

## **PSK; 50 YEARS OF HONORABLE AND UNINTERRUPTED STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM**

One of the most important actors in the political arena of the Kurdish freedom movement that has been going on in the Middle East for more than 200 years is the Kurdistan Socialist Party, in Kurdish Partîya Sosyalîst a Kurdistan (PSK).

The Kurdistan Socialist Party (PSK) turns 50 this year.

In Northern Kurdistan, the largest part of Kurdistan, which was divided into four parts by the imperialists and regional states, and which was deliberately left backward by the colonialists, and where feudalism and tribalism are strong, it is important to have survived for 50 years and not to stop struggling even for a single day. This is the product of the PSK's program, its realistic, dynamic and innovative policy that takes into account the realities of the country and the world, and the sacrifices of its cadres.

From the moment it was founded, the PSK has stayed away from dogmatic understanding. It has renewed its program, strategy and politics by taking into account universal, regional and local developments. This brochure aims to introduce the PSK as a whole, taking into account the radical changes it has undergone since its foundation.

In the 1960s, the process of establishing illegal Kurdistan parties with a national democratic identity had begun in Northern Kurdistan and the struggle for this was ongoing. Some leftist Kurdish intellectuals, who were outside these political organizations and who had fought together with Turkish socialists in the ranks of the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP), were discussing among themselves what should be done to crown national liberation with socialism.

After the military coup of March 12th, this discussion and search was continued more intensely, especially by Kurdish intellectuals who were imprisoned in Diyarbakir Military Prison, and the first groupings among Kurdish socialists began in this period. Kemal Burkay, the founding General Secretary of the PSK, who was in exile abroad at the time, added depth to these discussions with his pamphlet "The Kurdish People's Struggle for Liberation in Turkish Conditions". The views expressed by Burkay were adopted by many others.

On the night of December 31, 1975, seven Kurdish intellectuals, Kemal Burkay, Ziya Acar, Yılmaz Çamlıbel, Faruk Aras, Mehdi Zana, İhsan Aksoy and Veysel Çamlıbel, who had taken part in the struggle for democracy and national liberation in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, who had gotten to know each other during this struggle and who believed that Kurdish socialists should be organized separately, founded the Kurdistan Socialist Party of Turkey (TKSP), or Partîya Sosyalîst a Kurdistanana Tîrkiye (PSKT) in Kurdish. (PSKT continued as PSK after the word "Turkey" was removed from the party's name at the 3rd Congress in 1992).

Establishing the party illegally was not a choice, but a necessity. Because at that time, it was forbidden to use the words Kurd and Kurdistan, let alone to establish a party with the name Kurdistan, and it required risking years of punishment.

The PSK was founded as a party whose ultimate goal was to establish socialism in Kurdistan, but which prioritized national liberation. The national, regional and international political conditions at the time of its foundation determined the PSK's organizational structure, political program and course of struggle.

At the time of the founding of the PSK, the political, social and economic developments in the bipolar world, where the demands for freedom, equality and justice were loudly

shouted, were determined by the USA and the USSR. On the one hand, the pole formed by the imperialists and their local collaborators, on the other hand, the socialist system led by the USSR, the struggle of the working class against capitalism for its economic and political rights, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist national liberation struggles of oppressed peoples in the Middle East, Far Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Middle East, where our country Kurdistan is located, is a place where the US-USSR rivalry is deeply rooted and chaos and civil war have become routine. Not only the PSK, but all Kurdish patriotic organizations and parties were and are affected by this conflict and the chaotic structure of the Middle East.

In determining its political stance, the PSK has always taken into account the division of Kurdistan into four parts by the imperialists and their colonial collaborators, against the will of the Kurdish people, and the consequences it caused. It was aware of the political, social and cultural consequences of this division.

Yes, Kurdistan is one country and Kurds are one people. But as a result of the division and depending on the structure of the sovereign states, each part experienced social, political and cultural developments specific to that part. The struggle for national liberation took different forms in each part and different political structures emerged.

From the beginning, the PSK took into account the fragmentation of Kurdistan and its consequences. The PSK did not adopt the idea of a single political party and a single national movement in all of Kurdistan, emphasizing that the freedom movement in each part would follow a course appropriate to its own conditions. It opposed interference in the internal affairs of the fragments and the national liberation movements in each fragment and advocated solidarity between the fragments.

The PSK believed, and still believes, in the necessity of a National Congress that includes all political structures in Kurdistan. Since the 1980s, our party has taken part in all initiatives to this end. Unfortunately, these attempts did not succeed due to tensions between some organizations, the intervention of the colonial states and more important developments such as Raperin and the subsequent fratricidal strife. But this necessity remains today. The PSK believes that there should be no haste in this matter and that we should proceed step by step.

The PSK, whose main goal is to achieve national liberation in Northern Kurdistan and establish a society on the basis of equality, has always been aware of its duties in other parts, has established fraternal relations with patriotic Kurdish organizations, and has offered its support to national liberation struggles.

We are proud of our Party's performance and actions in this field.

### **Characteristics of the PSK**

The PSK is a Kurdish party, and primarily defends and fights for the Kurdish people to take their own destiny into their own hands, to decide for themselves how to live in their own country, in other words, for the statehood of the Kurds.

Like all other peoples, the right of Kurds to establish their own state is indisputable. The Kurdish people in Northern Kurdistan can take their fate into their own hands in two ways. First, by becoming an independent state, and second, by forming a democratic union with

the Turks within the borders of the Turkish Republic. The PSK believes and defends that this unity can be realized through the establishment of a federative structure with two republics with equal rights. In other words, Kurds should have equal rights with Turks in all areas.

The PSK, which believes that the Kurdish people can achieve their freedom through the national liberation struggle and builds its program on this understanding, is realistic and believes that in addition to a determined struggle for liberation, it is necessary to have a strategy and understanding that takes into account the conditions of the country and the region and is in line with the realities of Kurdistan.

Taking into account the international situation, the conditions in the Middle East, Turkey and Kurdistan, our Party proposes the federation formula for the solution of the Kurdish question in Turkey: A federation on the basis that all the political rights of the Turks are recognized for the Kurds. There should be a Kurdistan Parliament and a government in Northern Kurdistan reflecting the will of the Kurdish people.

At the beginning, many patriotic organizations from Northern Kurdistan opposed our thesis of federation as a solution to the Kurdish question, accusing us of collaborationism, compromise and reformism. But the PSK stood firmly by this proposal and defended it on every platform. So much so that today most of the Kurdish organizations in the North agree on federation. Our Party's contribution to the Kurdish patriotic movement's consensus on the federation solution proposal is great and this is a source of pride for us.

PSK is a libertarian, patriotic, democratic and socialist party. PSK is the party of Kurdistan's laborers, middle class, low-income and weaker strata, intellectuals, and all those in favor of democracy, freedom and equality. It fights for the fundamental rights and freedoms of all ethnic and religious minorities living in Kurdistan. The PSK acts with the awareness that the Kurdish question is a national question that encompasses all layers of the Kurdish people, not just one section of our society.

### **National Unity and PSK**

For the solution of the Kurdish question, the cooperation of all patriotic groups on the basis of common national demands is as necessary as air and water. This, unity among patriotic forces, has always been at the top of our political agenda. Our Party, which has worked hard in this field, has a practice that we are proud of. So much so that in Northern Kurdistan, there is no unity and no work for unity in which the PSK does not take part.

Before September 12, PSK, DDKD and KUK established the National Democratic Unity (UDG) and this process continued with the HEVKARI work carried out by 5 patriotic organizations between 1981-1984. In 1988, the PSK founded the North Kurdistan Liberation Organization (TEVGER) together with 8 patriotic parties and structures, and in March 1993, the PSK took a courageous step that led to important results and signed a protocol with the PKK.

The PSK-PKK protocol led to a relative softening of tensions between patriotic forces and the PKK. During this period, 12 political organizations and structures from Northern Kurdistan, including the PKK, carried out an effort to create a national front. In 1995, Kurdish parties formed the Platform of Kurdistan Organizations as a continuation of the front, which failed to succeed due to the PKK's hegemonic and imposing attitude. In 1999, the Platform changed its name to the Northern Kurdistan National Platform (PNK-Bakur) and continued its work.

In the same period, as a result of our party's determined and persistent efforts, the Coordination of Democratic Organizations of European Kurds (DEM KURD) was established, including KOMKAR and similar organizations operating in Europe. Following this, the European Kurdish Platform (PLATFORM), which includes the INITIATIVE, DEM-KURD and PNK-Bakur, formed by intellectuals living in different countries of Europe, was established.

### **Legal Democratic Struggle and PSK**

Our Party, which was founded illegally for compulsory reasons, has never fetishized illegality. Aware of the negative aspects of illegal struggle and the positive aspects of legal struggle, the PSK gave due importance to this form of struggle. It has always been among our goals to become legal with its own name and program and to continue the struggle in this field.

Our party worked not only in the political sphere, but also in the fields of publishing, cultural activities, democratic and civil society, taking advantage of existing democratic rights. The PSK utilized the opportunities offered by the given conditions of the period to develop the national democratic struggle.

Acting with the awareness of the importance of the press in raising public awareness, organizing and mobilizing the people, the PSK used the democratic environment available in this field to raise awareness and organize the Kurdish people. It engaged in publishing activities based on the Kurdish question. It published magazines and newspapers that made important contributions to raising the awareness of the people about the economic structure, political status and history of Kurdistan, and to the recognition and development of Kurdish culture.

In June 1975 we started publishing the monthly magazine Özgürlük Yolu, in 1977 we launched the 15-day Kurdish-Turkish Roja Welat newspaper, and shortly before September 12, under martial law, we published the newspaper Özgürlük, which played a pioneering role in this field. They functioned as a school. These publications were not only instrumental in raising Kurdish consciousness among the masses, in the development of Kurdish culture, and in the spread of writing and reading in Kurdish. They also helped to inform the public in Turkey about the political status of Kurdistan, its colonial structure, etc. They discussed these issues with Turkish leftist political circles.

Although the publication of Özgürlük Yolu was interrupted during the fascist period of September 12, the PSK continued to publish Özgürlük Yolu as an organ of the Party Central Committee under the Kurdish name Riya Azadi. Riya Azadi published 139 issues until June 1991. Deng Magazine, which took on the mission of Özgürlük Yolu in the changing conditions of Turkey and published its first issue in December 1989, continues to be published today.

In addition to Deng Magazine, weekly newspapers such as Azadî, Dengê Azadî, Ronahî, Hêvî, Roja Teze, Dema Nû, published since 1990, left an important mark on the Kurdish press and publishing struggle. Deng Publications published hundreds of works, including Kurdish classics, research on the Kurdish question, Kurdish history and literature.

The PSK was not only interested in solving the Kurdish question. It also took part in the struggle for democracy in Turkey and in the struggle for the rights and freedoms of working people. PSK cadres took part in the organization and management of trade unions, democratic mass organizations and professional organizations that carried out this struggle.

PSK cadres took part in the central management of TÖB-DER, the most powerful teachers' organization of the period, and reached an active position in TÛM-DER, the organization of civil servants, and TÛS-DER, the organization of health workers.

As a result of the PSK's intensive efforts, TÖB-DER, the 200,000-member teachers' organization of the time, decided on "national education in a democratic form in content" at the Democratic Education Congress it organized. This decision, which also meant the right to education in Kurdish, was supported by nearly 40 influential and powerful democratic organizations of the time, including DISK, the Writers' Union of Turkey and the People's Houses.

Our party saw the local and general elections held in Turkey as a platform where the just demands of the Kurdish people were voiced, and took sides. In the 1970s, it stood by the forces of democracy against rising nationalism and fascist oppression, and determined a realistic attitude in line with the conditions of the day.

Attaching importance to the strengthening of local governments and decentralization, the PSK attached great importance to the municipal elections held in Northern Kurdistan; it took sides by nominating independent candidates. In 1977 it won the mayorship of Diyarbakir and in 1979 the mayorship of Ağrı. This was a first not only in Northern Kurdistan but also in Turkey.

Aware of the importance of legal democratic institutions in establishing ties with the masses, the PSK also carried out important work in organizing Kurdish youth.

Acting with the awareness of the position and dynamic structure of the youth in the social struggle, the PSK has always attached importance to transferring the potential of the youth to the national liberation struggle through the right channels.

With this understanding, it pioneered the establishment of Revolutionary People's Cultural Associations (DHKD) in 22 provinces and districts of Northern Kurdistan and Turkey, including Diyarbakir, Van, Ağrı, Bitlis, Siirt, Bingöl, Hakkari, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir.

The DHKDs, which rapidly spread among student, worker and peasant youth in a short period of time, were not only educational institutions where PSK cadres were trained. The DHKD members were not only at the forefront of all the activities of the PSK, but also took part in the democratic struggle. They were part of the struggle against national oppression, persecution, hikes, poverty and corruption.

In addition to their political activities, the DHKDs also carried out important works in the field of culture and art. The theater and music groups formed within the DHKDs served to promote Kurdish culture through their work. At that time, the cultural burden of the cultural and political nights was on the shoulders of the DHKDs. DHKDs had the honor of celebrating the first mass Newroz in Northern Kurdistan and Western Turkey.

In 1990, under the leadership of PSK cadres, the People's Cultural Associations (HKDs) established in many provinces and districts, especially in Amed and Istanbul, carried out the struggle of the DHKD under new conditions; they kept the tradition of the DHKD alive.

The struggle waged by the HKDs took on a new dimension through the Stran Cultural Center in Istanbul and ÇIRA Associations in Diyarbakir and Ağrı. Govend Magazine, published in Diyarbakır, created new excitement in the field of culture and literature.

## **Legal Political Space and the PSK**

The relative decline of the September 12 fascist period and the change in political conditions in Turkey and the world brought the establishment of a legal and democratic party in which Turks and Kurds could participate to the agenda.

Kemal Burkay, our founding Secretary General, first put this idea on the political agenda of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan with an article published in Deng magazine. This view, which was initially the target of unfair and baseless criticism on the Kurdish front, such as "pacifism, surrenderism, parliamentarism, leaving the solution of the Kurdish problem at the mercy of the Turkish Grand National Assembly", became the common view of large patriotic segments over time as a result of the determined stance of our Party.

The first product of the work carried out in this field was the People's Labor Party (HEP) founded in 1990. With the participation of experienced and knowledgeable Kurdish intellectuals with different views, the HEP became mass in a short time.

The HEP could not last long because of the PKK's hegemonic attitude and disbanded.

HEP was followed by the Democracy Party (DEP), founded in 1993. DEP also suffered the fate of HEP, falling victim to totalitarian, monopolistic and hegemonic political understandings.

DEP was followed by the Democracy and Change Party (DDP), the Democracy and Peace Party (DBP) and the Rights and Freedoms Party (HAK-PAR). The DDP and BDP were predominantly formed by PSK cadres. HAK-PAR, on the other hand, was founded as a party that included PSK cadres as well as those from various patriotic Kurdish organizations.

PSK actively participated in the establishment and work of the Kurdish Culture and Research Foundation (KÛRT-KAV), the first of its kind in Turkey. KÛRT-KAV, which was formed by Kurdish patriots and carried out important work, continues its work today by traveling a bumpy road.

## **Our Indispensable Principle; Intra-Party Democracy**

One of the most important issues in the illegal struggle is to preserve the organizational structure. For this reason, the issue of democracy within the organization and democratic decision-making takes a back seat. On the contrary, although it was founded and fought illegally, the PSK acted as democratic as possible in its internal functioning and decision-making process.

Our party was governed according to the decisions taken at the congresses and the provisions of the statute. Decisions taken with the broad participation of the grassroots were implemented within a top-down hierarchical structure. The decency of discussion and freedom of criticism have been our indispensable values.

In this respect, the PSK 3rd Congress held in 1992 constitutes an important turning point in the history of our party. At the 3rd Congress, the word "Turkey" was removed from the name of our Party and the party's short name PSKT was changed to PSK. On the other hand, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the collapse of real socialism in 1989, radical changes were made in our party program regarding socialism at the PSK 3rd Congress. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" thesis in our party program was abandoned and the approach of peaceful and democratic construction of socialism was adopted. All these

important changes to the Party program were discussed at Party conferences held abroad on different dates and at the Party's grassroots in the country, and were subsequently decided upon at the congress.

In the 40 years it has been illegal, the PSK has held 10 congresses, an unprecedented achievement in our geography. One of the reasons why we have survived until today and carried out our struggle uninterruptedly is that we have followed the principle of democratic centralism and operated internal party democracy as much as possible.

### **The Struggle for Democracy and the PSK**

It is not the policies of the parties in power that create the Kurdish problem in Turkey, but the state's monist understanding shaped on the Turkish-Islamic synthesis. Therefore, a change of governments does not bring a solution to the Kurdish problem. It is the colonial state itself that creates the Kurdish problem, not how it is governed. However, the way the state is governed influences the Kurdish national movement in determining the path it will follow for liberation.

PSK is a party that believes in democracy and values the struggle for democracy. It believes that democracy will facilitate the peaceful solution of the Kurdish question. We have always attached importance to our dear friend martyr Dr. Qasimlo's statement that "the worst democracy is better than the best dictatorship". PSK attaches importance to the natural relationship between the national liberation struggle in Northern Kurdistan and the struggle for democracy and change of the peoples of Turkey. For this reason, PSK; since its foundation, the PSK has taken part in the struggle for democracy in Turkey and stood with those in favor of democracy against the reactionaries and fascists in the elections,

PSK supported Turkey's EU membership, which he believed would contribute to Turkey's democratization. In the first years of its rule, it supported the AK Party's steps towards democracy; It stood in favor of change in the referendums for constitutional amendments, believing that this would poke a hole in the monist and Kemalist system and help the Kurdish question to be resolved peacefully and through dialogue. PSK members frequently visited the forces of democracy in Turkey to explain the party views on the Kurdish problem and the projects the party had prepared for a solution and to ask for their support. PSK has always supported and supports peace and democracy initiatives, made efforts to explain to the forces in favor of democracy that democracy, peace and security cannot come to the country without the resolution of the Kurdish question.

### **Our International Policy**

Values such as peace, human rights and freedoms, the protection of minority rights, social justice and the protection of nature are common values of all humanity. The PSK, which internalizes these values in its struggle, is part of the struggle for these values at the international level and considers the forces engaged in this struggle as friends.

The Kurdish issue is not only a regional problem between the colonizers and our people, it is also an inter-state problem. The US, the EU, Russia and other big states are parties to the Kurdish issue. The colonial states have always acted together, cooperated and formed pacts to suppress the national democratic struggle of the Kurdish people. The great powers, on the

other hand, have until recently sided with the colonialist states, providing military, financial and political support, helping to keep the Kurdish question unresolved.

One of the conditions, if not the sine qua non, for the establishment of peace, tranquility and security in the Middle East, where internal conflicts and war are constant and superpowers are engaged in a fierce struggle to establish their hegemony, is the liberation of Kurdistan and the Kurdish people's attainment of their national democratic rights. Because the desire to solve the Kurdish problem, which concerns four states, through violence is one of the main causes of instability in the Middle East. Today, the fact that there will be no peace and security in the Middle East without the resolution of the Kurdish question is being accepted and voiced by a wider range of people.

The PSK determines its policy taking into account the conditions of Kurdistan and the Middle East and international developments. It knows that good relations with the peace-loving, progressive and democratic forces of the region are essential for the success of the national liberation struggle.

The PSK believes that the peoples living in the Middle East are friends and that they can live in peace and security in a free environment within the framework of good neighborly relations based on mutual interests.

The PSK is aware that the conflicts, confrontations and compromises in the international arena deeply affect the Kurdish national liberation struggle. For this reason, it argues that it is in the interest of the Kurds to take steps in line with the globalization process, not against the international wind, but with it.

The PSK is aware that for success, it is as important to win friends for the Kurdish national cause as it is to take the international winds of change behind us. With its belief in the Iranian proverb "a thousand friends are few and one enemy is many", the PSK has worked and is working to win friends for the Kurdish cause in the international arena.

PSK is a party that advocates for peace in the region and the world. Because the Kurds, whose country is under occupation, whose riches are plundered, whose every demand for rights is met with oppression and violence, and who are the victims of the unjust and dirty war waged by the state, need peace, peace and security the most. Therefore, we believe that the struggle for peace is an inseparable part of the struggle for freedom.

### **Insistence on a Peaceful Solution**

The Kurdish people, who have been struggling for their national democratic rights for decades, have always been in favor of a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question. They expressed their demands peacefully. Although the colonialists responded to the demands of our people by increasing violence and oppression, our people never gave up their just cause.

The colonialist states resorted to arms, declared jihad and waged a dirty war in order to suppress the demands of our people for their rights and to maintain their presence in our country. The Kurdish people had to resort to arms to protect themselves and their country; they fought. This was a war that was imposed on our people and was difficult to avoid. Today too, war is being imposed on the Kurdish people. The resistance of our people against the imposed war is justified and legitimate.



Despite all this, the PSK proposed and resolutely defended the peaceful solution of the Kurdish question, taking into account international developments, the situation in the region, Turkey and Kurdistan. Because Turkey's international relations, NATO membership and EU accession efforts have eliminated the chances of success of armed struggle in Northern Kurdistan. The PKK's armed struggle since 1984 has done more harm than good to the Kurdish people. The atmosphere of war and conflict has been the justification for countless operations and attacks by the Turkish state not only in the North but also in Southern Kurdistan.

## **Diaspora and PSK**

The diaspora is of great importance for the Kurdish question, which has gained an international dimension and to which the US, Europe and other major powers are parties. Considering the fact that the political changes in the Middle East, of which our country is a part, are the result of external dynamics rather than internal dynamics, the importance of the diaspora is better understood. Being aware of this fact, the PSK gave importance to diaspora work, aimed to create a permanent structure in the diaspora and fought for this cause.

The history of the Kurdish diaspora does not go back very far. In the 1950s, Kurds who went to Europe to study and do their PhDs formed the Kurdish Students' Union of Europe (KSSE) despite their small numbers. The KSSE, which existed and functioned for a long time, was affected by the PDK-YNK rivalry and conflict in Southern Kurdistan, experienced a split and gradually became dysfunctional.

In 1965, HEVRA, an organization composed mainly of people from Northern Kurdistan, and its newspaper RONAHI, made great efforts to spread national consciousness among Kurds abroad, especially in Germany, and succeeded. The future KOMKAR was founded by Kurdish workers and students who worked with HEVRA. Many intellectuals and students who took part in HEVRA's work pioneered the work of our Party in Europe, especially in Germany.

In the 1960s, there was a massive labor migration from Turkey to Europe. Kurds were among those who came to Europe. Kurdish workers, who for a while fought for their rights together with Turkish workers, started to form their own associations in the early 1970s.

Kurdish associations from several cities in Germany came together in Frankfurt in 1979 to form the Federation of Kurdistan Workers' Associations, known as KOMKAR. KOMKAR, which included not only workers but also intellectuals and students, soon organized in many cities of Germany and became an organization recognized by the public and official institutions.

KOMKAR organized in many countries such as Germany, France, England, the Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden and Austria. KOMKAR associations established under different names in different countries of Europe came together to form KOMKAR-EU. KOMKARs have carried out their work in two main areas. One of these is to support the national liberation struggle in Kurdistan without discriminating between any parts, and the second is to fight for the recognition of the national identity of Kurds living in Europe and the recognition of their rights arising from immigration.

KOMKARs fought against the fascist regime of September 12, together with other democratic organizations abroad. They organized meetings, conferences, hunger strikes and

marches with other democratic forces in order to expose the inhuman practices of the fascist regime before the public opinion of the countries they were in.

Due to the September 12 regime, the Kurdish mass abroad grew with the political cadres who had to go to Europe and the victims of the dirty war in Kurdistan coming to Europe, and the activity of KOMKAR gradually increased with the active participation of these political cadres.

KOMKAR waged a relentless struggle for the national and social rights of Kurds in Europe. The ban on giving Kurdish names to children born abroad was lifted as a result of KOMKAR's campaigns in this field, which gained the support of German public opinion. If today Kurdish children are studying Kurdish in many cities in Germany, the lion's share of this success belongs to KOMKAR.

KOMKAR also played a major role in the massive and enthusiastic celebration of Newroz abroad. KOMKAR has been the initiator of a tradition in this field by organizing mass Newroz celebrations almost every year in the countries where it is organized in Europe.

KOMKAR also accomplished important work in the field of press and media.

Published in March 1979 and 129 issues in Kurdish-Turkish until February 1991, the newspaper Dengê KOMKAR included news about Kurds in Kurdistan, Turkey and Europe, as well as articles and research on Kurdish language and culture, poetry and stories in Kurdish.

KOMKAR Publishing House has enriched Kurdish publishing abroad with dozens of books and brochures in German, Kurdish and Turkish.

KOMKAR-Sweden has carried out successful works especially in the field of Kurdish language, culture and media. It published a monthly Kurdish-Turkish newspaper called Roja Nu. The first issue of Roja Nu was published in December 1978 and the first 43 issues were published in Kurdish-Turkish. Since 1983, Roja Nu, which has been published in Kurdish as a magazine of culture, art and literature, has reached 100 issues.

In addition to Roja Nu magazine, Roja Nu Publications made significant contributions to the development of Kurdish language and culture by publishing dozens of books on Kurdish language, culture, history and classics of Kurdish literature.

PSK cadres pioneered not only the democratic organization of workers abroad, but also the organization of Kurdish women and youth. The Kurdistan Women's Union (KOMJIN) and the Kurdistan Youth Union (KOMCIWAN), which continue to exist and work today, were founded as a result of the efforts of PSK cadres.

KOMJIN, which completed its establishment in 1986, made efforts to solve the problems of women, especially Kurdish women abroad. It organized seminars for the political education of Kurdish women, organized conferences, exhibitions, cultural events, participated in international conferences and festivals and became a translator for the problems of Kurdish women.

In addition to these activities, KOMJIN published a women's magazine called Jîyan. Published for 35 issues, Jîyan featured stories, articles and poems in Kurdish, and served Kurdish language and culture by publishing articles on the problems faced by Kurdish women, especially women in the diaspora, and solutions to these problems.

KOMCIWAN has carried out similar activities, organized seminars, conferences and festivals for the development of national consciousness among Kurdish youth and the spread of Kurdish language and culture.

In Germany, KOMCIWAN took part in the administrations of the German Youth Organization Federation (Deutsche Jugend Organization), which includes many German and foreign youth organizations, and the German Youth Confederation (Deutsche Jugend Ring), which is the umbrella organization of all youth organizations and federations.

After the September 12 fascist coup d'état, the work of our Party's Overseas Organization gained momentum as some cadres went abroad. On the one hand, the PSK organization abroad made efforts to organize Kurdish workers, women and youth in the democratic field, on the other hand, it worked to expose the fascist regime of September 12 abroad.

Our Overseas Organization carried out two important works in this field. The first of these was the Human Rights Report in Turkish Kurdistan, published periodically by the TKSP Central Committee Foreign Relations Bureau. The Report, which was prepared in English and German and described the violations of rights and state persecution in Northern Kurdistan, was sent to all international institutions and organizations, especially the UN and the EU.

Another important work was the organization of the international conference on "Human Rights in Kurdistan", organized by the Kurdistan Human Rights Initiative. The conference was held on April 14-16, 1989 in Bremen, West Germany, under the auspices of the Speaker of the Bremen Parliament, and was attended by nearly 200 distinguished politicians, lawyers, scientists, writers and journalists from 16 countries (Western Europe, America and Australia).

As a result of the discussions at the conference, the "Bremen Declaration on Human Rights in Kurdistan" was issued, which is still relevant today. In this declaration, the basic demands of the Kurds were articulated, international institutions and organizations were called upon to act sensitively and the UN Organization was urged to "urgently take up the situation of the Kurdish people within the framework of international law and the principles of equality of rights and the right of peoples to free self-determination".

In 1991, the Kurdistan Human Rights Initiative organized an international conference in Bonn, then the capital of West Germany, in 1991. The Bonn Conference, which was organized as a follow-up to the Bremen Conference and attended by prominent politicians, lawyers and human rights defenders from many countries, was also the founding conference of the International Kurdistan Human Rights Association (IMK), headquartered in Bonn.

The IMK has carried out many important studies on human rights violations in Kurdistan, organized conferences and seminars, defended the human rights of Kurds in the conferences it participated in, and exposed the oppression and persecution of the Kurdish people by the Turkish state to the international public opinion.

### **Legalization Process**

As we have stated before, illegality was not the choice of our Party. The PSK was organized illegally due to the conditions of the period it was founded. However, going legal with its own name and program and continuing the struggle in the legal field has always been on our agenda.

The issue of legalization came to the agenda in the congresses we held since 1995. In the evaluations made, it was concluded that the conditions were not suitable for legalization and it was decided to maintain the illegal structure.

Our 10th congress in 2014 was a congress where the issue of legalization was discussed and the issue was concluded.

In the meantime, important developments in Turkey and the region came to the agenda. Turkey had taken some positive steps towards democracy in its EU accession process. A solution process had been initiated in the context of the Kurdish issue. The silencing of arms with the PKK was on the agenda. Relations between Turkey and the government of Southern Kurdistan were on a positive course. In the discussions before and during the congress, a general consensus was reached on these developments. In light of all the discussions and interactions, the 10th Congress voted to legalize the PSK. Our 10th Congress also drew a road map for legalization and charged the Central Committee (CC) elected at the congress with this task.

The Central Committee of the PSK prepared a roadmap for the legalization decision taken at the 10th Congress and in this direction, the legal establishment of the PSK took place on May 30, 2016.

After May 30th, a new and different era began for our Party.

Our Party continued its struggle with the same understanding after its legalization; it continues. It preserves its Kurdish structure. Our insistence on the peaceful solution of the Kurdish question and the importance we attach to democratic struggle and civil society activities continue to increase and become more colorful.

PSK is aware of the multi-colored and multi-voiced structure of Northern Kurdistan. It knows that the cooperation and joint struggle of Kurdish patriotic forces around common goals is the key to the solution of the Kurdish question and acts accordingly.

In the last 8 years, our efforts, known as "5 Qolî, 4 Qolî, 3 Qoli", to establish broad-based cooperation with Kurdish parties and political structures, have prepared a positive ground for the future, even if they have not yielded permanent results for now.

National democratic demands such as the recognition and constitutional guarantees for Kurdish language and identity, the acceptance of Kurdish as the official language of education and education, the withdrawal of reservations on the Kurdish question in international agreements signed by the Turkish Republic, the disclosure of the burial places of executed Kurdish leaders, and the return of Kurdish names that have been Turkified have become the common goals of all political parties and structures in Northern Kurdistan. Our party is sincere and determined for the unity of the Kurdish patriotic movement on the widest scale in order to realize these demands.

In its last eight years in the legal process, the PSK has taken sides in the local and general elections held in Turkey, and has chosen its side in favor of democracy and change. It used the electoral grounds for the expression and expansion of national democratic demands and fielded independent candidates together with PAK in the local elections held in 2019.

PSK's national responsibility and constructive attitude towards other parts of Kurdistan continues, and it maintains its warm and sincere relations with political organizations in these parts.

Together with other Kurdistan structures, the PSK formed a support committee for the Kurdistan Independence Referendum held on September 25, 2017. The committee held meetings, organized conferences, visited political parties and active democratic mass organizations in Turkey in order to promote the referendum in Northern Kurdistan and Turkey and to gain support.

The PSK determined its stance on every political development in Kurdistan and Turkey, shared it with the public and took the necessary initiatives. The PSK celebrated Newroz, sometimes alone, sometimes together with other Kurdistan structures, and organized activities related to Martyrs' Day, the Halabja Massacre, the establishment of the Kurdistan Republic in 1946, and the World Peace Day on September 1st.

The Freedom Road caravan, which set out on the night between 1974 and 1975, overcame many obstacles and traveled a not-so-short road of ups and downs to reach today. From today onwards, it is determined to grow the Kurdistan national liberation movement without putting itself at the center of events and with the awareness of the multi-colored structure of our society.

PSK will continue to carry power and energy to the river flowing to freedom with great enthusiasm.

PSK strongly believes that victory will be achieved through joint struggle and a national understanding.

The PSK will continue its march to victory as a libertarian, national democratic party, leaning on the 200 years of struggle and heritage of our people and taking the wind of change in the world behind it.

Our realistic policies and the sacrifices of our comrades will be our greatest assurance today and in the future as they were yesterday.

On the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PSK, we feel Proud that We are on the right side of history.

We will surely win.

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Adakale Sk. Ozkazanç Apt. No 18/7 Kızılay-Ankara Tel: 0 312 232 232 30 31

[www.psk.org.tr](http://www.psk.org.tr) [psk-navend@hotmail.com](mailto:psk-navend@hotmail.com)