

Dossier

on the Assassination of Three Female Kurdish Politicians in Paris



Fidan Doğan

Sakine Cansız

Leyla Şaylemez



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I. Introduction

*Ladies and Gentlemen,
dear friends,*

On January 09, 2013, the three Kurdish activists Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan und Leyla Şaylemez were cold-bloodedly murdered in the Kurdish Information Centre in Paris. Sakine Cansız was a founding member of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and a leader of the Kurdish women's movement. Fidan Dogan was a representative of the Kurdistan National Congress (KNK) in Paris. Leyla Şaylemez was a 25-year-old activist of the Kurdish youth movement in Europe.

The way in which the course of events took place, including time and place, as well as the significant political activism of the murdered women suggests that this was an act of political murder and that it was committed by professional killers. On Saturday, January 12, 2013 more than 100,000 Kurds gathered from all over Europe in Paris, to protest against the killings of the three Kurdish politicians. French women's organizations, democratic parties, progressive Turkish, Armenian, Tamil, Basque etc. organizations and movements also joined the demonstration as well as the memorial ceremony in large numbers. At the same time, big protests also took place in all four parts of Kurdistan, Turkey and many other European cities.

Right after the discovery of the murders, yet before the French police or any other French authority published a statement, a spokesman of the Turkish AKP administration stated that the crime was probably an internal feud within the PKK. Shortly after, this unsubstantiated thought was spread by the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan, the Turkish and European media in manipulative ways, although Kurdish institutions objected the claims.

We, however, wonder why the Turkish government was in such a hurry to invent such an absurd explanation for the murder? Do the Turkish leaders quickly point a finger at others to divert attention from their own role?

In another statement, Erdogan admitted that the Turkish secret service had been watching Sakine Cansız for several months in France and that they had passed relevant information on to the French authorities. On a party event in Karabük, the AKP deputy chairman Mehmet Ali Şahin threatened that similar incidents could also happen in Germany in the future. Şahin said: „We repeatedly call it to the attention of the countries of the EU, France and Germany. You commit an error by protecting the terrorist organization PKK and its members. We said that this organization will be a plague to you, and so it is now. We said ‚you feed and breed the snake in your lap, but they did not take it seriously. Extradition requests were lodged. None were answered, no one was handed over. But now I fear that in the following days and weeks, similar incidents could happen in Germany. ‚(Cf. Turkish daily newspaper Radikal on 01/21/2013)

Although it is a positive development that a delegation of the Turkish state sought the dialogue with the imprisoned PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan on the prison island Imrali earlier this year, after one and a half years of total solitary confinement, however, one cannot not speak of a „peace process“ at the moment. While the Turkish government speaks of a „solution to the Kurdish issue“, politicians and the media of the ruling AKP party, and those that are closely affiliated with the sect of Fethullah Gülen, launch new smear campaigns against the Kurdish movement with targeted misinformation and slander. At the same time, the Turkish military expands its operations and attacks against the Kurdish People's Defense Forces in Northern Kurdistan and once again bombs the Qandil Mountains in Southern Kurdistan/Northern Iraq against international law. In the language of the Turkish government spokesman Besir Atalay, this is called an „integrative strategy“. I.e. while on one hand a dialogue is supposed to be held in Imrali, on the other hand arrests of Kurdish activists and intensified cross-border military and intelligence operations must continue. This attack and destruction concept goes against the process of transition to a democratic and autonomous self-government, which began in North Kurdistan (Turkey) and Western Kurdistan (Syria). Through years of work by the Kurdish freedom movement, Kurdish society has become an independent, organized and political power, and therefore, a key player in the Middle East. This model of democratic self-government is a source of inspiration for other nations in the Middle East as well. Since this society model is contrary to the profit and hegemonic interests of the Turkish and U.S. governments in the Middle East, they try to put the Kurdish movement and population in front of an unacceptable choice: submission or destruction!

How this concept is implemented now comes to light. In the recent months, the AKP had announced several times, that they intended to eliminate founding members and leading cadres of the Kurdish liberation movement

as part of their „solution concept“. This in turn provides evidence that the murders in Paris wear the signature of the Turkish Gladio, a NATO controlled extra-legal intelligence structure that operates on the mission to eliminate progressive left forces that pose a threat to capitalist interests. Zübeyir Aydar, a member of the KCK Executive Council, said that they hold information according to which already in 2011, execution squads had been sent from Turkey to assassinate leading personalities of the Kurdish Freedom Movement in Europe.

But the co-responsibility of the French state in terms of the murders in Paris should not be left unmentioned. Especially under the Sarkozy-administration, Kurdish activists and organizations were systematically criminalized and repressed. Nearly 200 Kurds were arrested because of their political activism. The most recent example is the arrest of Kurdish politician Adem Uzun in October 2012. This policy of France, as well as the criminalization of the Kurds' political activities by including the PKK on the EU's „list of terrorist organizations“, moved Kurdish activists in the firing line.

The elucidation of this political and inhumane crime and the identification of the persons responsible for the murder of Sakine Cansız, Fidan Dogan, and Leyla Şaylemez is a very important and sensitive issue to the Kurdish people and for us as women. As long as the French justice system has not exposed not only the killers, but also the dark forces and states that are involved in this political assassination, it cannot protect itself from coming under suspicion. Since this triple murder occurred in a Kurdish institution that was observed by the French secret service around the clock, the French Interior Ministry and the Ministry of Justice have the responsibility to clarify completely, how such a crime could occur.

In this context it is also worth noting that political assassinations and attacks on representatives of liberation movements strikingly accumulated in the recent history of France. To give some examples: On October 29, 1965, the Moroccan socialist opposition member Mehdi Ben Barka was kidnapped in the center of Paris. In the 70s and 80s, several Iranian opposition members and members of the Palestinian liberation movement were murdered in Paris; so, for instance, the PLO representative Mahmoud El Hamshari, who died in a bomb attack on his home in 1972. In 1980, the Syrian opposition member Salahaddin Bitar was murdered in Paris. Between 1983 and 1987 the Spanish paramilitary anti-terrorist units GAL murdered a total of 30 ETA members and Basque civilians in France. In 1988, the representative of the African National Congress (ANC), Dulcie September, was found murdered on the steps in front of the former ANC office in Paris; a report, published by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1998, found that this murder had been jointly committed by death squads of the Apartheid regime and French militia. On November 8, 2012 the chairman of the French section of the International Council of Eelam Tamils, Nadarajah Mathinthiran, left his office in Paris and was executed with gunshots. Hardly any of these political murders have been solved, let alone a conviction of the perpetrators. Significantly enough, police investigations and media coverage considered „internal feuds“ or „internal rivalries“ as the primary motives of these crimes in the most cases! This incomplete chronology illustrates the urgent need for an international, observant, and critical review of the state investigations of the offenders and the background of the targeted murder of Sakine Cansız, Fidan Dogan and Leyla Şaylemez on January 9, 2013 in the Kurdistan Information Centre in Paris.

We regard this cruel crime against three Kurdish politicians in the center of Paris also as an attack on all people who are committed to freedom, justice, women's rights, and democracy. Therefore, we call on all democratic institutions, political parties and people, feminist groups and women's rights advocates with the urgent appeal to support our request to the French government for a full investigation of these political murders and their backgrounds.

We turn to the media in particular with the request to contribute to informing the public truthfully by responsible reporting and thorough research.

We demand justice for Sakine Cansız, Fidan Dogan, and Leyla Şaylemez!

Cenî – Kurdisches Frauenbüro für Frieden e. V.

Düsseldorf, 22/01/2013

II. Who are the three murdered Kurdish women politicians?

II.1. Short Biographies



Sakine Cansiz was born in Dersim (Tunceli) in 1958. Having been active in the student youth movement in Elazığ, Sakine Cansiz joined the Kurdish revolutionary movement in 1976 and became one of the founders of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party). After attending foundation congress of the PKK on 27 November 1978, Cansiz was arrested in Elazığ and sent to prison together with a group of friends. She was subjected to heavy torture in the period of the 12 September military coup in 1980. Due to her courage and resistance she became a symbol of Kurdish women's freedom struggle. As a leading woman member of the PKK she gave a political defence before the military court in Diyarbakir. After her release in 1991 she continued her struggle in different places in the Middle East. In 1998 Cansiz gained political asylum in France, and then was politically active in several European countries on the Kurdish question and around women's issues, including in Germany, where she was briefly imprisoned in Hamburg. She was a member of the Brussels-based Kurdistan National Congress (KNK). Sakine Cansiz was an icon of the struggle of Kurdish women for liberation, both for the Kurdish population in Kurdistan and that in the Diaspora.



Fidan Dogan was born in 1982 in Elbistan (Maras). As a daughter of an immigrant family she grew up in France. Besides her works which mainly focused on Kurdish youth and women in Europe, Fidan Doğan also took part in diplomacy activities. Since 2001 she has been active in various areas of lobbying and campaigning work, and had also been the KNK representative in France for some years. In spite of her youth she was an experienced diplomat, active on behalf of the KNK in other countries beside France.



Leyla Şaylemez was the daughter of a family of Kurdish migrants originally from Diyarbakir (Amed). She was born in 1988 in the Turkish coastal city of Mersin, where she also spent her childhood. In the 90s her family migrated to Germany and lived for a long time in Halle. The experiences of her early years and the situation in her home country affected her deeply, and she gave up her architecture studies to devote herself entirely to political activities in the Kurdish women's and youth movement. She had been a youth activist in Europe for several years.

II.2. Sakine, Fidan and Leyla – Three beautiful flowers or “Terrorists” in a terrorist system

Article by Dilar Dirik

Sakine Cansiz is history. She is the embodiment of the feminist face of the Kurdish liberation movement. She is the woman that spat in her torturer's face, when she was in prison. She is the woman that did not scream when they cut her breasts. “As a militant of a just cause, I was ashamed to say ‘Ah’”, she said. She is the woman that did not betray her friends, even under the most severe torture. She is the woman with the scarlet-red hair. She was flooded with life, a fountain of love. She worked out every morning, she was an ethical vegetarian. She is the woman who, after all she went through, will go down in history as a firm believer in the just cause of the Kurdish movement, a person who never gave up on freedom. She is the woman whose passing away caused the deepest pain in my father's life. I have never seen him cry like this before. She is not a terrorist. She is a hero. She is the woman who was even respected by her enemies. Her soft eyes, and her beautiful smile in spite of all the horror that she went through were a source of encouragement and strength for an entire nation. Her death is a loss for humanity. How sad that the world only got to know her in death. The last time I saw her felt like a farewell. I am proud to have known a piece of history and I will never forget the last words she said to me...

I did not know Fidan Dogan, because for me, she was Rojbin. I first met her when I was in elementary school. My family and I fell in love with her right away! She was so vivid, she always smiled. Her voice is still in my ears. We called her “troptisha heval”, because she taught my sister and me a French nursery rhyme called “Trois petits chats”, three little cats. We didn't know what the words meant, but it was the biggest joy to clap our hands and laughing hysterically at the funny sound of the word “somnambule”, every time she played with us. My heart skipped a beat, every time I saw her. The last time we met was during the hunger strike in Strasbourg in April 2012. She was always so energetic, incredibly smart, and of course her smile was contagious. I would have hugged her firmer, kissed her, and I would have told her that I will never forget her smile, had I known what would happen to her in this city she so loved. She was buried on her birthday. But this just means that her death gave birth to thousands of Rojbins who will look up to her and keep her alive. She is not a terrorist. She is brilliant. She is our Rojbin...

I am sorry I never got to meet Leyla, or Ronahi, as friends call her. She was only a few years older than me,

and every single person that I know who had met her speaks so highly of her. She, too, is not a terrorist. She is one of us. I am sorry we could not share any memories, and I am so sorry she died so young...

The morning after the murder, I woke up to the horrifying news that these three amazing Kurdish women, activists for our people, revolutionaries, had been assassinated. We drove to Paris and back over night, where hundreds, if not thousands of people were mourning together. Sakine and Fidan's parents had flown in from Turkey. They were not in the community center by the time I arrived, but my mother told me that Sakine's mother mourned: „My beautiful daughter, you loved your people so much - that is why you died...”

On Saturday, we walked as Kurds, Turks, Armenians, Tamils, Basques, Palestinians, Germans, French, socialists, communists, democrats, trade unionists, feminists, humanists, mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, and friends, as humans, united as one, in the streets of Paris. You have to earn and deserve such a crowd, and so they did, our beautiful heroines! For once, we besieged the capitol of this country that once colonized us. There were flowers, flags, pictures, and candles at Rue Lafayette, a place that will be damned and haunted forever by the promise we gave our comrades. I had a breakdown when we went to the crime site. I had promised myself to stay strong, because our friends would not have liked to see us like that, but I couldn't help it. I still want to think that this is a nightmare, still want to believe that this cruelty did not happen.

The evil faces behind this murder did not “simply” take three precious activists of the Kurdish cause from us, the killing of women always means more. In a gendered war such as the war between the Turkish state and the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), the planned assassination of three independent and free women must be understood in terms of violence against women. Murdering women like Sakine Cansiz, Rojbin, and Leyla, who stood up for her people and for women, is not just a political statement, it is a patriarchal murder too - femicide!

(...) Our hearts barely recovered from the trauma of the massacre of Roboski, when Paris gave us a new wound. And every time, no matter how deep our pain, we are the “terrorists”. How dare anyone call these amazing, free personalities, admirable in every way, terrorists?

One time, a Kurdish newspaper in Germany was busted by the police. The police officers emptied the place,

even confiscated the flowers and plants. My father angrily asked one of the officers: "Is this flower terrorist, too?!"

We live in a scary system, a blood-stained, ruthless system that executes our most precious friends, our most fearless fighters, and with them, our hopes. In this system, right and wrong are artificially constructed, as we praise economic hangmen and their corrupt fortresses of gold as role models, and murder those who dedicate their lives to justice, freedom, and truth. Personalities and institutions that are responsible for the greatest wars in the world, either by active participation or silence, receive peace awards. This world congratulates white collar killers on their latest bloodshed, as they step on the podium that consists of the backs of the poor, while it scares dissidents with prison, torture, and death. When ten bullets fell in Paris, the cradle of revolution, the latest strike on our cause was launched, but our pain will strengthen our fight. We promised that.

People see the order of the Middle East endangered and the Kurds, the biggest losers of the artificial, inorganic structure of the Middle East, now emerge as winners. Of course those that benefit from the status quo feel threatened. To sum it up, Turkey is forced to negotiate with the Kurds, Syrian Kurds are on the rise, Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq is by far more prosperous and democratic than any other part in Iraq, and even Iranian Kurdish parties start to unite. But the same colonial forces from last century want to repeat history. As I am writing this text, the city of Kirkuk is under attack by the Iraqi army. West Kurdistan is invaded by the Turkish army. Kurdish activists in Iran are executed regularly. The West is Turkey's best pal and provides them with arms and feels no discomfort in looking the other way, while Turkey is the world champion when it comes to journalists in prison, when Kurdish children receive life sentences for throwing stones, when American drones are used to kill 34 innocent Kurdish villagers, and so on and on and on. We are used to that already. (...)

We don't want revenge, we want our human rights, and we want peace to come. Kurds are not the evil „terrorists“ the world wants them to be. Our cause is legitimate, our cause is just. In the recent years, the real faces behind random civilian killings in Turkey that were blamed on the PKK were revealed, and it turned out that the „deep state“ of Turkey was responsible for these incitements to increase tensions between Turks and Kurds. My father has been tortured in prison; his friends were abducted and killed under torture. He has not seen his village in over 18 years. He has never held a gun in his hands, but they call him a "terrorist". These are no Hollywood stories; these are real tragedies that every Kurd in every part of Kurdistan knows individual and unique stories about. We are the nation

that chants slogans at our funerals. We are the nation whose members, male, female, young, old, can give you an accurate definition of the word "fascism", based on personal experience. We are the nation that has made several states finally agree on something: namely that no matter what, Kurds must lose. We are Seyh Said. Halabja. Sivas. Maras. Zilan, Dersim. Roboski. We are countless deaths. I am against war, but the PKK is the self-defense of the Kurds, it is a natural response, an outcome of all the pain the Kurds have suffered. It is the result of international policies that criminalize every step that Kurds make. It is a response of solidarity with cultural and physical genocides, great minds in torture dungeons, jailed parliamentarians, beaten mothers on peace protests, assassinated authors, fearless hunger strikers. Our existence has been denied by imperialist forces, who have shed the blood of our people with their tanks, and bombs and torturer minds, but who complain, when the Kurds decide that it would be just fair to raise a guerrilla army to defend oneself against more national trauma. The word „terror“ has a lot to do with who is in power and who opposes the status quo that always benefits the same powers. A monopoly on the term "terrorism" is an inadequate and empty notion, especially when the greatest anti-terror agents have the dirtiest hands themselves. How fast do people forget the spectacular alliances between the US and first-class dictators when it fits them? How fast people forget all the abducted people that mysteriously died, because they were killed by the Turkish state. How fast people in Europe forget that the reason their countries host so many asylum-seeking Kurds is that their governments sell weapons to Turkey, while their politicians superficially criticize this ally that they hold closest to their hearts. How fragile is history's memory. Organizations that are seen as terrorist can be scratched off the terror list with only one signature, once it fits the new political situation of the big players. If you are a Kurd, a thought crime makes you terrorist in Turkey. A stone-throwing elementary school kid is a terrorist. Ugur Kaymaz, a twelve-year old boy who went shopping with his father and was bloodily murdered was a terrorist. (...) The bullets on Sakine, Rojbin, and Leyla hit all of us! The bombs of Roboski rained on all of us. We can no longer tolerate another loss. Our anger and pain must be channeled into activism. It is the time to realize that the fight must continue, we claim the death of these women as our responsibility to continue our struggle, because they did not die in vain. Sakine. Rojbin. Leyla. They will live forever. They dedicated their lives to our freedom and for peace in Kurdistan. (17/01/2013; see the full article: http://dilar91.blogspot.co.uk/2013/01/three-beautiful-flowers-in-paris_17.html)

III. First statements after the assassination:

III.1. Statement by Kurdistan National Congress UK and Peace in Kurdistan Campaign

This brutal execution of Kurdish women activists is a cynical attempt to derail the peace process that won't succeed!

In the early hours of Thursday morning, in the heart of Paris, an appalling crime was perpetrated against the entire Kurdish nation: the cold-blooded murder of three of our most dedicated Kurdish women activists. The victims represent three generations of Kurdish women; the most senior victim was Sakine Canziz, a founder member of the Kurdistan Workers' Party, PKK, who has since been playing a crucial role in the Kurdish women's movement; Fidan Dogan (Rojbin) who was a member of the Kurdistan National Congress and the youngest casualty, Leyla Soylemez, an activist working on diplomatic relations.

All had dedicated their lives to the achievement of a lasting peace settlement between Turkey and the Kurdish movement and at the time of their brutal deaths were just about to see all their efforts come to fruition with the reopening of peace talks between representatives of the Turkish government and the leader of the Kurdish people, Abdullah Ocalan. (...)

News of the killings was met with universal shock and

horror. The French President Francois Hollande described the killings as „horrible“, while the country's Interior Minister Manuel Valls expressed the view that the manner of their deaths was „surely an execution“. (...)

It is clear that the executions were carried out by a professional assassin and the incident can only be interpreted as an act of provocation designed to derail the emerging peace process; since it surely can be no coincidence that the murders came within hours of the announcement of peace talks between Turkey and Mr Ocalan. (...)

There can be no rest until the culprits of the execution of our sisters and comrades are tracked down and brought to justice. The French authorities and all their European counterparts have a duty also to support the peace process to which they can most constructively contribute by removing the obstacles that they have placed in its way, primarily by ending the criminalisation of the Kurdish community through the delisting of the PKK as a terrorist organisation and specifically in the case of France, the authorities should release the leading Kurdish peace activist and KNK representative Adem Uzun, who was arrested in Paris in October 2012. (10/01/2013)

III.2. Statement by the People's Confederation of Kurdistan (KCK)

One of the founder of our party PKK, the elite and advance guard of our movement, a symbol of dignity and resistance, the head cadre representative immovable will of Kurdish women, comrade Sakine Cansız (Sara), Representative of KNK in Paris, the talented diplomat of Kurdish people, indomitable militant of our freedom movement comrade Fidan Doğan (Rojbin) and the loyal, talented militant of Youth Movement comrade Leyla Şaylemez (Ronahî) were slayed yesterday. We condemn this brutal murder vehemently. This is a great loss and overwhelming pain for our movement, our people and women of Kurdistan. We up bear the martyrdom of Comrade Sakine Cansız who carried out various administrative tasks in almost every period of our movement and became the indomitable head militant of Kurdish People and Women Freedom Movement, member of Assembly of PKK and the member of PAJK Coordination and, comrades Fidan Dogan and Leyla Şaylemez. Our fundamental responsibility to all our martyrs is following their ideologue and to be bound to their memories until the last drop of our blood.

Comrade Sakine deliberately targeted, the massacre was organized, planned and carried out very skillfully. According to the way the event occurred, this massacre was obviously held by professional forces competence at the international level. It is clear that the massacre carried out by the ones who do not want the new process led by Öcalan to be developed and Kurdish question to be solved. This is a massacre organized and implemented by the malicious ones who want the continuation of colonialism on Kurdish people.

It is also noteworthy the event took place in France where lately the Kurdish politicians were followed-up, unjustly arrested and imprisoned. Most recently, a well-known Kurdish politician Adem Uzun who was a member of Executive Council of KNK detained as a result of a conspiracy. So it is possible to consider a link between this brutal massacre and the detaining of Adem Uzun. Uncovering the conspiracy caused the detaining of Adem Uzun would be an important data for lighting massacre. Not to be accused of this issue, the French government definitely should reveal

the massacre. With the technological opportunities, the State of France can easily reveal this incident took place in the middle of Paris. If there is no complicity of some dark forces within the French government this massacre has to be revealed. The French Government can exculpate itself only if it reveals perpetrators of the murder. Otherwise the Kurds will hold French Government responsible for this massacre.

Right after the massacre was announced in the press, our people living within and outside the country poured into the streets with a great pain. It is also remarkable that while we were deeply suffering for Comrade Sakine and the other two talented politicians killed in a brutal murder, the deputy chairman of AKP Hüs-e-yin Çelik and their follower Turkish media groups served the news as the „internal settlement“ since the very beginning of the event. From the first hour Turkish state, government officials, and adherent media, boldly attempted to impute this massacre to our movement, namely on Kurds. This is a game of misdirection of the public opinion.

Continuously announcement of the same group saying: „there may be provocative actions“ is also remarkable. Performing such a psychological warfare cannot rid the both offenders and stronger Turkish state from being responsible for this brutal act of terrorism. It is clear that with guilt feelings the Turkish side attempts to cover the reality of the massacre and manipulate it.

The ones, who failed to slaughter the head cadres within our country, wanted to achieve their goals by martyrizing comrade Sakine in Europe. It is clear that the ones who especially targeted comrade Sakine and the other free women militants want to take revenge from freedom movement and Kurdish people. Because the Kurdistan Freedom Movement under the leadership of President Öcalan gained a high level and the Kurdish Women's Movement developed with the velour of comrades such as Sakine, Zilan, Bêrîtan and Nuda, takes a great position in this process. The important role of Kurdish women in President Öcalan's power and developing freedom movement is indisputable. The honesty, simplicity, stability and heroic life of comrade Sakine was an important point in this role to be played. The enemies of the Kurdish people, wanted to take revenge and sabotage the developing solution process by targeting women militants leading the freedom movement.

Even though it has an international background, we believe that this attack was done by the Turkish Gladio. This brutal and execrable attack only be made by the sadistic forces having racist and chauvinist feeling of deep state and grown by the Turkish colonialism. Organizing the event ingeniously indicates that it has

been done by Turkish deep state consist on international forces.

If the AKP government were truly sincere in solving the Kurdish question, it would ask for this incident to be revealed and waited for the result instead of performing psychological warfare and making black propaganda. However the government showed an opportunistic attitude.

We clearly announce it to all the public opinion, the ones who want to sabotage this process, are not those who acted in Cukurca, but the ones who slaughtered 10 militants of PKK including the Commander of Amed, comrade Numan in Lice on December 31, 2012. The Action in Çukurca was done by HPG militants as retribution. Otherwise there has never been a „multi-headedness or internal conflict“ as the Turkish state and the Turkish press expresses often. This is just and only a meaningless disinformation put forward by the Turkish office of psychological warfare. The assumption Turkish state explains the event as a result of an internal feud, in particular by giving the name of some of our friends, is not only distortion and lie, but also a great disrespect to our people and movement.

We call all national and international, democratic, peace supporters and conscientious districts to raise voice against this great disrespect and attempt of Turkey to cover this brutal massacre. We want all our friends to give a hand to reveal the incident. We call the French state to solve this heinous murder committed in the middle of Paris. We would like to emphasize that in case the government does not disclosure this event, it will bring the European law into disrepute and the government of France will be blamed for it.

This event is transferring the murders committed against our movement up to now, to an international dimension. Condemnation all aspects of this event and revelation of the killers, will also open a door to the democratic solution. Revealing this villainous attack will play an important role in getting success from the peace process initiated by President Öcalan and resolution of Kurdish question by attaining their legitimate rights. Revealing of those who became the obstacles in front of the solution within the System of Turkish state, will let development of a democratic solution.

Therefore, all our people within the country and abroad and the democratic-patriotic districts should claim comrades Sakine, Leyla and Fidan. First of all, it is very important that our all patriotic people and our friends in Europe to go to Paris claim our martyrs and rise voice for revealing of this massacre. On the other hand, it is a fundamental task for all people from Kurdistan within and outside the country and all peace

supporters to pour into the streets and upgrade the struggle against colonial-fascists those block the democratic solution for Kurdish question. On this basis we want all our people to claim our valuable martyrs,

to protest this monstrous massacre and not to leave the incident uncover. We call our patriot people to offer all its power to reveal this massacre.

KCK Presidency of the Executive Council, 10/01/2013

III.3. Statement by the Democratic Free Women's Movement (DOKH)

World history continues to host and bear witness to the massacre of Kurdish people. Comrade Sakine Cansız, the unprecedented representative of the women's resistance and leadership in the Kurdish Freedom Movement and the women's struggle for freedom, and a symbol of insurrection and rebellion in the Kurdistan's history, alongside comrades Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez, were murdered in a vicious attack in Paris. (...) As Kurdish women, we are fully conscious of the forces behind this massacre and the reasons for it. Responsibility of this assassination belongs to the approach of the government which openly states that "Both security operations and negotiations will continue." This conspiracy has not been developed independent of the wills of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), Europe and the French state. If there are claims to the contrary, the perpetrators behind this execution should promptly be exposed and held accountable to the Kurdish people.

(...) The assassination against Cansız, Doğan and Şaylemez is at once an assassination against Kurdish people and Kurdish women, as well as against peace and the struggle for freedom. We, as the Democratic

Free Women's Movement – DOKH make the promise that the martyrdom of comrade Sakine Cansız and her nurturing practice of resistance shall be our guide towards freedom, along with the memories of Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez that will be kept alive in our struggle. We are in endless grief, yet this grief and pain will not deter us, on the contrary, it will strengthen the will and determination that shall carry us to victory. By this account, as Kurdish women and Kurdish people, we call out that: "We have no tolerance any more!" No one may ever have the right to attack the national will and values of the Kurdish people. Kurdish people and Kurdish women, with their righteous struggle, play a crucial role in the world history of social movements. This fact should duly be recognized and respected.

(...) On this basis, we invite all the women across the world and the supporters of women's struggle for freedom to condemn this vicious attack and to join us in solidarity in our sites of action.

*Democratic Free Women's Movement (DOKH),
11 January 2013*

III.4. Condolence message by Abdullah Öcalan

Speaking to reporters after the meeting with his brother, Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan, Mehmet Öcalan said the Kurdish leader has condemned the killing of Sakine Cansız, Fidan Dogan and Leyla Saylemez in Paris on 9 January. Mehmet Öcalan conveyed his brother's condolences to the families of the three Kurdish women and politicians.

"He said the Paris killings are another Dersim Genocide", remarked Mehmet Öcalan and said the followings

about the Kurdish leader's message on the killings; "He said it is important to shed light on the killings as this will also help to progress the ongoing process of talks. He said this assassination was a message and that the perpetrators should be found out quickly. He added he would make a statement to BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) co-chairs about the ongoing process if they will have the possibility to meeting him in Imrali."

(source: ANF, BURSA 14/01/2013)



IV. Actions and Reactions following the Assassinations and Media Coverage:

IV.1. Statement by the Kurdish Women's Movement in Europe with Regard to Media Disinformation

On January 9, 2013, three precious comrades of our liberation movement were insidiously murdered in the Kurdistan Information Bureau in Paris. Our comrades Sakine Cansız, Fidan Doğan and Leyla Şaylemez are immortal as revolutionaries of the Kurdish liberation struggle and as leading personalities of the women's movement and the youth movement. This hostile attack on our comrades simultaneously expresses an attack on Abdullah Öcalan, the representative of our freedom struggle, and on our women's liberation movement. It is an attack on all fighting women and on all resisting and struggling people. In this sense, we condemn this massacre once again with anger.

After this massacre was committed and announced to the public, different circles expressed a wide range of assessments and evaluations. The first ones to release plenty of explanations and comments to the Turkish media and the international press were the representatives of the Turkish state, the Turkish Prime Minister and government officials. From our perspective, it is significant that these explanations and comments were articulated without evidence of any details of the crime, while the Kurdish movement immediately became the target of these accusations. It is obvious that comments and titles such as "internal feud within the PKK", "Murder caused by financial affairs in the organization", "Sakine Cansız was in disagreement with Öcalan and the organization" etc. do not serve to investigate the crime, but to cover it up. The fact that the PKK was targeted from the beginning and that campaigns to slander our murdered comrades were started, is an obvious attempt to disguise the real murderers and the guilty forces behind the massacre.

Our comrade Sakine Cansız was a leading revolutionary with her attitude and determination to resist, and she went down in the history of our people and our revolution. She became a symbolic figure with her principles and practice in the foundation of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and the women's liberation movement. She is a guiding revolutionary who was always fond of the liberation fight with her joyous vitality and great enthusiasm. Her attachment to Abdullah Öcalan is also undisputable. Our comrade Sakine answered every attack on our movement and the leadership of

this movement with an increased struggle, always and everywhere. The murder of our comrade Sakine was committed as part of an assault concept on leading cadres of our movement, induced by ruling powers.

Our comrade Fidan Doğan was active as a relentless fighter of our movement and the women's liberation struggle for 13 years. She successfully represented our liberation philosophy and politics, especially in the international realm and on important platforms. Not only did she report the legitimate fight of the Kurdish people, she also built many friendships and created great support from different circles and different nations for our struggle. The fact that hundred thousands of people participated in the demonstration to condemn the massacre in Paris on January 12, 2013, and that hundreds of people from different backgrounds shared our agony and pain are results of her work. Thanks to Fidan Doğan, these people became friends of the Kurdish nation and supporters of the legitimate fight of the Kurdish people. With her attitude, our comrade Fidan built a bridge of friendship between nations.

Our comrade Leyla Şaylemez contributed to the Kurdish youth movement as a tireless fighter. Her enthusiasm, joy, and determination made her a pioneer for many young Kurdish women.

The tradition of the women's movement that our comrade Sakine Cansız represents, was extended by our comrade Fidan, and conveyed to the present and future by our comrade Leyla. They became a symbol of our liberation movement and the determined attitude of Kurdish women of three generations.

It is obvious that this massacre on the heart and the mind of the Kurdish liberation movement goes against the line and the ideology of our women's liberation movement. Therefore, all speculations and denigrations concerning this massacre serve the same purpose. However, none of these denigrations and manipulations will achieve their aim. The fights of our comrades, Sakine, Fidan, and Leyla will live on in the struggle of the women's liberation. As we promised our comrades, we will hold on to our fight and free our nation, and the representative of the Kurdish people, Abdullah Öcalan. No attack and no defamation can stop us on our way to freedom.

This crime was not just committed against the Kurdish nation, but against the whole of humanity. Hence, we call all democratic and progressive people, and advocates of women's rights, to stand up against the instigations and slander campaigns, and to break the silence.

With great anger, we condemn this political assassination once more.

Kurdish Women's Movement in Europe (Tevgera Jinên Kurd li Ewropê – TJKE), 13 January 2013

IV.2. Worldwide Protest against the Assassination of three female Kurdish activists in Paris

After the murdering of the three Kurdish political activists Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan and Leyla Saylemez protest actions have been continuing in Kurdistan, European countries and other parts of the world. More than 100,000 people gathered for a march of grief in the French capital Paris. Already in the previous days in Paris and in other cities of France, like Strasbourg and Marseille huge protests were carried out, in which the immediate investigation of the massacre was demanded. In numerous cities of Germany like Kassel, Hannover, Berlin, Kiel, Dortmund, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Munich protest actions were held at the same weekend, participated by ten thousands of people. Further actions took place in Den Haag, Pisa, Melbourne, London, Innsbruck, Graz, Goteborg, Stockholm, and Madrid as well in several ci-

ties in Switzerland. In New York, New Jersey, Washington and Virginia Kurdish associations organized memorial gatherings.

Thousands of people demonstrated against the massacre in the autonomous region South Kurdistan and North Iraq, as well as in West Kurdistan (Syria). Also in cities of Turkey like Istanbul, Ankara, Adana, Kocaeli, Konya, Antalya, Manisa, and Mersin mass protests were held. Extraordinarily strong protests were witnessed in vast parts of North Kurdistan, e.g. in Amed (Diyarbakir), Colemerg (Hakkari), Sert (Siirt), Cizir (Cizre), Antep, Elih (Batman), Semsur (Adiyaman), Siverek, Riha (Urfa), Wan (Van), Begiri (Murradiye), Mus and Kele (Malazgirt).

(Source: ANF, 13/01/2013, ISKU)

IV.3. Hundreds of Thousands Demand Justice and Peace at the Funeral Ceremony

The anger and grief over the targeted murder of Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan, and Leyla Saylemez unabatedly continues. On January 09, 2013, the three Kurdish politicians were cold-bloodedly killed in the Kurdistan Information Centre in Paris. The Kurdish population in Europe and in all four parts of Kurdistan has ever since been in constant movement to call for the immediate solving of the murders and to pay the last tribute to the three politicians.

Last night, the bodies of Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan, and Leyla Saylemez have been transferred to the Kurdish city of Amed (Diyarbakir), accompanied by their family members and delegations from Europe. Tens of thousands had already gathered there since yesterday to honor the victims for their struggle for peace, women's liberation, and a political solution to the Kurdish question. Today, the shops in all towns of Northern Kurdistan remained closed, schools were boycotted. Following the call of the Democratic Society Congress (DTK), the Democratic Free

Women's Movement (DÖKH), and the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), hundred thousands of people participated in today's ceremony at the central Batikent square in Amed. As an expression of grief, the participants were dressed in black and, as a symbol of their demand for a just peace; they wore white cloths and scarves. After laying out the coffins, the ceremony began with a moment of silence for the victims. MPs and mayors of the BDP and representatives of the DTK expressed their grief over the murder of the three Kurdish politicians. (...) The relatives of Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan, and Leyla Saylemez told the assembled crowd that they will hold on to the fight of her children for peace and freedom.



Ahead of today's mourning ceremony, Turkish government officials and media had warned about „provocations“ and called for „prudence“. This call must be considered as a new cynical reaction of the AKP government. For, while the mourning ceremonies and protests of the Kurdish people

against the murder are distinguished by great respect for the killed women and their families, the Turkish air force bombed territories in South Kurdistan (Iraq) repeatedly for hours. Yesterday it was announced that at this - according to the Turkish military - biggest air assault on areas in southern Kurdistan, cost the lives of seven more people. Villages were bombed, homes of civilians were destroyed.

This moved DTK representative Ahmet Türk to pose a rightful question to the Turkish government in today's

rally in Amed: „What kind of prudence is this, by which the Kandil-region is being bombed?“

Tomorrow, the bodies of the three Kurdish politicians, accompanied by their relatives, delegations of BDP deputies, the women's movement and other organizations, will be transferred to their birthplaces in Dersim, Elbistan, and Mersin to be buried there in public. Tens of thousands of people are expected to arrive for the funerals.

*Cenî – Kurdish Women's Office for Peace,
17 January 2013*

V. Comments and Solidarity Messages

V.1. Comments of Politicians and Institutions

Selahattin Demirtas, Co-Chair of the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP): „No one should try to explain to us that the assassinations took place without the knowledge of the French intelligence. This is a busy avenue and no one can even use a pop gun here without the knowledge of the French intelligence. We expect the French intelligence to share all information and documents that they have on Wednesday's killings with the public as soon as possible.“

Remzi Kartal, leader of the KONGRA-GEL, Kurdistan People's Congress: „So far the Turkish government and media have done nothing except trying to cover up the killings, which makes the Kurdish movement and public opinion regard the Turkish government and state as some sort of an accomplice in the execution. (...) The timing of the killings, in the current process of ongoing talks for the Kurdish problem, shows that the assassination was planned by circles that do not want a solution to this problem. In this respect, the killings may have been planned by circles that we heard had sent execution teams to Europe back in 2011.“

Martin Schultz, President of the European Parliament: „The brutal murder of Kurdish activists Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan and Leyla Solyemez in Paris last week must not go unpunished“. Mr Schulz conveyed Parliament's deepest sympathy to the victims' relatives, some of whom were present in Parliament, and backed the French authorities in their determination to bring those responsible to justice.

Hannes Swoboda, President of the Socialists and Democrats Group in the European Parliament: „We condemn the cold-blooded murder of these three women and we expect the French police to make a thorough investigation and to bring the killers to justice. We send our sympathy and our sincere condolences to the families of the victims. The Kurdish problem can only be resolved by dialogue – not through violence.“

Marie-Christine Vergiat, MEP GUE/NGL: „I have no words to express the horror and sadness I feel about this crime. Rojbin Fidan Dogan was the first person to tell me about the Kurdish question. She was so full of life. I will never forget her smile. All my solidarity and sympathy goes out to the families of the victims. The Kurds are still paying a heavy price for their commitment to peace, but no form of provocation or assassination should be allowed to challenge the new negotiations between the Turkish government and Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan. Assassinations of this kind on French Republic territory are intolerable. The French authorities should make every effort to find those who are guilty and condemn them.“

Jürgen Klute, MEP GUE/NGL and Coordinator of the European Parliament - Kurds Friendship Group: „The three Kurdish activists murdered in Paris have worked for a long time with our European parliamentary group and we can bear witness to their firm and determined commitment to peace. (...) I ask the French authorities to shed light on this execution. They should also do everything in their power to protect Kurdish activists and put a stop to generally considering Kurds as terrorists, and once and for all recognise that the Kurdish community has worked tirelessly for peace. This murder has its political roots in those Turkish circles that are boycotting the current peace talks.“

STATEMENT BY THE EU TURKEY CIVIC COMMISSION, EUTCC: „(...) The assassination of the three highly valued female politicians is a coup against the organised negotiation talks taking place on Imrali between the Turkish state and the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan. The Paris-tragedy shows that the “deep dark forces”, the enemies of peace, are opposing the new political process to such a degree that they found it ne-

cessary to assassinate three Kurdish female politicians who were working for a solution and for peace. French authorities should immediately stop the criminalisation of Kurds working for a peaceful settlement to the Kurdish problem. The Kurds in France and in the rest of Europe constitute no threat to the authorities in the countries they live. On the contrary, they are working firmly towards a solution to the problems in Turkey and should be rewarded instead of being criminalised, persecuted, incarcerated as the Kurdish diplomat Adem Uzun, or killed. The reason of the killings and the forces behind are still to be unveiled – and they will be. These people should know that such killings or whatever provocation they might conduct in the future will not stop

the ongoing peace process. Even the deaths of Sakine, Fidan and Leyla will scare other Kurds to continue on the hopeful road to peace.” *10 January 2013*

STATEMENT BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL: “There must be justice for these apparently political killings – no stone must be left unturned in the investigation by the French authorities,” said John Dalhuisen, Europe and Central Asia Programme Director. “The Turkish authorities must cooperate fully in the investigation to bring those responsible to justice.” The killings come at time when the Government of Turkey and the PKK have begun peace negotiations. *AI International Secretariat, 10 January 2013*

V.2. Solidarity Messages

International Women’s Alliance (IWA), Liza Maza, IWA Chairperson: “The International Women’s Alliance (IWA) highly condemns the brutal premeditated murder of three Kurdish women activists yesterday in Paris. Sakine Cansiz, co-founder of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK); Fidan Dogan, Kurdistan National Congress representative; and young Kurdish activist Leyla Soylemez, were all shot in the head the early morning of January 10 at the Kurdish Information Center, in Paris, France.

The three women had been actively and courageously involved in the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and self-determination of the Kurdish people for years. IWA calls on the government of France to conduct an immediate and thorough investigation into their political assassination, and to ensure the quick delivery of justice to the three victims.

For years, the people of Kurdistan have been struggling for liberation and self-determination. The Kurdish people experience denial and violation of their most fundamental rights including the right to speak their own language and their way of life, most especially in Turkey, where they are subjected to political repression and persecution.

IWA reiterates its support to the Kurdish people and their struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and self-determination and calls on its members and allies to condemn the murder of Cansiz, Dogan and Soylemez, as well as the continued political repression and persecution of the Kurdish people.”

World March of Women (WMW), International Secretariat: “We have just started the year 2013 facing once again a case of violation against women and people’s struggle as a whole. At the same day in which

we are sending this message to you, the funeral of three Kurdish women is taking place: Sakine Cansiz, founder of PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), Dogan Fidan, KNK (Kurdistan National Congress) representative, and the activist Leyla Soylemez, were found dead on the 9th January, shot in the head, at the Kurdish Information Office in Paris, France, the country where they lived in exile. These three women put a face and name to all anonymous women who are fighting for the independence of the Kurdish people. (...) While the Turkish government speaks about negotiating peace, it actually is implementing a policy of physical elimination of leaders of the resistance – such as Sakine Cansiz, known for her resistance against torture in Diyarbakir prison during the military regimen – as well as the imprisonment without any evidence of trade unionists, parliamentarians, human rights defenders and journalists such as Pinak Selek and sisters of KESK (Confederation of Public Employees Trade Unions of Turkey), that we have been following in recent years.

We, the World March of Women, condemn this crime and denounce it as an attack against peace and the struggle for freedom at same time as we express our solidarity with the Kurdish women and people. On the 12th January we joined Kurdish protesters from various parts of Europe in a large demonstration in Paris to demand that the French authorities guarantee a thorough investigation and exposure of those responsible for the slaughter.

We are also present in the streets in Turkey, where we join our Kurdish sisters to affirm that our experiences and the memory of the martyrs will continue to guide us in our resistance towards freedom: “grief and pain will not deter us, on the contrary, it will strengthen the will and determination that will carry us to victory“.

GABRIELA Women's Movement, Philippines: "We just read about the murder of 3 Kurdish politicians in Paris, and we truly are shocked and outraged! This an attack directed not only to the three women but to the Kurdish people because these women represents the Kurdish people who are fighting for freedom and independence. It is an attack to the freedom of Kurdish women. (...) We are one with you in calling for justice."

European Feminist Initiative IFE-EFI: "(...) we strongly condemn this horrible act of violence. We strongly condemn all kind of violence used for solving conflicts. We denounce all strategies of eradicating the Kurdish question by repression against political and civil activists. As feminists and internationalists we express our pain from this crime, our refusal of impunity and our anger at political cynicism of governments for which Kurdish women and men activists for freedom, self-determination and human dignity pay with their lives."

Declaration of Solidarity from Bilbao/Bask Country: „Our pain is deep - our whole Solidarity is with you! Just now the message reached us, that in Paris three Kurdish women were murdered, under them Sakine Cansiz, who visited us in Bilbao in 2009, to inform us about the situation of women in the Middle East. What is now up to us is to continue her struggle. (...) Yesterday, we were on a big demonstration in Bilbao for the rights of the Bask political prisoners, with more than 100,000 participants carrying a banner and pictures of Sakine (...). We keep on supporting the freedom struggle of the suppressed nations and for the rights of women and all political prisoners worldwide. In our hearts Sakine will always stay alive.“

International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) Office of the Chairperson: "The ILPS condemns in the strongest terms the assassination of three Kurdish women political activists at the office of the Kurdish Information Center in Paris. (...) This political murder comes on the heels of the unlawful arrest of Executive Committee Member of the Kurdistan National Congress Adem Uzun in Paris last October. Mr Uzun was in Paris to attend a conference on the situation of Kurds in war-torn Syria. The ILPS supports the le-

gitimate struggle of the Kurdish people for national self-determination. We call on the French authorities to conduct a thorough investigation into the political assassination of the three Kurdish women activists and bring the perpetrators to justice. We call on the French authorities to immediately release KNK Executive Committee Member Adem Uzun from illegal detention. (...)"

Mr. Windel B. Bolinget; Spokesperson, Indigenous Peoples Movement for Self Determination and Liberation (IPMSDL): "We condemn in the strongest terms the killing of 3 Kurdish women activists. We demand immediate and impartial investigation and punish those accountable. Justice to the victims, their families and the Kurdish people! We are solidarity with the struggle of the Kurdish people for self determination and liberation."

BAYAN Philippines: "The umbrella organization Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (New Patriotic Alliance) in the Philippines vigorously condemns the assassination of the 3 Kurdish women activists in Paris recently. (...) Bayan calls on the the government of France to undertake a swift and thorough investigation and bring the perpetrators of this heinous crime to justice. Bayan urges the government in countries of Turkey,

Syria, and Iraq, Iran where there are Kurdish people to respect their supreme right to self-determination and to end the all forms of violence against them. Bayan likewise urges all freedom-loving groups in the world to support the Kurdish people's struggle to self-determination and thereby strengthen our ranks against all forms of reaction."



KMU - Kilusang Mayo Uno labor center, Philippines: "We express our heartfelt condolences to the families, friends and comrades of Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Doğan, and Leyla Saylemez. We condemn the assassination of the three Kurdish women political activists. Their death through guns with silencers at the office of the Kurdish Information Centre in Paris adds to the long list of brutality and discrimination against the Kurdish people.

We stand in solidarity with the struggle of the Kurdish people for national independence against foreign intervention. The economic exploitation and gross human rights violations – which includes assassinations,

massacres, warrantless arrests, and tortures – to which Kurdish children, women and men have been subjected to, must end. We call on the workers and peoples of the world to support the Kurdish people's struggle for self-determination.

Acts of terrorism such as that committed against the three Kurdish women will continue, and there will be no peace in Kurdistan as long as the US and European imperialists continue to reign in the Middle East. It is the imperialists who have been fuelling the different wars in the region through various means, including their unbridled support for the Turkish government's wars for its imperialist masters. (...) Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Doğan, and Leyla Saylemez' lives and struggles for the Kurdish people will be cherished by the workers and peoples of Kurdistan and the world who continue to hunger and to fight for genuine freedom, democracy, peace and justice."

International Association of Peoples' Lawyers (IAPL): "The International Association of Peoples' Lawyers (IAPL) condemns the brutal murder of three Kurdish political activists in Paris last Thursday. (...) Kurdish activist organizations fighting for liberation against Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria are criminalized and branded as terrorists, not only by the occupying

countries but also by the European Union and the USA. Right now, Kurdish activist leader Mr. Adem Uzun is still imprisoned in France and the head of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) Mr. Abdullah Öcalan is jailed in Turkey.

The assassination of the three Kurdish activists in Paris is most deplorable in the light of recent positive developments in earnest negotiations between the Kurdish freedom movement and the government in Turkey, which could pave the way for genuine and lasting peace in Kurdistan.

The IAPL supports the struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination against foreign occupation and for democracy against feudalism. Recent serious efforts towards these ends must be encouraged. The killing of activists, the branding of Kurdish organizations as terrorists, and the continued detention of their leaders run counter to these positive developments. The IAPL demands the immediate release of Uzun and Öcalan and all Kurdish political prisoners in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Europe. We demand an end to the criminalization and labeling of activists as terrorists. We call on the world community to recognize and respect the rights of the Kurdish people for freedom and democracy."

VI. On the latest developments and investigations:

Statement by the Federation of Kurdish Associations in France (FEYKA): Investigation of Paris Massacre is being conducted under the shadow of France-Ankara Cooperation

Some of the information leaked to the press, immediately after the massacre to the present day, are causing anxiety among us as Kurds because of the fact that the investigation is not carried out objectively.

On the morning of the day of the massacre (on January 10, 2013), before any proper information about the massacre has been announced to the public, AKP spokesman Huseyin Celik almost gave a clue regarding the direction that the investigation shall proceed by describing this massacre as "an internal feud within the organization". Even though there is a broad consensus that the Paris Massacre was a political murder and a provocative attack to prevent the peaceful solution of Kurdish problem; especially the fact that the news that are published in Turkish and French media, which are based on the French police and authorities and are clearing up Turkey while leaving just the Kurdish side as the sole suspect, has never been falsified is deepening our doubts that the investigation is not being carried objectively.

We will try to explain the situation with two concrete examples:

Lefigaro report, dated January 10, 2013 wrote: "To our knowledge, this three execution done in France was not conducted by the Turkish secret services but rather an internal feud within the PKK. According to the police, I don't believe that such an operation can be organised in France by the Turkish State. The co-ordination between Paris and Ankara regarding the police and the intelligence is working well. Information is being shared between Turkey and France Anti-Terrorism prosecutors. In this context, it is unthinkable, even absurd in the assassination of ..." (<http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2013/01/10/01016-20130110ARTFIG00423-trois-militantes-kurdes-abattues-a-paris.php?cmtpage=8>)

The following news took place in Star newspaper, which is part of Turkish press, on January 20, 2013: "After the murder of 3 women members of PKK in Paris,

the French Intelligence Unit has determined the event as “an internal feud within the organisation” in a foreknowledge note sent to Ankara. During the investigation of assassination, the flow of information between Paris and Ankara was carried out between the security forces and the intelligence agencies, very important information regarding the relations of the two people who were detained to the organization.” (Star Newspaper, 20 January 2013) (<http://haber.stargazete.com/guncel/paris-cinayetlerinde-flas-gelisme/haber-720999>)

We expect answers from French authorities to the following questions:

- 1) How can the units conducting the investigation absolve Turkey that is in a suspect position before concluding the investigation and proving Turkey's innocence?
- 2) How come collaboration can be built with a country, which is in the position of the usual suspect, and share the information that not shared even with the victims' families and lawyers yet?

In order to make our concerns more comprehensible, we find it beneficial to release some data related to the investigation to the public:

- 1) In the investigation file opened against Kurdish politicians and activists in France in 2009, Sakine Cansiz is pointed out as a senior authority.
- 2) In the Wikileaks documents reflected to the public, it is seen that US particularly focuses on Sakine Cansiz: “ In the secret crypto dated 7 December 2007 written by Ankara Ambassador Ross Wilson himself to the Foreign Ministry of US Embassy in Ankara and to the Embassy in Baghdad, the following expressions have been used: First of all, you have to identify and stop the PKK's cash flowing to Northern Iraq. This requires a common oriented co-operation within US, Iraq and Europe authorities to develop their airport searches, more comprehensive custom procedures and against the Northern Iraq and the cash flow between Northern Iraq institutions and PKK. Secondly, we will push Turks to identify and stop active financial flow. The Financial Crimes Investigation Board (MASAK) is the only investigation institution of Turkey, which investigates the finance and money laundering of terrorism. They have to make their investigations more efficient and financial police, prosecutors and judges have to work more effectively for successful prosecutions. Thirdly, we need to work with Europeans more seriously. We need to direct our efforts towards identifying and blasting two high targets Riza Altun and Sakine Cansiz away. In order to assure the imprisonment of these two terrorists, we can help the law practitioners and our intelligence in Europe by presenting our most comprehensive files to them.”

3) On March 2007, in parallel with Turkey's international arrest warrant Sakine Cansiz was taken into custody in Hamburg, but was released due to the lack of evidence on 16 April 2007.

4) The Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan speaking at the General Assembly of Anatolian Tigers Business Association (ASKON) made striking comments about 3 PKK women activists killed in Paris as: “ We sent a message to the Interpol in France for the last time on 5 November 2012 and reported that the terrorist was in Paris. Unfortunately, France has not taken any steps (...)”

5) According to the information we have reached, a few days before the massacre, Sakine Cansiz makes a call to one of her acquaintances with a German telephone number, however, the number in the telephone of that Cansiz called appears as a French telephone number. This issue meaning the fact that Sakine Cansiz's telephones were listened and directed should be investigated and clarified by the investigation teams.

6) Sakine Cansiz's last arrival date to France was three days before the assassination (She enters France on 6 January). As such a professional assassination cannot be planned spontaneously in three days time, it can be concluded that this massacre was planned long before.

7) The surrounding of Kurdistan Information Centre (CIK) building was monitored by the cameras (For example there is a camera in Carrefour shop which is across the office and this camera can monitor the entrance of the office.) The teams conducting the investigation have not made any explanations regarding this matter so far which is incomprehensible for us.

In the light of above information and data listed above, Sakine Cansiz is a well-known Kurdish politician and PKK senior executive by European state institutions such as intelligence, security, Interpol and Europol. Despite this, how come the massacre plan has not been noticed and prevented in advance?

Kurdish institutions have provided all sorts of information and help available, and assisted to the investigation teams as much as possible in order to clarify this massacre. On the other hand, they have never leaked any information to the public with the concern that it might affect the investigation. The police would, of course, confirm this fact. We would like to express that we approach to this event with the awareness of how important and sensitive the matter is; and we expect the same sensitivity from the press too, starting with the investigation teams and the French authorities. (20/01/2013)

VII. Campaign:

We Demand Justice for Sakine, Fidan and Leyla!

On 9 January 2013 an atrocious crime was committed in the center of Paris which has deeply shaken all Kurdish women's organizations and the Kurdish people, international women's organizations, women in many different countries as well as friends of the Kurdish people, progressive forces and the democratic public. Three Kurdish women politicians and fighters for freedom and women's liberation - Sakine Cansız, Fidan Dogan and Leyla Şaylemez - were brutally and dastardly murdered.

For the Kurdish people and especially for us as women the clarification and elucidation of this political crime is a very important and sensitive issue as well as the identification of the actual perpetrators of this massacre and any involved force. As long as the French justice system has not only exposed the killer pulling the trigger but also all dark forces and states that are involved in this political assassination, the French government cannot secure itself from being under a cloud. As this triple murder took place in a Kurdish institution that has been observed by the French secret service 24 hours per day, the French Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Justice carry the responsibility to clarify completely, how such an act could happen.

This cruel crime in central Paris concerns all people fighting for freedom, justice, women's rights and de-

mocracy. Women, peoples and progressive political forces from all over the world have called for an immediate clarification of the killings.

Ceni - Kurdish Women's Office for Peace calls upon the French government with the demand: „We want justice for Sakine, Fidan and Leyla!“ Until this crime has been solved and enlightened we will keep on sending letters, faxes, e-mails and postcards with our demands to the French prime minister, the Minister of the Interior and Minister of Justice. We call on all democratic institutions, political parties and individuals; feminist groups and women's rights defenders; internationalists, Kurdish women and the Kurdish people to participate in this campaign by sending, letters, faxes, e-mails and postcards requirements as outlined below (preferably in French) to the representatives of the French Government.

Postcards can be ordered at our office. Please, indicate the number of cards and your postal address.

In solidarity,

*Ceni – Kurdish Women's Office for Peace
Düsseldorf, 21/01/2013*



Sample text in English

We demand justice!

To the French Government
To the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Interior

On 9 January 2013, three Kurdish politicians and fighters for women's rights, Sakine Cansiz, Fidan Dogan and Leyla Şaylemez, were callously and maliciously murdered in the centre of Paris. It is your responsibility to conduct a full-scale investigation into these political killings and bring the perpetrators to justice.

We call on you:

- To identify those responsible for the murders and bring them to justice!
- To uncover and condemn those persons and state forces who are complicit in this crime!

- To stop the politically motivated criminalisation of Kurdish associations and the arrest of Kurdish political activists in France!
- The French government must change its anti-Kurdish policies and de-proscribe the PKK from the "list of terrorist organisations"

Yours sincerely,

Name:

Place:

Date:

Sample text in French:

Nous voulons la justice!

A l'attention du gouvernement français,
A l'attention des Ministres de l'intérieur et de la justice,

Le 9 janvier 2013, trois politiciennes kurdes, Sakine CANSIZ, Fidan DOGAN et Leyla SAYLEMEZ ont été exécutées dans les locaux du Centre d'Information du Kurdistan (CIK), situé en plein centre de Paris. Vous avez le devoir immédiat de faire lumière sur ces assassinats et de juger les coupables.

Nos revendications:

- La condamnation immédiate des assassins et responsables de ce crime politique!
- La lumière sur les forces obscures et les Etats qui se cachent derrière ce massacre!

- Fin aux arrestations et aux pressions faites aux politiciens et aux associations kurdes!
- L'abandon par la France de sa politique anti-kurde et le retrait du PKK (Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan) de la liste des organisations terroristes.

Respectueusement,

Nom:

Lieu:

Date:

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Minister of Interior:

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Our Demands:

- The murderer(s) as well as involved forces or states must immediately be indentified and brought to justice!
- The political repression against Kurdish associations and the imprisonments of Kurdish political activists must be abandoned immediately!
- France, Germany and the EU must step back from their anti-Kurdish politics, including the abrogation of the PKK-ban and deleting the PKK from the “list of terrorist organizations”!
- The Kurdish politician Adem Uzun who is illegally imprisoned in France and all other political prisoners must be released promptly!
- End femicide and the genocide against the Kurdish people!
- Freedom for Abdullah Öcalan - Peace in Kurdistan!

