

THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY CONGRESS (DTK):



Draft Submission for

A DEMOCRATIC AUTNOMOUS KURDISTAN

with a Preface by Prof. Dr. Norman Paech

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY CONGRESS (DTK): DEMOCRATIC AUTONOMY

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PREFACE
Democratic Society Congress (DTK):
Democratic Autonomy

By Prof. Dr. Norman Paech,

The Democratic Society Congress has proposed a project to organize the coexistence of Turkish and Kurdish people in Turkey on a democratic basis and, consequently designed to be peaceful. The concept of "democratic autonomy" is understood as a proposal to democratise the whole of Turkey.

Its core element is to be a new constitution that gives the Kurdish people the same rights of life, the same political status and the same economic, social and cultural opportunities as those available to the Turkish people.

It has taken a very long time for the 15 million Kurds in Turkey to be recognized as a people.

It thus not only has guaranteed the limited rights of minorities, but it further has the broader right to self-determination, as provided by the Article 1 of both International Covenants on Human Rights 1966 its codification is:

"All peoples have the right to self-determination. In virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

This right was confirmed by the UN General Assembly in 1970 again in its "Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" (so-called declaration of principles) in the words:

"Due to the principle enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples have the right to decide freely and without interference from the outside of their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development, and each state is obliged to respect this right in accordance with the provisions of the Charter".

Since that time, the right to self-determination is not only being seen as a political principle or binding programme without obligation in international relations, but as a binding rule of customary international law in the range of mandatory law (*ius cogens*) are considered. This the UN General Assembly has reaffirmed in numerous resolutions over and again.

The International Law Commission recognized the right to self-determination even before 1970 as a *ius cogens* and later cited its violation as an example of an international crime.

The International Court of Justice has confirmed its binding application as customary law in its expertise to Namibia and Western Sahara and in its dispute between Nicaragua and the United States.

And so, Article 20 of the African Charter on Human Rights and Peoples' Rights of 27 June 1981 defines:

"All peoples have a right to exist. You have the unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination. They freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development after the release of their chosen policy. "

At that time self-determination meant that the colonial oppressed peoples could separate themselves from their colonial powers. It was of equal meaning as the right to establish a sovereign and independent state. But with the end of the decolonisation process, the right of secession has been increasingly restricted by the obligation to respect the existing borders.

Today, the right of secession is generally rejected and only accepted in those cases where a people is restricted in their basic human rights or its existence is threatened by the continued disposition in the state association.

The draft of the Democratic Society Congress explicitly recognizes the existing borders of Turkey and contains its autonomy model within the territory of the Turkish State.

It lists eight different dimensions, covering all aspects of the legitimate right to self-determination.

A basic requirement of all these dimensions of self-determination concerns the respect of ethnic identity of a people and its cultural specificity.

This is about the preservation of a people's historically developed characteristics, which includes not only the language and religion, but also the customs, traditions and rituals, provided they do not restrict or endanger the autonomy of other cultures.

As the territorial dimension of the right of self-determination can only be fulfilled by the acceptance of a collective right of settlement in the native country of the people, the right of cultural self-determination is in broader sense a collective right, too.

This means that such a right is not only met just by granting the use of their language and customs to the members of the people.

It is not the individual claims to offer individual exercise of cultural characteristics that corresponds to the right of self-determination, but only the recognition of the collective identity of a people as a historical subject with its own self-development that leads to the realization of this right.

This means concretely for example that the right to self-determination is not contained by the defence claims against attempted interference in their own cultural initiatives and activities by the government and administration; it is formulated in the benefit claims to the state.

It is not enough to allow the families of a people to set up their own private schools for native-language instruction to preserve its own cultural tradition. The entitlement also means the right to establish such facilities in state schools and education.

The dimension of self-defence and diplomacy only seemingly go beyond the territorial boundaries of Turkey.

Every nation has a right to protect its safety, identity, the organization of the political community and the implementation of its right to democracy. This not only means military defence, but also civil, political and legal defence of the democratic organization of the people.

In addition, the Kurdish people in particular had to defend themselves often in the history of violent intrusions and attacks.

Against these dangers the Kurds have to prepare themselves in the future too.

The fact that the Kurds live dispersed across four states determines the direction of the diplomatic dimension.

It doesn't break or violate the sovereignty of the Turkish state, but it allows for facilitating relations with neighbouring countries, as before the Azeris in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan facilitated the relations of their country with Iran, where the other part of their people resided.

Autonomy and self-administration are essential elements of the right of self-determination. This right is absolutely imperative and makes it a duty of every state to grant the people's living within its borders the dimension of autonomy where they can act as an equal partner in a democratic society. In this respect, the proposal for a democratic autonomous Kurdistan is a remarkable proposal.

***Prof. Dr. Norman Paech,
Expert on International Law and former Member of Parliament***

DRAFT SUBMISSION FOR A DEMOCRATIC AUTONOMOUS KURDISTAN

By The Democratic Society Congress(DTK)

1 Brief History

It is well known that the Kurds, one of the oldest peoples in Mesopotamia, where the Neolithic farming revolution took place at the dawn of human history, are facing the danger of genocide as a result of policies of denial and destruction. Those with a nation-state point of view see Kurdistan as a region to expand their own nationalist projects which led to the most brutal methods of repression, exploitation and assimilation. If the Kurds did not resist this inhuman plan, its culture which goes back to the origin of humanity, would face extinction.

When the first state-based civilisations and empires emerged from Lower Mesopotamia, the first place they laid their eyes on was Kurdistan. Kurds, thus, are among the first people who have struggled for freedom since the dawn of history. When states and empires formed a constant pressure in Kurdistan, Kurds formed tribal confederations to create a defence line and, also empowered themselves through this structure they developed a culture of living together and understanding and coexisting with the neighbouring nations. Even within the state structures, they have somehow succeeded to continue their existence by maintaining certain levels of autonomy.

When the capitalist modernity's nation state mentality and its ideology, nationalism, had arrived in the Middle East, all the communities especially the Kurds faced heavy national, political, social, economic and cultural problems. Similar to other parts of the world, those people who have been infected with pathological nationalism became the enemy of other people. Nation states began to pursue systematic attacks of denial, destruction and assimilation to destroy the other people's cultures. As result the Kurds are about to lose the autonomy that existed in the pre-capitalist period.

By the beginning of the 20th century Turkish, Arab and Persian ruling elites with nation-statist mentality, who had also been poisoned with nationalism, were using the communities under their influence to start cultural and physical genocide policies against the Kurds. As result of this the Kurds suffered unusually heavy pressures under Turkish, Arabic and Persian nation-states and since the last quarter century, they have faced the loss of national existence altogether. Kurds in North Kurdistan were brought to the brink of non existence at the beginning of the 1970s, as a result of Turkey's denial policies.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, these have been built on the basis of the Committee of Union and Progress's policy to destroy other peoples and form a nation state based on Turkish nationalisation on the land left after the Ottoman Empire. In regards to Kurdish and Turkish relations, such policies left peoples to go through great suffering and also laid ideological and political ground for the period of destruction for the Kurds. With the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire after World War I and the threat to Turkish national existence, Mustafa Kemal saw that it was important to form an alliance with the Kurds based on historical tradition. Turkey won the War of Independence and the Republic of Turkey was established on the basis of this relationship. Thus, once again the Turkish people had understood the important value of the alliance with the Kurds. Mustafa Kemal's idea to grant autonomy to Kurdistan and the first assembly's decision of February 1922 to this effect were the result of understanding the importance of Kurdish-Turkish relations. Although the Kurds seriously suffered from the Ottoman Empire's policies in the last period of the empire, unlike the Arabs and other peoples, the Kurds have not opted for separation and decided to stay with the Turks with whom they share the same religion while maintaining a certain level autonomy.

2. Obligations of Current Situation and General Principles of Democratic Autonomy

Today, despite all the adversities and obstacles that exist, the international and regional political situation has become more conducive to solving the Kurdish problem. Solution to the Kurdish problem is an emerging trend in Turkish society and this opens the necessary pre-conditions and opportunities for a solution. The Turkish state has arrived at a point where it cannot continue with the old policies and the Kurdish people refuse to live under the old conditions.

Democratic autonomy is the embodied expression of our previously suggested solution projects for the democratisation of Turkey in order to make it become a democratic republic of Turkey. On one hand we would like to take democratic autonomy as dialogue with the state and on the other hand we would like to institutionalise it on the basis of our people's democratic organisation and its struggle based on that.

This model is a concrete realistic proposal for the solution of national problems in response to the nation state's mentality which divides different ethnicities and thus creates constant conflicts and instability. Indeed, today, nation states inhabited by different ethnic groups are undergoing transformation to become relatively democratic political systems where different ethnic and religious societies live together, as the acceptance of differences on the basis of originality and autonomy as well as becoming a pluralistic society is the basic democratic tendency this century.

Democratic autonomy will not only solve the relations between Turkey and the Kurds and the Kurdish problem, it will also establish a deep-rooted democratic political structure to address Turkey's social problems. It aims to resolve all issues including economic issues as it is based on organised democratic society that we refer to as a moral and political community that is based on libertarian-communal values.

Many circles, both in Turkey and internationally are of the opinion that Turkey must resolve the Kurdish problem. But the oligarchy of political parties in our country produces policies for its own interest rather than for Turkey. It refuses to find a solution to solve the Kurdish problem. Instead it continues to implement policies which deepen the decay and create more suffering for the Kurdish people.

Therefore there is no option left for the Kurds other than to establish their own democratic and free life in a legitimate way. Democratic autonomy means that the Kurdish people will no longer be forced to live as a non-status people under an administration that threatens their existence. There is no other nation in this world that similar to the Kurds with a population of over 40 million, deprived of its national rights and its national existence facing total destruction. Democratic autonomy is the way to express that the Kurds refuse the political status based on the Turkish state's denial and destruction policies and are willing to reach a new status that allows them to live in freedom and democracy.

Democratic autonomy aims to organise Kurdistan society in eight dimensions -- Political, Legal, Self-Defence, Social, Economic, Cultural, Ecology, and Diplomacy -- to generate political willpower that aims at the creation of a Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan.

Without democratic autonomy, the Kurds will not develop the political will to establish a democratic society. Therefore, they will be unable to build a strong society in which the economic, social and cultural needs can be met. Our people greeted with great enthusiasm and excitement the democratic autonomy model when it was submitted as a democratic solution of Kurdish question by the DTK and BDP.

Democratic autonomy aims to change the hardened mentality of the nation state that is meeting none of the needs of the peoples of Turkey and is becoming a burden on Turkish society, and remove this obstacle which prevents the peoples' political, social, economic and cultural development and thus to democratise the republic. Therefore, the democratic autonomy should be seen as an extension of the democratic republic in Kurdistan.

Kurdish society today has become a force for democratisation not only in Turkey but in all countries of the region. The Kurdistan Freedom Struggle with its implementation of democratic, social and cultural revolution within the Kurdish society and in particular in terms of the democratization of Turkey, has become a major force for democratisation in the Middle East. Therefore, the process of building democratic autonomy will bring democratization to the region.

This process is setting before the Turkish state the need for democratization of society and a desire to solve the Kurdish problem, the process of democratisation, and obligations forced by the regional and international situation. So far, constitutions and laws and all their applications in Kurdistan, have given no judicial rights and justice to the Kurdish people. Therefore, all the policies and all the political, administrative and legal aspects in Kurdistan are anti-democratic for the Kurds and hence they must be replaced.

Democratic autonomy will not change the borders. It will reinforce the brotherhood of peoples and their unity within the borders, which will end conflicts; the Kurdish people and Turkey will reach a new contract and launch a new era in Turkish-Kurdish relations. Our model is a democratisation model that can be applied to all other parts of Turkey. The states of the world are already abandoning centralised systems and increasingly decentralizing their political systems. Because it is easier to solve problems in decentralised systems, these systems have become political models where development is even more accelerated. Based on this aspect democratic autonomy is about the state devolving authority to local bodies, solving the problems and heading towards democratisation.

Turkish-Kurdish relations during the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, Turkey's Founding Assembly and its founder Mustafa Kemal's approach of that time can be the historical grounds for a new approach. Our model is the most analytical model establishing a new contemporary Kurdish-Turkish relation when we take into account that in our age, relations between peoples are based on acceptance of different national communities and allowing them to govern themselves.

Democratic autonomy is not an institutionalization of state and therefore it will not be involved in battles for power and the state. In this respect, it has the character and capacity to develop healthy relations with all peoples and political units based on the mutual interests.

Democratic autonomy, while showing the ability of all the masses to complete each other in the society and empower them in the form of a democratic confederal union, will also create free and democratic relationships with the political systems in the other parts of Kurdistan and other peoples in the region.

The democratic autonomy administration is the expression of the will of the people of Northern Kurdistan, and will create empowering relationships with other democratic confederal organisations in other parts, without changing the borders of the countries they live in. As they will not have a nation state and statist mentality they will not see themselves superior to others in these relations. In this respect, a democratic mentality and structure will play an important and constructive role in creating a healthy relationship between the Kurds. On this basis democratic confederalism between all parts of Kurdistan will become more functional.

Democratic autonomy is neither a state-building nor a state-destroying project, therefore it will help and lead the way to regional states to solving the Kurdish problem. With this character in hand, on the basis of principled compromise with the formula of state + democracy, joint life with nation states will emerge.

This is a model to solve the national problem on the basis of principled compromises with all political powers that have no fascist character. This character of democratic autonomy will establish a healthy relationship with the countries in the region and will provide recognition of democratic autonomy. As there will be no conflict based on power and statehood it will be possible to create all sort of political, social, economic relationships with all non-fascist political forces.

Democratic autonomy, starting from Turkey will mark the beginning of a new relationship between the Kurds and states of Iran, Syria and Iraq. When this biggest problem in the region is resolved through the establishment of democratic autonomy then all the other regional problems will also be resolved. As the Kurdish problem in the region remains a cause of tension and conflict it also remains an important factor for maintenance of political, economic and social instability in the region. A solution to this problem is central for ensuring stability in the region. The Democratic Autonomy Project provides not only the solution of the Kurdish problem but for all the regional problems and which could become solution model of universal importance.

3- Dimensions of Democratic Autonomy Model

Status of the Autonomous Democratic Kurdistan will be organised under eight dimensions.

3.1 - POLITICAL DIMENSION

The Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan's political command will get its power from the organized democratic society and the community will get its power from the use of individual rights by free citizens together with the use of collective-group rights. For the benefit of society it will use this power via democratic politics. Therefore as opposed to the nation-state's strict centralist, bureaucratic organizational understanding, it will be based on democratic organisation. Through democratic politics, all segments of society will participate in the political process and become functional. Thus, open, transparent and politicized communities will be the power for change and democratisation.

Political Administration in Democratic Autonomy: starting from the grassroots, village communes, town, district, neighbourhood councils and city councils, will organise themselves in the form of confederal organization and will have its democratic representation at the Congress of Society. The Democratic Congress of Autonomous Kurdistan Community will send its representatives to the parliament of the Democratic Republic of Turkey and take part in the politics of the common homeland. The Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan will have its own original flags and symbols that representing them. In addition, different communities in the democratic autonomy region will use its own symbols.

In this sense, democratic autonomy is the expression of the will of Kurdish people to live in a democratic Turkey. And it represents the Kurdish people's political status.

Democratic autonomy is not based on geography, ethnic and religious community, instead it is based on democracy and co-existence. It is based on criteria of democracy and it means ethnic, religious, social and cultural rights. This model is not only applicable for Kurdistan but also the other regions of Turkey.

The decision-making authority in democratic autonomy primarily belongs to the delegates of village, neighbourhood, district and city councils. Through the people's assemblies each community will express, discuss and make decisions. It is based on participant, pluralistic and direct popular democracy.

Democratic autonomy will not only limit the authority and power of the state but by playing this role with the understanding of state + democracy in mind, it will also establish democratic life of the community and will allow participation, pluralism and direct democracy to exist alongside the state.

All the cultural, ethnic, gender, faith communities should be able to be organised autonomously and authentically. These peoples (the Assyrian-Chaldean, Arabs, Armenians, Azeris) and faith groups like Ezidi-Alevi, should be given priority to represent themselves within the Democratic Autonomy. This is a requirement of moral and political societies.

The individualism that separates itself from society and is opposing society is as unacceptable as is the traditional denial of the individual and their rights. We consider the relations between the individual and society as interdependent elements of society as a whole. We see the level of women's freedom as the basic criterion of a democratic society.

Authentic creation of organisations in political, social, economic, cultural, art, sports, education, law, public transport, commercial, financial and industrial areas are communal needs in the Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan. The political parties which are the indispensable tools in the democracy should be reorganised without countering moral and political society and without aiming any ideological hegemony and political sovereignty.

Communes of the villages and councils in the cities are the main democratic institutions of a democratic autonomous system. The democratic functioning of the democratic system and the moral requirement of political society is that all sectors, including women and young people in particular should participate the politics through the assemblies on the ground. Village heads and wise men delegations from the villages should become democratic vehicles rather than vehicles of the state.

3.2 - LEGAL DIMENSION

Despite the denial of its existence and its rights by the international community and regional states, the freedom struggle of the Kurdish people today will be decisive for the status of the democratic autonomy. The status of democratic autonomy should be anticipated in order to end unlawful, inhuman attitudes, the policy of denial and the war of destruction against the Kurds and to secure a peaceful, free, democratic union within the borders of Turkish republic by constitutional change and legal means. We see Turkey and Kurdistan as a common homeland. The democratic autonomy law should be recognised as part of the new Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and the EU Law and secured through mutual agreements.

With the status of the democratic autonomy, the Kurdish people can secure their fundamental rights and freedoms within the borders of the Republic of Turkey. This status is the expression of the will based on the free consent of the Kurdish people for equal & voluntary unification and this must be ensured in the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Turkey. The democratic autonomy implemented in Kurdistan, the homeland of the Kurds, is also an applicable model in Turkey as a whole as it is an essential prerequisite for the implementation of direct democracy.

Democratic autonomy represents freedom for the Kurds within the existing borders and states. The Kurds living in Kurdistan and other parts of Turkey will regulate their relations with the Republic of Turkey on the basis of the status of democratic autonomy.

The Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan and the whole of Turkey is based on human rights, the freedom of all since their birth regardless of their class, nation, religion, sex, ethnic group and, without discriminations any of race; their first generation rights concerning freedom of expression, thought and belief, freedom of association, assembly, demonstration, and education in mother tongue; their second generation rights concerning economic and social rights; third generation rights concerning for freedom of the people to develop their cultural assets, survival and self administration. These rights should be ensured under the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey and the law of the Kurdistan Democratic Autonomy.

The fundamental basis will be the Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan's gender free-libertarian-democratic-ecological paradigm, the traditions of autonomy in human history, today's autonomous solutions in Ireland, Scotland, Basque, Catalan county, Turkish Constitution of 1921, the Kurdish Autonomy Act ratified on 10th of February 1922 by the Grand National Assembly, M. Kemal's speeches made in Izmir in 1924 and relevant UN covenants.

The legal system of Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan does not believe that the management of the society is correct and possible solely by law, and communality should be protected by using both ethics and politics together without falling into the dilemma of "either ethics or law". Believing that a society which has lost its conscience is a lost society, it sees ethics as the conscience and the heart of society. A just social system can be build based on the gender-libertarian-democratic-ecological community paradigm.

3.3- SELF-DEFENCE DIMENSION

There is no creature in nature that does not defend itself. All creatures instinctively try to preserve their existence, and also take decisive measures towards it. Among the creatures the human being is the one that has consciously developed methods of self-defence. One aspect of the human history is also the history of development of self-defence. Throughout history, from the clans to tribes, from tribes to nations and religious communities, from villages to the cities, every society needed to exercise self-defence. Self-defence is a necessity like air and water in order to protect themselves both against the attacks of its existence from outside and from inside against the danger to the ethical and political values of the community.

Self-defence is a security policy for the moral and political society. The self-defence dimension does not only mean the military defence of society. In fact it means the protection of identity, politicisation and democratisation. Self-defence is based on the organized community. Organized community is the best engaged community to implement self-defence. Self-defence is the sine qua non of all societies to protect their existence.

Throughout history, the people of Kurdistan have struggled for self-protection against the consistent attacks from outside. Since the first attack of the invading and occupying forces to the present, the Kurds have been in self-defence situations to protect themselves against the attacks on their existence. More recently, despite all the obstacles and difficulties, the Kurdish uprisings in 19th and 20th centuries were self-defence. With the acceptance of democratic autonomy, under the supervision of the democratic organs, the self-defence can be established not as military monopoly but for the external and internal needs of the society. All peoples living in cities, towns, districts and villages will be conscious and responsive towards the fascist and genocidal attacks on the basis of self-defence which refers to the social resistance against these trends. Self-defence is a right enshrined in international conventions and the UN.

3.4 - CULTURAL DIMENSION

The nation-state has pursued a policy of genocide against all the languages and cultures within its borders. The Kurdish culture and language is one of the first targets of such stringent policies. Speaking Kurdish in daily life has been banned, learning Kurdish in state educational institutions as a mother-tongue is prohibited by the constitution and laws. It has aimed to create a society alienated from its native language, and culture, its mind and spirit has been assimilated. It has come to a point where a process of auto-assimilation has begun in Kurdistan.

However, UN conventions and the European Union's democratic norms see prohibiting a people's culture, their native language and not allowing it to use it freely as a crime against humanity and defining as "cultural genocide". However, this crime against humanity continues to be carried out consistently before the eyes of the world.

The Kurdish people, have not been able to exercise its right to freely live and develop in an democratic environment; therefore the damaging effect on Kurdish society created by the nationalist, prohibitive, singular, and assimilationist policies is still prevalent. In a sense, the individuals and society have experienced almost a kind of brain death. That is the reason why there has not been development of healthy individuals and society. Due to lack of education in mother tongue there is not enough Kurdish intellectuals. In order for Kurdish society to be free in spirit and mentality to produce healthy individuals, there is a need for radical studies in language and culture areas.

Art defends society and individuals against the spread of all kinds of cultural imperialism, colonialism, and makes them engage with their history, territory, culture and language. It is essential to develop a grassroots culture and art movement that involves even smaller settlements. Necessary measures should be taken to not to reduce culture and art to be a simple commodity for trading.

It is said that 'One of the biggest disaster for the people is if their history has been written by the others' is a stunning truth for the Kurds. The history of Kurdistan has mostly been written by others for the purpose of serving their own interests and Kurdish historical consciousness has not properly developed. This is a serious danger for the development of our people's identity, existence and their future.

All the barriers for the use of Kurdish language in public should be removed and Kurdish language should become language of education from kindergarten to university. All the necessary legal and constitutional arrangements should be made in order to prevent cultural meltdown and provide opportunity in mother tongue education for the Kurds living in major cities of Turkey and abroad.

Constitution and laws should provide legal protection to the all languages and their dialects spoken in our geography (Assyrians-Syriac, Arabic, Armenian et al.), used in education, and developed alongside the Kurdish and Turkish languages, which are the official languages of Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan. Language for the services should be Kurdish and the original names of the settlements are to be returned.

3.5 - SOCIAL DIMENSION

The aim of assimilation was to alienate the Kurdish society from its social values, history and their culture, with forced migration the plan was evacuation of the Kurdistan and deformation of its social texture, changing the demographic structure and by the application of the physical and cultural genocide their existence was targeted. In addition, as part of the special war policy, the women and youth sectors of the society were estranged from the social struggle by the sport, art, social events under the name of social activities, and by spreading prostitution and

drugs moral collapse of the society is aimed. Separate policies for each social sector followed to make Kurdish people flabby, unorganized, in a position with no struggle.

Kurdish women are still exposed to state terror and to a mentality based on sexism mentality. In this sexist society the family formed as a small state run by men and played an effective role in keeping women in deep slavery. According to our social policy, the family is not a social institution that can be overcome in this existing social reality, but can be converted. Therefore the laws and the concept of property on children and women which is based on hierarchy must be replaced. In this respect the aspect of women's awareness, the level of her being organised will play a key role in converting family and society, into free and democratic units. Democratic society based on free will and the mentality of free women will be a society that finds life in a democratic autonomous Kurdistan.

Since the first hierarchical structure, dependent policies on youth are continuing and deepening. Ideological propaganda, memorization, overwhelming them with dogmas, binding them through sexual guidance, making them reactionary are all aimed to divert their energies from targeting the system and maintaining order. In order to tackle this issue, the fundamental role in the establishment of democratic society is organising the youth based on the principles of freedom. It is difficult to keep a youth walking towards freedom. Because the youth poses problems for the existing ruling systems, it can also play a leading role in building and defending a new society.

In classless societies, private or collective property owners would have free labourers. Therefore it is of great importance to organise workers, peasants, civil servants, tradesmen and provide conditions for their active participation in social life. The basic duty of the democratic society is to create and implement projects for social and cultural development of these people.

Resistance, and cultural revival of the religion can bear democratic content against the capitalist and nation-statism. It also represents strong moral vessels that cannot be ignored. In a democratic-nation it is important promote the progressive content of the religious culture as equal, free and democratic element and give it a place in the solution.

Despite the all efforts of the destruction, facing erosion and suffering decay, the axis of historical society and the main basis of the society are formed by the oppressed, the exploited of all nations, peoples, ethnicities, women, youth, village-farming communities, the unemployed, nomads, many religious communities, sects, small groups, and labour communities. Therefore the social dimension that represents all these social groups has the character to secure free and democratic life. Democratic society is the contemporary modern form of moral and political society and it is the society that in a real sense allows differences to live within it. The communal group should not be forced into single type of culture and citizenship and has to be able to live with its differences, its own culture and identity.

Therefore the re-establishment of the society in the Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan will be actualised with the free organisation of labour, education, health, solidarity and similar units under the leadership of women and youth in particular. The social dimension of the Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan has the potential to discuss, take decisions, re structure and to put a plan into operation, and for that reason to be the base of other dimensions to be implemented.

The leading forces of the democratic confederal organisation in Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan are women and youth. Therefore the role of the women is essential in communal life and in all areas of organisation. The relations between the individuals and society should be established on the basis of equal-free-democratic life principles and through the struggle against the sexism in the society.

The youth will play an important part in the re-establishment and defence of the society with its energy, dynamism, and play a leading role in social change. Conditions should be established in which priority is given to the psychological and physical education of the children and the promotion of their development. Exploitation of the child labour and sexual harassment should be regarded as crime and treated according to international laws conventions on children's rights.

3.6- ECONOMIC DIMENSION

Kurdistan, where the first communal life and Neolithic farming revolution started, has now become the land of a people who are dispersed all around the world as a result of poverty and hunger. Kurdistan, which has been defined in the sacred texts as the land which the cradle of civilisation, and as a paradise land with enormous wealth, has ended up in these current conditions as a result of the military occupations, political and economic colonisations of the external powers.

Those who established political hegemony over the Kurds have destroyed the economic life of the Kurds beyond the economic colonisation to reach the level of genocide. As a result, the community which was left hungry and destitute was easily made loyal to these hegemonic powers by conceding very little to them. It has been easy to control these people whose will power has been broken. People who are left dependant on others cannot be fighters and founders of a free and democratic life.

The creation of an economic basis for a society is a key dimension for becoming a moral and political society. Therefore the first aspect to develop in the building of democratic autonomy will be the creation of an economically viable society which achieves the elimination of unemployment and poverty.

No communal, political and social system can exist without establishing its own economic system. Democratic autonomy should establish its own economic model in order to permanently institutionalise the system of free and democratic life for the Kurdish people. If the democratic autonomy will be the bedrock of the democratic nation then it has first to create an economic system.

Economic problems arise when society ceases to be functioning society. It is an undeniable reality that the deepest crisis facing society is caused by capitalism. To express this reality the leader of the Kurdish people stated that "capitalism is not an economy but against the economy". The current state of capitalism is based on the breakdown of society and its organisations; profiting from financial dealings without engaging in actual production is the clearest indication of this reality.

In history, economic problems started when devious men established their control over women. As a result of the class system, urbanisation and state power, society has been alienated from the social economic issues and faced deep structural problems. Economy requires socialisation and democracy. An economy that meets the need of society is only possible through the democratic organisation of society. On this basis democratic society is also an economic society. As seen, the economy is not a mere technical issue. As a fundamental structure of society it is actually an activity that goes to the root of the life of a society. Detaching the human being from the economy is the foundation of the all alienation.

Despite the fact that it had the opportunity to become one of the most developed economies and civilisations, the society in Kurdistan has faced economic collapse and economic genocide. Therefore this fact itself shows that it is very important for this society to become an economically viable society by establishing its free and democratic life on the basis of democratic autonomy. Through the economy of cooperation a new society can be built and the wealth of the Kurdistan can become an economic value not for the Kurds alone but all the people in the region and production will flourish. There is a need to establish an economic system where everybody has her/his own business and is working for their own benefit, one that gives priority to the employment of women, one that is based on function value rather than profit, and that is anti-monopolistic and interdependent.

3.7- ECOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The reasons behind the ecological crisis which deepen with the social crisis can be traced back to the beginning of civilisation. The state powers and ruling hierarchies are denying the fact that there is any communal connection which created society. They have also replaced this with another perspective which fails to remember the connection between nature and life. Every development from the foundation of civilisation results in ever increasing alienation from nature, damaging the environment and the trends towards the creation of a world that it is impossible to live in.

The social and economic crises are joined in today's world. With the aim of making as much profit as possible, no attention is paid to how much the planet can manage to sustain in terms of cities, population, factories, transport vehicles, synthetic materials, pollution and water. The cities spreading like cancer, polluted air, damage to

the ozone layer, the significant decrease in animal and plant varieties, demolition of the forests, contamination of the waterways, mountains of rubbish everywhere, shortages of clean water, abnormal increase in the population, will all cause disasters that we may not be able to reverse.

Any system of society that is not integrated with nature cannot be defended as a moral and democratic system. There is a dialectical relationship between environmental disaster and chaos faced by the capitalist system. The outcome of profit seeking and capital system which is based on maximising profit and industrial expansion that against the ecology is not only destroying society in many ways (leading to immorality, unemployment, inflation, prostitution etc), it also puts the ecology and all living things in danger. These examples show more clearly that monopoly is against society. On the other hand ecological society requires moral transformation. The amoral side of capitalism can be overcome with an ecological approach. This will be only valuable if there is good ecological understanding. This problem cannot be solved with the environmentalist approach alone.

The practical difficulties of ecological life are very topical both around the world and in the geography we live in. Especially in Kurdistan, the ecological destruction conducted for militaristic, political and economic reasons has done serious damage to the geography of Kurdistan and its social structure. Many villages and forests have been burned, residential areas demolished as a result of dam projects and other development plans jeopardise historic cultural monuments, and pastures were flooded with the water. Many pastures have been left with no water and have turned into desert. Thousands of square meters of farmland have been planted with mines, making farming impossible. With similar practices, animal husbandry has almost killed by the banning of people from using highlands. Poisonous wastes are stored in Kurdistan. All these practises have changed the climate and flora of Kurdistan and resulted in instability. All these attacks against the geography of Kurdistan can only be resolved with an ecological revolution. All these ecological disasters are not only limited to our geography but have an impact on whole world. The burned, barren, poisoned Kurdistan is in fact a burned, deserted and poisoned world.

Ecological awareness, love of homeland and love for the world are all interrelated. Therefore in order to have healthy environment and social life, there is need for community to be conscious, for ecological measures to be developed and active struggle to be conducted. It is necessary to oppose urbanisation that is damaging the ecological balance, dam buildings that change flora and the flooding of historical sites with water to wipe out the Kurdish people's history.

3.8- DIPLOMATIC DIMENSION

In general diplomacy is an activity developed by the people, societies, different groups and states for their own interests. Diplomacy based on modernity and the nation-state mentality is only based on securing power. The diplomacy of nation-states is conducted in order to pursue the activities of nation-states around the world in coordination with other nation states. If there is no recognition by other nation-states there is no chance of survival for a single nation-state even for 24 hours. The reason for that is hidden in the very rationale of the world capitalist system. Without the consent of the people none of the nation states can last long.

According to the democratic modernity paradigm, the diplomacy dimension of the Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan is based on mutual solidarity and interest between peoples, different groups and societies.

Considering the historical and societal characteristic of the issue in Kurdistan, especially considering that it has been divided into four parts, its diplomacy will have important impact on the neighbouring countries, societies and other parts of Kurdistan.

The diplomacy of the Democratic Autonomous Kurdistan should play a role for the development of peace and brotherhood for our region, it should encourage economic development and increase the level of wealth. Diplomacy to be carried out with stateless nations, peoples, groups and societies struggling for democracy and freedom will be implemented in mutual solidarity and trust. Diplomacy will protect the national interests of Kurdish people and our people living in the Diaspora and cities.

- Translated from Turkish original – an edited version will be published shortly