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BROADCASTING POLICY OF THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION PKK IN KURDISH NATIVE LANGUAGE

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Abstract

The terrorist organization PKK had believed that it could implement its founding basis which was "Foundation of Independent United Kurdistan" on the soil of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, solely through armed actions and exploited Kurdish people to supply its need of armed personnel and gain the grassroots support.

However after suffering huge casualty in 1994, the terrorist organization PKK realized that it could not accomplish its founding basis just through armed actions and attempted to shift its actions to field of politics through support from various European countries. In this context especially since 1995, the terrorist organization PKK began to employ Kurdish language as an effective means of propaganda to recruit armed personnel and also to gain political acquisition.

The people who just wanted to watch programs in Kurdish language were exposed to propaganda of PKK because of MED TV's broadcastings - the first TV station in Kurdish language, started to broadcast from England on the May 15, 1995 - and thus terrorist organization PKK widened its potential substructure. Broadcasting in Kurdish has played a key part in this process.

Keywords: Terrorist Organization PKK, Kurdish Language, Broadcasting in Kurdish Native Language.

1. Introduction

Terrorist organization PKK in its foundation phase believed that it could accomplish its founding basis just through armed actions and exploited Kurdish people as a means of propaganda to recruit armed personnel and also to gain grassroots support in this period. However after suffering high number of casualties in 1994 (Özcan, 2001) terrorist organization PKK realised that it would not reach its goals just through armed actions (Laçiner 2010a) and need to have a noticeable presence in the field of politics. Since 1995, it has started to follow a Kurdish policy in guidance of Kurdish diaspora which will allow it to recruit personnel for its actions and also to gain political acquisition. MED TV, the first TV station in Kurdish language, started to broadcast from England on the May 15, 1995 (Laçiner 2010a), as one of the first steps of terrorist organization PKK's Kurdish policy and the people who just wanted to watch programs in Kurdish language were exposed to propaganda of PKK because of MED TV's broadcastings and thus terrorist organization PKK widened its potential substructure (Laçiner 2010b).

One of the political acquisitions that terrorist organization PKK has been trying to accomplish with its Kurdish policy is "Foundation of Independent United Kurdistan" through the one language – one nation – one state (Virtanen, 2006: 148) direction. Another political acquisition goal is to win minority status for the people from Kurdish origin and thereby to actualize the "Building of Kurdish Nation" (Çevik 2013) with the help of concessions within minority rights (Çevik 2013; GNAT 2014:2-3).

Many nationalist scholars suggest that unification of language is a necessity to name a community as a nation (Erözden 2013: 133). However, assuming that unification of language or redefining a community as a nation and using these as a justification to get rights to found a state is not realistic (Erözden 2013: 137). Unification of language and culture which is the fundamental criterion of terrorist organization PKK's process of "Building the Kurdish Nation" has been tried to be achieved by MED TV operation and standardization of Kurdish language has been seen as MED TV's one of the most crucial function (Laçiner 2010b).

Language is one of the fundamental requirement and natural outcome of cohabitation. There are several definitions of language emphasizing its facilitation to express oneself (Atmaca 2004: 15), to unify a nation (Ergin 1994:7), to be the strongest bond to build a nation in addition to expressing oneself (Aksan 2009: 55, 13), to be the vital component of civilization (Gencan 1979: 11) and to supply identity (Sadoğlu 2010: 1). Besides these definitions, W. von Humboldt who highlighted the national and cultural side of language by saying "people's language is their soul and their soul is their language" suggested that a nation's culture, and therefore lifestyle can be comprehended through language (Aksan 2009: 65). For

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instance, Turkish has a rich word stock for kinship and this shows the importance of kinship among Turkish people (Atmaca 2004: 39).

Dialect, regional accent and accent are the result of variety of spoken language in its field of usage. Dialect is a branch of language that separated from language in prehistory era and has a difference in pronunciation, structure and vocabulary. Regional accent is a branch of language that separated from language in known historical era and has a difference in pronunciation and structure. Accent is a regional differential of language and only differs in pronunciation. In the context of these definitions Cuvas and Yakut is dialect of Turkish language; Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Azerbaijani Turkish and Ottoman Turkish are regional accent of Turkish language; usage of Turkish language in Black Sea Region or İstanbul are accent of Turkish language (Ergin 2005: 10).

Crystal defines dialect in more general terms and names them as dialect if people of that language can communicate mutually. For instance the Swedish, Dansk and the Norwegian language should be defined as dialect due to this definition because people who use these three language can mostly understand each other, but they are accepted as different languages due to political reasons (2010: 21).

Native language is the language that is learned initially form mother and immediate family area and subsequently from associated milieu; it establishes itself in one's subconscious and forms the strongest bond to community of a person (Aksan, 81). Mother, immediate family area and associated milieu are the key factors in the process of learning the native language.

Instead of presenting one definition for native language, Skutnabb-Kangas first sets out four different criteria and then defines four different definitions based on these four criteria. The definitions based on these criteria are below (1981: 18):

Native language can differ for a person according to different definitions based on different criteria and can change during a lifetime (except origin criterion). Skutnabb-Kangas gives herself as an example. Her native language should be Finnish and Swedish based on origin criterion because her parents spoke Finnish and Swedish in her infanthood; should be Finnish based on ability criterion because she speak Finnish better than Swedish (due to her education in Finnish spoken schools); should be Swedish and English based on function criterion because she speaks them both in her professional and private life; should be Finnish and Swedish based on position criterion because both she and the people close to her identifies her with Finnish and Swedish (1981: 18-19). Skutnabb-Kangas' native languages are Swedish and English based on function criterion, but in case of moving to a place where another language is spoken instead of English, she will depart from speaking English and along with using the other language her native language will change from English to that language based on function criterion.

Considering these criterions, Aksan's definition for native language is based on origin. The process of learning native language (based on origin criterion) covers the first three to five years in post natal period and acquiring language is completed largely in this process. Therefore preschool period plays a key role in native language learning (Huber 2008: 78-79, 112).

There has been no agreement on the status of Kurdish language. Although Grand National Assembly of Turkey's presentation catalog for the deputies of period 21 did not include Kurdish language on grounds of being a regional accent (Hurriyet [web] 1999), 29 deputies were stated speaking Kurdish language, one was stated speaking Zaza language and six were stated speaking both Kurdish and Zaza languages in the presentation catalog dated June 28, 2010 for the deputies of period 24 (GNAT 2011). In this context it is understood that Kurdish and Zaza are accepted as languages. However Zaza is defined as a dialect of Kurdish language in the curriculum prepared by the Ministry of National Education for 5th grade (MNE 2012). Despite this and other opinions and approaches in general it is accepted that Kurdish language has three dialects which are Kurmanji, Sorani and Kelhur (Türkdoğan 2008: 150-151). Kurdish dialects are Kurmanji, Sorani and Gorani according to Hassanpour (2012: 50). Kurmanji, sometimes referred as Northern Kurdish, is the most common dialect in both Turkey and the region (Türkdoğan 2008: 150-151).

Terrorist organization PKK had abused Kurdish people only to bolster its "Kurdistan is a colony" thesis in its establishment period but since 1995 it has used Kurdish language as a political tool. The main reason of this shift was being unable to get the desired results despite the fact that its attacks had peaked in



1994 (Laçiner 2010a) and due to suffering from great casualties. The most clear indication of abusing Kurdish language as a political tool was accepting the artical as a main task for the organization in "Party Doctrine – Tasks for Kurdistan Revolution" section stating "To establish national institutions for education and culture in place of colonial educational and cultural institutions. To induce one dialect of Kurdish language as a national language. To rise the efforts for research and organization in Kurdish language, literature and history. To give the opportunity of being literate to every person in the community" (Özcan 1999: 368-369). It was the first time for Kurdish language to take place in main tasks and to gain first level priority. This shift was the beginning of attempts to gain benefits over Kurdish language besides armed actions. For instance, establishment of MED TV, the first TV station in Kurdish broadcasting from England, on the May 15, 1995 (Laçiner 2010a) was a part of this policy. A decision "to improve newspaper publishing in Kurdish language to unify national language" (Decision Regarding Media Activities 1995) was also taken in this convention.

There was no task regarding Kurdish among main tasks in "Party Doctrine – Tasks for Democratic Transformation" section approved in the 7th convention after the capture of its leader Abdullah Ocalan. However, there was an article stating "every kind of media efforts ... in Kurdish language ... should be improved and institutionalized. To mobilize all national forces and facilities in this regard" (PKK Doctrine 2000) in the "things need to be done" section which based on main tasks.

In this convention, it was stated that denial and annihilation policy which had been carried on Kurdish population was most evident in Kurdish language and literature; the praxis for democratic liberation could be achieved through spreading Kurdish education and literature to the public; and development of Kurdish education, broadcasting and literature was of vital importance in solving the "Kurdish problem". In this context, decisions regarding broadcasting in Kurdish language are below (KADEK Decisions of 1st Convention 2002): "To struggle intensively and continuously to free the activities ... broadcasting ... Kurdish. To make political and diplomatic struggle to lift bans on Kurdish language as a principal aim, to take praxis as a base on Kurdish language ... broadcasting ... activities within the existing facilities. To make the progress in this field as a basis to lift the bans, also to form a group of interpreters to translate qualified films and documentaries into Kurdish, to organize Kurdish language ... broadcasting ... activities in every aspects, to fortify Kurdish language position in media; to resolve imbalance in usage of Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages, to create an adequate level in activities in foreign languages.

There was no task description regarding broadcasting in Kurdish language among the main tasks in the "Kongra-Gel Doctrine-Tasks of Democratic Institution" section. However, there was an article stating "in Kurdish language ... every kind of media ... efforts should be improved and institutionalized; to mobilize all national forces and facilities" (Kongra-Gel Program 2003) in the "things need to be done" section which based on main tasks.

In this convention, improvement and perfection of Kurdish language was emphasized as an important struggle area and "To improve broadcasting in Kurdish language" (PKK Decisions of Reconstruction Convention 2005) decision was taken.

"Broadcasting in Native Language" is not an appropriate notion just like "Education in Native Language" because of the people it embraces. For this reason, recent initiatives for broadcasting in Kurdish language has always been introduced under the title of "Other languages and dialects that are spoken traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily life". Nevertheless, the notion is discussed under the title of "Broadcasting in Native Language" in the same way that the public opinion perceives the situation.

The process of broadcasting in Kurdish language began on August 9, 2002 when "Law on Amendments on Several Laws" became effective. There have been several regulations on the principles and procedures of this law until today. The regulations and applications are stated below:

The sentence stating "Furthermore, it can be broadcasted in other languages and dialects that are spoken traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily life" was added in paragraph nu.: 1 of article nu.:4 of "Law on Foundation and Broadcasting of Radios and Televisions" with the frame article nu.: 8 of "Law on Amendments on Several Laws" (Official Gazette 2002a) and thus the process of broadcasting in Kurdish began.



| CHART-1 | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Before Amendment | After Amendment | | |
| Article 4(1): "Radio, television and data broadcasting are | Article 4(1): "Radio, television and data broadcasting are done | | |
| done within the framework of public service and appropriate | within the framework of public service and appropriate to the | | |
| to the rule of law, the general provisions of constitution, the | rule of law, the general provisions of constitution, the | | |
| fundamental rights and freedoms, to national security and | fundamental rights and freedoms, to national security and the | | |
| the public morality. | public morality. It is essential that broadcasting be in Turkish | | |
| It is essential that broadcasting be in Turkish language. | language. However, broadcasting in foreign languages that | | |
| However, broadcasting in foreign languages that contributed | contributed to the universal culture and scientific publications can | | |
| to the universal culture and scientific publications can be | be done for the purpose of teaching these languages or | | |
| done for the purpose of teaching these languages or | transferring music or news in these languages. Furthermore, it | | |
| transferring music or news in these languages." | can be broadcasted in other languages and dialects that are | | |
| | spoken traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily life. | | |
| | These broadcastings can not be against to fundamental | | |
| | characteristic of Republic in the constitutional law and the | | |
| | indivisible integrity of the state with its nation. The principles | | |
| | and procedures on broadcasting and superintendence is | | |
| | governed with the regulation of Supreme Council." | | |

Source: (Official Gazette 2002b) & (Official Gazette 2002a)

"Regulation on Language of Radio and Television Broadcasting" which had been prepared based on the amended article nu.: 4 of "Law on Foundation and Broadcasting of Radios and Televisions" was published in Official Gazette. This regulation that specified the principles and procedures on broadcasting in Kurdish stated that (Official Gazette 2002c);

- Broadcasting in Kurdish language can be done only by TRT corporation,
- Broadcasting content will only cover news, music and cultural area,
- There will be no broadcasting for the purpose of teaching Kurdish language
- Television broadcasting will not be longer than 30 minutes per day and totally two hours per week; radio broadcasting will not be longer than 45 minutes per day and totally four hours per week
- Television broadcasting will be with Turkish subtitle and radio broadcasting will be followed by Turkish translation provided that content and time will be exactly the same

Another "Regulation on Principles and Procedures of Radio and Television Broadcasting" which had been prepared based on the amended article nu.: 4 of "Law on Foundation and Broadcasting of Radios and Televisions" was published in Official Gazette. This regulation stated that "Furthermore, it can be broadcasted in other languages and dialects that are spoken traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily life. The principles and procedures on broadcasting and superintendence is governed with the regulation of Supreme Council." (Official Gazette 2003a).

4th sentence of 1st paragraph of 4th article of "Law on Foundation and Broadcasting of Radios and Televisions" was amended as "Furthermore, it can be broadcasted by public or private radio and television corporations in other languages and dialects that are spoken traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily life." by the frame article nu.: 14 of "Law on Amendments on Several Laws" (Official Gazette 2003b) and thus paved the way for other corporations to broadcast in Kurdish beside TRT.

| CHART-2 | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| Before Amendment | After Amendment | | |
| Article 4(1): "Radio, television and data broadcasting are | Article 4(1): "Radio, television and data broadcasting are done | | |
| done within the framework of public service and appropriate | within the framework of public service and appropriate to the rule | | |
| to the rule of law, the general provisions of constitution, the | of law, the general provisions of constitution, the fundamental | | |
| fundamental rights and freedoms, to national security and | rights and freedoms, to national security and the public morality. It | | |
| the public morality. It is essential that broadcasting be in | is essential that broadcasting be in Turkish language. However, | | |
| Turkish language. However, broadcasting in foreign | broadcasting in foreign languages that contributed to the universal | | |
| languages that contributed to the universal culture and | culture and scientific publications can be done for the purpose of | | |
| scientific publications can be done for the purpose of teaching | teaching these languages or transferring music or news in these | | |
| these languages or transferring music or news in these | languages. Furthermore, it can be broadcasted by public or private | | |
| languages. Furthermore, it can be broadcasted in other | radio and television corporations in other languages and dialects | | |
| languages and dialects that are spoken traditionally by | that are spoken traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily life. | | |
| Turkish citizens in their daily life. These broadcastings cannot | These broadcastings cannot be against to fundamental characteristic | | |



| be against to fundamental characteristic of Republic in the | of Republic in the Constitutional law and the indivisible integrity of | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Constitutional law and the indivisible integrity of the state | the state with its nation. The principles and procedures on | | |
| with its nation. The principles and procedures on | broadcasting and superintendence is governed with the regulation | | |
| broadcasting and superintendence is governed with the | of Supreme Council." | | |
| regulation of Supreme Council." | - | | |
| | | | |

Source: (Official Gazette [web] 2002a) & (Official Gazette [web] 2003b)

"Regulation on Radio and Television Broadcasting in Other Languages And Dialects That Are Spoken Traditionally By Turkish Citizens In Their Daily Life" was published in Official Gazette and thus revoked the "Regulation on Language of Radio and Television Broadcasting". The new regulation which widened partially the principles and procedures of broadcasting in Kurdish language stated that (Official Gazette 2004);

- Broadcasting in Kurdish language can be done by other radio and television corporations beside TRT
- Broadcasting content will only cover news, music and cultural area,
- There will be no broadcasting for the purpose of teaching Kurdish language
- Television broadcasting will not be longer than 45 minutes per day and totally four hours per week; radio broadcasting will not be longer than 60 minutes per day and totally five hours per week
- Television broadcasting will be with Turkish subtitle or in the same way as radio broadcasting which will be followed by version in Turkish language, provided that content and time will be exactly the same.

First broadcasting in Kurdish language was the program called "Zenginiya çanda Me (Cultural Wealth of Us)" which broadcasted on June 9, 2004 by TRT 3 and TRT Radio 1 (Bianet [web] 2004). On March 23, 2006 Gun TV and Soz TV in Diyarbakır and Medya FM in Şanlıurfa started to broadcast in Kurdish language (Bianet 2006).

Article nu.:21 of "Law on Turkish Radio and Television" was amended by the framework article nu.:6 of "Amendments on Law on Turkish Radio and Television and Law on Foundation and Broadcasting of Radios and Televisions" which published in Official Gazette on June 26, 2008 as "... Broadcastings for open education and other broadcastings for the purpose of education and teaching can be done through the appropriate TV channel that has been assigned to TRT Corporation. The Corporation can broadcast it in other languages and dialects other than Turkish language." (Official Gazette 2008) and thus paved the way for TRT to broadcast in Kurdish language uninterruptedly (Progress Report Turkey 2008 2008). TRT 6 started to broadcast in Kurdish language for 24 hours on January 1, 2009 based on this amendment (TRT 2014).

| CHART-3 | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| Before Amendment | After Amendment | | |
| Article Name: "Broadcastings related to Grand National | Article Name: "Broadcastings related to Grand National | | |
| Assembly of Turkey" | Assembly of Turkey and open education and broadcastings for | | |
| | the purpose of education and teaching and other broadcastings" | | |
| Article 21: "Turkish Radio and Television Corporation Article 21: "Turkish Radio and Television Con | | | |
| broadcast briefly the work of Grand National Assembly of | broadcast briefly the work of Grand National Assembly of | | |
| Turkey in a evenly and impartial way. Turkey in a evenly and impartial way. | | | |
| Turkish Radio and Television Corporation can broadcast Corporation broadcast the work of Grand National As | | | |
| meetings (such as opening or oath ceremony) of Grand Turkey through the TRT 3 channel as GNAT TV. | | | |
| National Assembly of Turkey live. Corporation is subject to The issue that in what extent the work of Grand N | | | |
| the restrictions of bylaw of Grand National Assembly of | Assembly of Turkey will be broadcasted is decided by mutual | | |
| Turkey." | protocol of the Speakership of Grand National Assembly of | | |
| | Turkey and Turkish Radio and Television Corporation. This | | |
| | broadcast is free of charges. | | |
| | Broadcastings for open education and other broadcastings for | | |
| | the purpose of education and teaching can be done through the | | |
| | appropriate TV channel which has been assigned to TRT | | |
| | Corporation. | | |
| | The amount of charge is decided by the protocol that will be | | |
| | signed between Turkish Radio and Television Corporation and | | |
| | relevant institutions. The Corporation can broadcast it in other | | |
| | languages and dialects other than Turkish language." | | |



Source: (Official Gazette 1983) & (Official Gazette 2008)

"Regulation on Radio and Television Broadcasting in Other Languages and Dialects That are Spoken Traditionally by Turkish Citizens in Their Daily Life" was published in Official Gazette and thus the regulation with the same name and revoked the "Regulation on Principles and Procedures of Radio and Television Broadcasting" (Official Gazette 2009). This regulation terminated all restrictions on broadcasting in Kurdish language.

"Regulation on Radio and Television Broadcasting in Other Languages and Dialects That are Spoken Traditionally by Turkish Citizens in Their Daily Life was revoked by the "Regulation on Principles and Procedures of Broadcasting" (RTÜK 2011). There was no restriction on broadcasting in Kurdish language in this regulation.

Today 29 broadcasting corporations including one government – five satellite – six local TV station and one government – 16 local radio channel are broadcasting in Kurdish language (Ulucak 2013). List of these corporations are in Appendix-A.

2. Television Channels of Terrorist Organization PKK

Initiative of establishing Terrorist Organization PKK's TV channel was launched by the decision taken in the 3rd Convention carried out between March 05 and 15, 1994. In line with this decision, MED TV (Pirim and Örtülü 1999: 224; Laçiner 2010a) which established by an English citizen with Kurdish language origin began broadcasting on the May 15, 1995 (Kaya 2013: 219; Laçiner 2010a).

MED TV, presented as the first and only TV channel to broadcast in Kurdish language attracted the attention of Western world with its claims on defending the rights of minorities and representing all Kurdish people in world. MED TV put an emphasis on propaganda against Turkey and legitimizing terrorist organization PKK in the international area while taking advantage of this attention. MED TV made it possible for the leaders of PKK to address the organization. It targeted to constitute a potential in Turkey with its broadcastings for propaganda. Broadcasting in Kurdish language reached to the broad masses and thus contributed to the efforts to standardization of Kurdish language. This and similar consequences emphasized the idea that MED TV caused damage more than armed actions of terrorist organization of PKK (Laçiner 2010b). After the diplomatic attempts of Turkey, MED TV's broadcasting was suspended on March 22, 1999 and terminated on April 23, 1999 by ITC (Independent Television Commission) that is responsible for regulating broadcastings in England (Arapkirli 1999b).

On the other side, termination of MED TV did not stop the broadcasting of terrorist organization PKK. It started the initiative to broadcast from three different country and in three different time zone through three different channel. Eventually on the May 12, 1999, CTV (Cultural TV or Cudi TV) which would be broadcasting during the night time from Essex-England; on the July 31, 1999 MEDYA TV which would be broadcasting during the day time from Paris-France; on the June 17, 2000 METV (Mezopotamya TV) which would be broadcasting during the early hours of day from Copenhagen - Denmark started broadcasting (Laçiner 2010a).

CTV increased its broadcasting period from two to six hours and broadened its viewer capacity to 40 countries. CTV's programs that used to begin with Kurdish songs, frequently showed maps of southeastern part of Turkey united with the northern part of Iraq and included propaganda activities. CTV's broadcasting was terminated when MEDYA TV started broadcasting (Laçiner 2010a).

MEDYA TV increased its broadcasting period from 12 hours to full-time and its ratings in Turkey. MEDYA TV's broadcasting policy was almost the same as MED TV. As a matter of fact that almost all of the ex-employees of MED TV and CTV began working in MEDYA TV. Unlike other channels, MEDYA TV put emphasize on programs in Kurdish language and thus made a significant progress toward being the TV channel of Kurdish people in Europe (Laçiner 2010a).

METV (Mezopotamya TV) started broadcasting for five hours. Anker Jorgensen, the prime minister of Denmark and Lord Dholakia, a member of House of Lords of England participated to the inauguration ceremony of METV (Laçiner 2010a).



The lawsuit filed against ROJ TV, which followed a parallel broadcasting policy and Mezopotamya Publishing which was parent company of ROJ TV concluded on July 3, 2013 and court decided to withdraw the broadcasting licensee of ROJ TV for an indefinite period.

Afterwards, ROJ TV declared its bankruptcy on July 19, 2013 and MMC and NUCE TV, which were affiliated to the parent company, stopped broadcasting. Today, STERK TV from Norway and NEVRUZ TV from Sweden continue to broadcast (Davutoğlu 2013: 113).

3. Discussion and Conclusion

MED TV, presented as the first and only TV channel to broadcast in Kurdish language appeared in the Western world with its claims on defending the rights of minorities and representing all Kurdish people in world. MED TV administrators attended many meetings with the title of "only TV channel to broadcast in Kurdish language", declared themselves as the defender of minority rights and tried to win the support of the public opinion by criticizing Turkey's policy on Kurdish language (Laçiner 2010b).

Terrorist organization PKK followed its Kurdish policy actively both to recruit armed personnel and win the support of Kurdish people and also to gain political acquisitions. The people who just wanted to watch programs in Kurdish language were exposed to propaganda of PKK because of MED TV's broadcastings and thus terrorist organization PKK widened its potential substructure (Laçiner 2010b).

United language and culture which were the fundamental criteria of initiative of terrorist organization PKK to "build Kurdish nation" were tried to be implemented through MED TV and standardization of Kurdish language was considered one of the most crucial function of it (Laçiner [web] 2010b). It is not realistic to think that there comes no harm from the process of "building Kurdish nation" through Kurdish language to the national structure of Turkey. At the same time the people speaking the same language happen to resemble each other more, as mentioned by Ercilasun(1993: 78). So it is important to judge how many common bonds can survive in a community where Turkish people speak Turkish language and Kurdish people speak Kurdish language. Thus, it can be stated that TV channels originated from terrorist organization PKK give Turkey a great deal of harm.

Another point that should be asserted is the changes in Turkey's perception of Kurdish language. In the period before Turkey's initiative for Kurdish language, Kurdish language was considered as a threat to Turkey and Turkey only struggled for attempts to stop the broadcasting of MED TV, which was the first TV channel to broadcast in Kurdish language, and had its origin from PKK.

MED TV which started to broadcast on May 15, 1995 (Kaya 2013: 219; Laçiner 2010a) was terminated on April 23, 1999 by ITC due to diplomatic attempts of Turkey (Arapkirli 1999b).

The only counter measures against terrorist organization PKK's broadcasting in Kurdish language that Turkey took during this period was diplomatic initiatives to ban MED TV but that could not hinder broadcasting in Kurdish language or terrorist organization PKK's propaganda. CTV, MEDYA TV, METV (Laçiner 2010a) and ROJ TV followed the same broadcasting policy after MED TV. There are still STERK TV and NEVRUZ TV that act by the same line (Davutoğlu 2013: 113) and broadcasting of these channels can not be prevented for Turkish viewers. Laçiner stated that during the four-year old period of MED TV's broadcasting life, the viewer who just wanted to watch something in Kurdish language were exposed to propaganda of terrorist organization PKK and thus terrorist organization PKK widened its potential substructure (Laçiner 2010b). First broadcasting in Kurdish language was carried out by TRT 3 and TRT Radio 1 in Kurmanji on June 09, 2004 (Bianet 2004). TRT 6 has been broadcasting for 24 hours since January 01, 2009 (TRT 2014) and now TRT 6 is in the top 10 TV station that being watched in southeastern part of Anatolia according to Asst. Prof. Memet Metin Barlık who is a lecturer in Yüzüncü Yıl University in the Faculty of English Language and Literature (Şahin 2013). Today totally 29 corporation including 12 TV station and 17 radio station are broadcasting in Kurdish language (Ulucak 2013).

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| | | State Owned Channels | |
|--------|--|--|--|
| Number | Name of the Channel | Broadcasting Language | The Broadcast Permission Number / Date |
| 1. | TRT 6 | Kurdish | |
| | · | State Owned Radio | · |
| Number | Name of the Channel | Broadcasting Language | The Broadcast Permission Number / Date |
| 1. | TRT 6 | Kurdish | |
| | | Satellite TVs | |
| Number | Name of the Channel | Broadcasting Language | The Broadcast Permission Number / Date |
| 1. | Dünya TV Şehitkâmil / Gaziantep | Kurdish | Statement Number 5 on the meeting dated 20.07.2010 and numbered 2010 / 41 |
| 2. | Semerkand TV Sancaktepe / İstanbul | Kurdish, Arabic, Bosnian, English, German | Statement Number 6 on the meeting dated 02.09.2010 and numbered 2010 / 52 |
| 3. | Urfa TV Şanlıurfa | Kurdish, Arabic | Statement Number 9 on the meeting dated 03.02.2011 and numbered 2011 / 05 |
| | | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 13 on the meeting dated 03.08.2011 and numbered 2011 / 46 |
| 5. | Tv 10 Esenyurt / İstanbul | Kurdish, Zaza | Statement Number 10 on the meeting dated 28.02.2012 and numbered 2012 / 14 |
| | | Local TV Channels | |
| Number | Name of the Channel | Broadcasting Language | The Broadcast Permission Number / Date |
| 1. | Söz TV Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 8 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 2. | TV 21 Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 9 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 3. | Can TV Yenişehir / Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 10 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 4. | Amed TV Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 12 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 5. | Gün TV Yenişehir / Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 14 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 6. | Edessa TV Şanlıurfa Kirmanji, Zaza Arabic | | Statement Number 18 on the meeting dated 04.01.2012 and numbered 2012 / 01 |
| | | Local Radios | |
| Number | Name of the Channel | Broadcasting Language | The Broadcast Permission Number / Date |
| 1. | Can RD Yenişehir / Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 11 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 2. | Amed RD Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 13 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 3. | Gün Radyo Yenişehir / Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 15 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 4. | Nur FM Kayapınar / Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 16 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 5. | Cemre FM Mardin | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 17 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 6. | Çağrı FM Kayapınar / Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 18 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |

| APPENDIX-A | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|--------|----------|----|-----------------|
| The Channels E | Broadca | asting | in Vario | us | Kurdish Accents |
| | 0 · · · | 0 | 1 01 | | |



| 7. | Radyo Net Şanlıurfa | Kirmanji, Zaza, Arabic | Statement Number 19 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
|-----|--|---|--|
| 8. | Radyo Ses Mersin | Kurdish, Zaza, Arabic | Statement Number 20 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 9. | Aksa FM (doğan 21) Gaziler / Diyarbakır | Kirmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 21 on the meeting dated 23.02.2010 and numbered 2010 / 11 |
| 10. | Medya FM Şanlıurfa | Kirmanji, Zaza, Arabic | Statement Number 8 on the meeting dated 27.04.2010 and numbered 2010 / 24 |
| 11. | Yaşam Radyo Beyoğlu / İstanbul | Kırmanji, Kurmanji, Arabic, Laz, Assyrian, Caucasian, Armenian | Statement Number 4 on the meeting dated 20.07.2010 and numbered 2010 / 41 |
| 12. | Serhad FM Van | Kurdish | Statement Number 10 on the meeting dated 03.02.2011 and numbered 2011 / 05 |
| 13. | Botan FM Siirt | Kırmanji, Zaza | Statement Number 03 on the meeting dated 03.03.2011 and numbered 2011 / 11 |
| 14. | Radyo Selam (change) Diyarbakır | Kurdish, Zaza, Sorani, Arabic | Statement Number 13 on the meeting dated 03.12.2011 and numbered 2011 / 64 |
| 15. | Vuslat FM Seyhan / Adana | Kurdish, Zaza | Statement Number 23 on the meeting dated 21.03.2012 and numbered 2012 / 19 |
| 16. | 47 FM Mardin | Kurmanji, Zazaki | Statement Number 16 on the meeting dated 15.08.2012 and numbered 2012 / 46 |

(Ulucak 2013, personal communication)