of mainstream conceptualizations of power, anarchy, interest, security, and peace in the context of empirical cases, and offer alternative conceptualizations drawing on insights from political and social theory.

All submissions will be read by two referees. Last date of submissions of manuscripts to the editors is **September 1, 2010**.

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Martti Ahtisaari, former Finnish President

In the context of solving the PKK problem, democratic steps such as preparing a democratic, civilian constitution and a new law pertaining to political parties as well as decreasing the election threshold for political parties need to be taken.

TRT-6 and its Effects

Although it had started to broadcast before the process of democratic initiative was initiated, *TRT-6* stands as one of the most concrete outcomes of the democratic initiative.

The first step of the democratic initiative process was taken with the initiation of the state-owned, Kurdish broadcasting *TRT-6* channel. It was an important and historical step. With this, a very fundamental change in the 85-year state policy of ignoring the existence of a Kurdish identity was undertaken without causing any serious conflict. This was a risky decision for the ruling party. They were to bear the consequences, and they eventually did: the AK Party did not gain any additional votes from southeastern Turkey, and they also lost votes in coastal cities, where most residents were critical of this attempt.

It was also a difficult task for the *TRT* administration. Broadcasting in a language which has been banned from the public sphere for a long time and finding professional personnel to speak in Kurdish were difficult obstacles to overcome. However, İbrahim Şahin, the director of *TRT*, and his team, put great effort in overcoming this difficult task in a very short amount of time. The outcome of these intense efforts is an entertaining and informative television channel which is worth watching. Unfortunately this success has not been able to carry on for long because most of the renovations have been suppressed by state television bureaucracy. Due to these wrong policies some disturbances have occurred. The first burst was from Rojin, the most popular face of *TRT-6*, who left the channel. The internal stirs continued after this and got more severe in time, while the quality of *TRT*'s programs fell, and reasonable suggestions for improvement were ignored.

Claiming that the existence of a channel broadcasting in Kurdish is simply enough is an outdated statement. Such thoughts would find credit some ten years ago, but today, there are at least ten TV channels that Kurdish people can watch via satellite. While *TRT-6*, on the other hand, does not require a satellite dish, it still cannot be viewed clearly from every city in the southeast. And furthermore, it is not a feasible argument to state that these people have no other choice than watching *TRT-6*, and they lack alternative means of watching Kurdish broadcasting channels, because nearly every house has access to a satellite receiver. Recently a reader of *Taraf* wrote to Yasemin Çongar, a *Taraf* columnist, that "he has been

watching Kurdish TV for ten years”. He furthered his argument by stating that *TRT-6* needs to improve itself by displaying more attractive aspects and features which appeal to Kurdish citizens. This would eventually make them prefer *TRT-6* over other channels. It is true that 70 percent of *Roj TV*’s programs are broadcasted in languages other than Kurdish, but it should be the responsibility of Şahin and other *TRT* officials to watch other Kurdish channels and make the appropriate arrangements in their streaming of programs.

TRT-6 was initiated with a mission. That mission should not turn into a claim where people would start arguing that “opening a Kurdish channel did not change anything for Kurds, and they carried on watching harmful PKK channels”. Today, the language used in *TRT-6* is inadequate and the programs are dull content-wise. Showing ancient soap operas and Turkish films that are badly translated (into Kurdish) cannot be counted as professional televising. *TRT-6* should adopt the mission of serving social peace and harmony. In order for this mission to be accomplished, its broadcasts should be prepared with more serious efforts and greater care. Both in Turkey and abroad, there are many singers and composers who sing and or compose in Kurdish. Works of some of these musicians, such as Xêro Abbas and Mehmet Atli are not only loved by the Kurdish people, but they are also admired by the Turks. Their contribution will broaden and enrich our musical repertory and lay the foundation for brotherhood and unity. And this is not as difficult as supposed. Is it too difficult for *TRT* to organize a professional team specifically for this channel? The *TRT* administration should allow this team to organize the programs in whichever way they want. However, if it does not meet the required standards or fails in the critics of the experts, then these programs can be taken off the broadcast list. However, when they face the threat of “tell me who your reference is, and then we will decide whether to give the position to you or not”, you will end up losing many qualified people. This, unfortunately, is often the case for *TRT*.

New films and programs particularly made for Kurdish TV should have such high quality that other state and private channels that broadcast in Turkish would end up admiring them and want to transfer them to their channels. This should be the standard. A great deal of writers, artists and intellectuals who are producing valuable works in Kurdish, both in foreign countries like France and Sweden, and in Turkey, are not approached by the Turkish state. It is also the case that the PKK is applying an embargo and putting pressure on this Kurdish channel. However, *TRT* directors are not putting any effort to break this embargo. On the contrary, they display an attitude of narrow partisanship even while evaluating the present alternatives and selecting only those who reflect their political and social views.

Obviously *TRT-6* will be evaluated from a different perspective as compared to other *TRT* channels. The evaluation of its programs' quality and content will also reflect the evaluation of Şahin and the AK Party. In the Kurdish diaspora, there

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are many professional TV program producers, advertisers and filmmakers. Meanwhile, why is not there a single advertisement introducing *TRT-6* on billboards where so many Turkish *TRT* programs are advertised? Does this point to how the government handles the democratic initiative?

When we look at the Kurdish perception of the democratic initiative and problematize whether the democratic initiative is explained adequately or not,

people who we have surveyed (who live in cities of Ağrı, Diyarbakır, Batman, Van, Kahraman Maraş, Siirt, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa and Malatya), are waiting hopefully for solid steps that will be taken under the coordination of Atalay. For them, not much has changed in their daily lives. No matter how many times the democratic initiative was uttered, we still could not overcome the authority of a militaristic democracy and a police state. Time-wise, there are considerable restrictions and the opposition parties, as always, demand an early election. However, as an outcome of the democratic initiative, the government expects change to be experienced before the elections. Yet, to expect that a problem which has become a menacing trouble for the past 25 years time to be solved just in one or two years can only be a dream. If full harmony will be achieved among all state institutions, including the TSK (Turkish Armed Forces), only then we can see some satisfactory solutions sprouting in three or four years time.

Implementing legal regulations that allow people to speak in their mother tongues with their relatives in their jail-visits, broadcasting Kurdish programs on *TRT-6*, implementing regulations that carry the cases of children who throw stones at security officers to juvenile courts, reducing road controls and minimizing the restrictions applied on pasture lands where nomads and local people spend summer are indeed very positive steps. However, all these steps are not sufficient for accomplishing our first aim, which is to end terrorism, and our second aim, which is to raise democratic standards. I think we are still overlooking the problem and not touching the actual sore point.

Closure of the DTP

Closing the DTP adversely affected the democratic initiative. Those who closed the DTP will also find a way to close down the AKP. The general perception of the public is that the closure of DTP was correct in legal terms, but was not correct in political terms. They fear that it will cause instability in the country. I, however, think differently on this matter.

Closure of the DTP is wrong both in legal and in political terms. A closure of a political party cannot be explained with any legal arguments. Criminal reasons, however, are subject to judicial inquiry. In the decision of closing the DTP, they refer to the closure of Batisuna in Spain. However there they prove the link of the party with an illegal organization with clear and solid evidences. In the closure of DTP, however, they claim for both DTP and the PKK addressing the same group of people as evidence of a crime which is neither clear, nor adequate for closing a political party. It is true that the two are addressing and fed by the same segment of people. Because, the people whose children or relatives are snatched by the PKK fall into vicious circle and feel that they have to politically support DTP. From 12 September 1980 onwards, those who lost their sons in mountains, whose sisters and daughters are imprisoned, and those who had to leave their villages and had their only wealth left snatched by gangs of solicitors, became slaves of the party that was formed by those solicitors.

The apparent political agreement between the PKK and the DTP is not because they have common policies. When the party program is examined it can be seen that even HAKPAR claims much more advanced rights for the Kurds than the DTP. The one and only common point of the PKK and the DTP is that they have no demand or requirement for the Kurdish people and the only priority they have are the living conditions of their so-called “leader”. We think that to close this party just for this reason cannot be justified and it is even an unlawful act.

There is no time for the government to recede a step backwards after three steps forward when faced with reactions. The government cannot also trust the PKK or any party equal to the DTP for the democratic initiative. The PKK knows that it will cease to exist if it ends the guerilla fight. The party that is formed in the original place of the DTP also sees that if they will not keep their supporters vigilant by provocative actions, the ground on which they stand will slip away. If every vote that AK Party gets in the southeast is from the Kurdish citizens, then its political rival in the region is the DTP. Therefore, there is no stopping, and the government must continue the democratic initiatives, especially starting from the most urgent ones. By making the closure of political parties more difficult, giving the fundamental right of education in mother tongue to Kurds and broadening the democratic

rights of the Kurdish citizens, many more supporters can be gained from their grounds.

We can say that government has faced all sorts of troubles since they uttered the democratic initiative in their agenda, but they have also made significant progress. So many taboos have been demolished by Kurdish supplications and speeches, live broadcast from a “cemevi” (temple of Alevi) and so on. Now, only the prejudices against ethnic minorities and bureaucrats who resist against the transformation must be eliminated. The Kurdish part of the initiative is not proceeding easily, either. The government also has many dilemmas and stalemate situations. A certain media group’s ceaseless efforts of finding negative and suspicious (although irrelevant) aspects of everything, the constant problematic and dissenting approach of the opposition, TSK’s struggle for gaining the ruling power and the element of Öcalan, are all hitting the government. Nevertheless, despite all the hindrances and obstructions, the Kurdish matter has never faced such an emergent need of solution.

In order the democratic initiative to carry on in a healthy manner, unresolved crimes and murders should be solved. Again, the continuation of adjudication of the Ergenekon Terror Organization is vital for keeping the way clear for the democratic initiative. If Anatolia will become a land of bliss, both the initiative of democracy and the battle against the Ergenekon should ceaselessly continue.

KCK operations have another prominence for the success of the democratic initiative. When we examine the relation between the KCK operations and the initiative process under the consideration of the events lately occurred;

KCK operations started three and a half months before the democratic initiative. Later, political rule interrupted KCK operations for a while. However, this KCK organization is an illegal structure that exploits youth and dominates over mayors. This structure carries out tasks like recruiting the brothers of those who are killed on the mountains in municipalities, collecting nearly half of the salaries of those who are working in the municipalities for the benefit of the organization, taking their own relatives to protest areas, giving municipal bids to PKK partisans and getting orders directly from the organization. Then, obviously it is necessary to cut off the links between these one and the center of the organization. I think the KCK operations should have carried on from the very beginning. After these synchronized 14 operations were conducted, they deliberately used the bad pictures showing those from Halepçe handcuffed. KCK operations are very important. The event is not only to do with the handcuffs. But if the policemen serving in Diyarbakır were tried to be lynched, we must read this event more carefully, because after such events, even the chief constable of the city and his team who are supposed

to contribute greatly to the democratic initiative security-wise can start acting in timidity. However, the main ambition is that the continuation of the democratic initiative despite every negativity, providing more freedom despite every conflict, and raising the statute and living standards of the Anatolian people to that of the citizens of the EU or even higher. I think the bill of indictment for Ergenekon will be prepared by the mid-2010. When the indictment is announced, it will be seen that all evidences are clear for all accusations. General public and especially the innocent and silent Kurdish people who do not support PKK and consist 85 percent of the Kurdish population will be very grateful for these operations and to be saved from the evil menace of KCK. KCK operations did not hinder the democratic initiative, they, on the contrary, facilitated the initiative to rest on strong grounds.

In sum, I believe the democratic initiative should progress in the following path – by keeping to these general guidelines, and continuing this process with vigor, a solution can be achieved:

- * The TSK should be given the same statute of the armies of the EU countries.
- * All legal regulations, such as EMASYA, which grants the army, especially the gendarmerie forces, more than the necessary authority and power, should be cancelled.
- * Officials who are more conciliatory in their approaches and open to dialogue should be sent to the Eastern cities.
- * Anti-democratic applications like the state of emergency and martial law must never be allowed.
- * The judiciary must not have two areas of focus such as civilian and military judiciary, and all state officers (including army officers) should be questionable in civilian courts.
- * In order to promote its own reputation and restore the honor of those who express their opinion, like Baransu, TSK should be more transparent in its structure and immediately open its headquarters to impartial observers. Advisors and consultants of İlker Başbuğ (the present Chief of Staff), either inadvertently or consciously, do not provide the proper briefing to Mr Başbuğ and by leading to repetitive crises, these actions hurt the pride of the TSK. This attitude should end at once.
- * Those who play the trump card of “deep PKK”, have expected Erdoğan to fail in his promises on the democratic initiative, lose his votes from the Kurdish population and further agitate the Anatolian people with his statements. Those who

estimated that the votes AKP gets from western cities would decrease, showed their first provocation by arguing that the final solution to the issue requires the inclusion of Öcalan as a major player. We must give careful attention to this asymmetric psychological war.

* Although all his communications are recorded, still being in charge of a terrorist organization, Öcalan must not be allowed to be exploited for certain interests. Whether it is necessary that Öcalan live or continue exerting impact over the organization should be discussed. Öcalan is ultimately an individual of a “denational” structure just like Ergenekon, which is “deployed within the state”.

Most importantly, to reiterate my point, efforts to complete the democratic initiative should incessantly continue.