

PKK

Kurdistan Workers Party

Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan

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Agenda

- **Orientation: Kurdistan**
- **Brief History**
 - **Abdullah (APO) Ocalan**
- **Revolutionary Theory:
Social Movement Theory**
- **Strategy:
Changes Over Time**
- **Operations:
A Comparison**
- **Tactics:
Maneuver and Maneuverability and Survivability**
- **The Insurgency as a System**
 - **PKK**
 - **PKK and Counterinsurgency Tactics**

“Whoever attacks you, attack him with as much force as he has attacked you.”
The Qur’an

“Like all Muslim peoples, the Kurdish people also have the right to be independent and free [and] to fight...Kemalism.”
The Kurdistan Islamic Movement (KIM)

“Today our struggle resembles the first days of Islam. At the end of our fight, we could achieve a situation similar to that of the Prophet Mohammad and his four caliphs.”
*PKK Leader, Abdullah (APO) Ocalan,
July 1994, Berlin*

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Orientation: Kurdistan



Kurdish Population, Estimated by Country

Turkey	13,778,783
Iran	4,831,324
Iraq	4,313,697
Syria	540,506

Estimates from The CIA Factbook

Map from www.economist.com, "An Ancient Tragedy"

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A Brief History of the PKK

- Movement began as a leftist student organization in the 1960s
- Formation of the PKK in 1978
- The underground and revolutionary terrorism
- Mid-80s formation of the Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK) and Kurdistan Popular Liberation Army (ARGK)
- Leader Abdullah Ocalan captured in 1999
- Sympathizers and continued terrorism

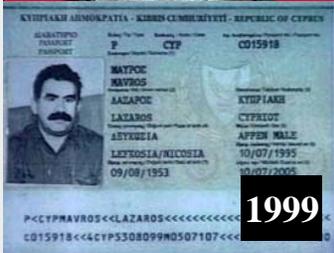
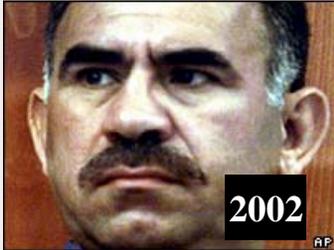


Pictures from:
The Council on Foreign Relations
www.attaturk.com and *The Economist*
www.aharunism.com (www.aharunism.com/pkk/apo1b.jpg)

The Economist

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Abdullah (APO) Ocalan

- Turkish Kurd
- Studied Marxism as student in Ankara, 1970s
- Founded PKK in 1978
- Consolidated party structure in early 80s
- Sought asylum all around the Middle East
- Captured by Turkish special forces in February 1999
- Appealing death sentence to European Court of Human Rights
- Resides in prison near Istanbul

Pictures from:

The BBC, www.ataturk.com, and www.CNN.com



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Revolutionary Theory: Social Movement

1. Political Opportunities

- 1960s Turkish Left begins movement towards Kurdish independence
- 1978 Foundation of PKK by Abdullah Ocalan
- 1980s “Strategic defense” period
Ocalan names himself undisputed leader of PKK;
Establishes the ERNK and ARGK
- 1987 Became better organized and gained thousands more supporters
- 1990s Change in PKK policies: from Marxist-Leninist to Islamic-based
- 1999 Ocalan captured and sentenced to death

2. Mobilizing Structures

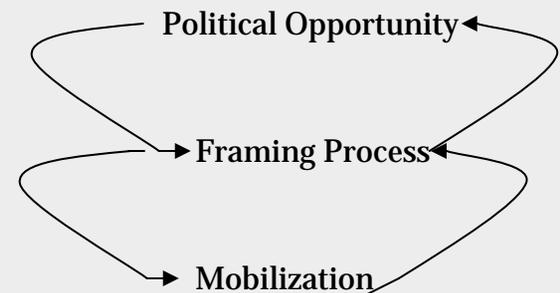
- Central Committee
- Chairmanship Council
- Party Congress
- Party Provincial Committees (PPC)
- Party Provincial Organization (PEO)
- Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK)
- Kurdistan Popular Liberation Army (ARGK)

3. Framing Processes

Emergence Phase:



Organization Phase:



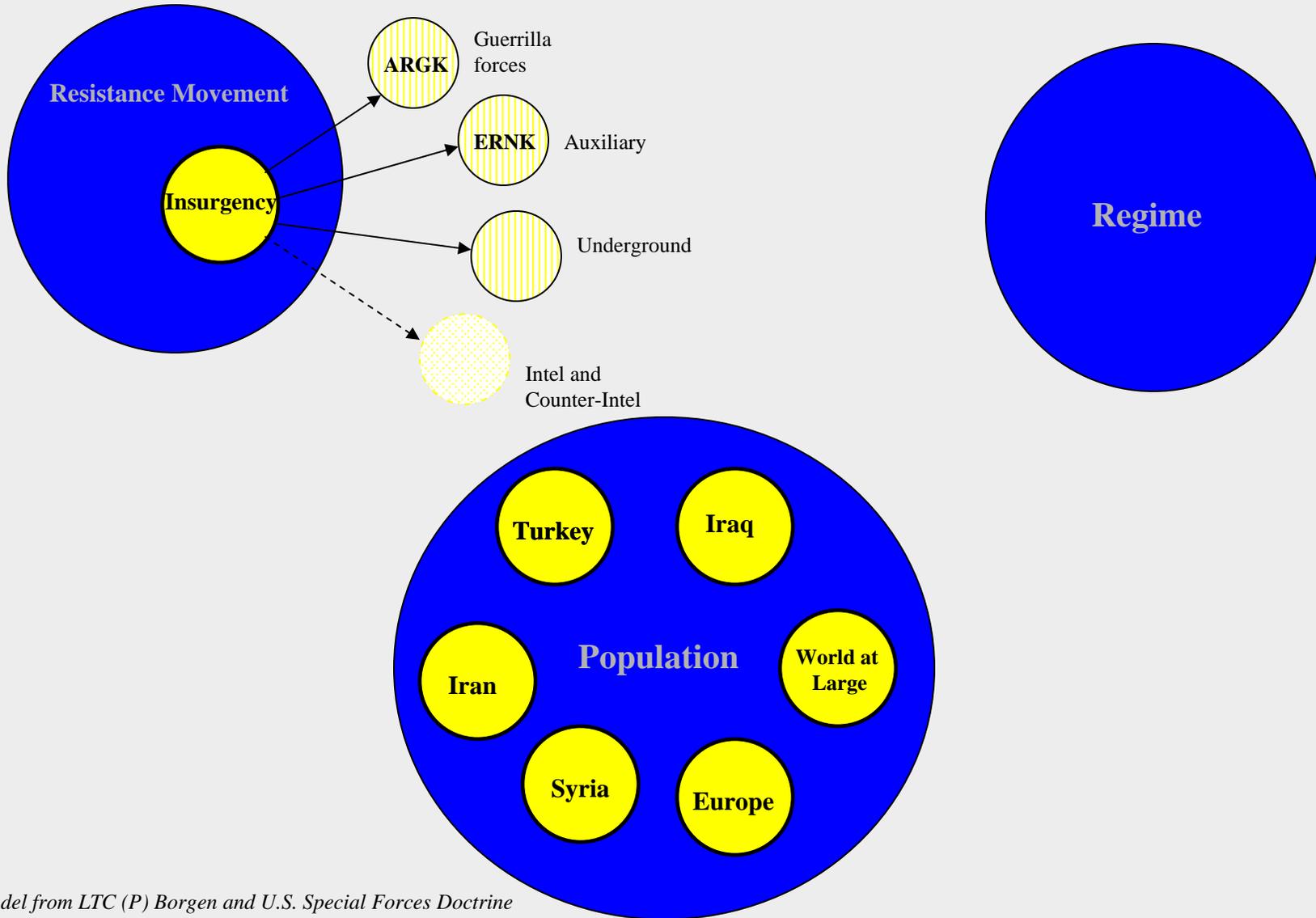
1960s Turkish Left begins movement Towards Kurdish independence

1990s Change in PKK policies: from Marxist-Leninist to Islamic-based

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Revolutionary Theory: Social Movement

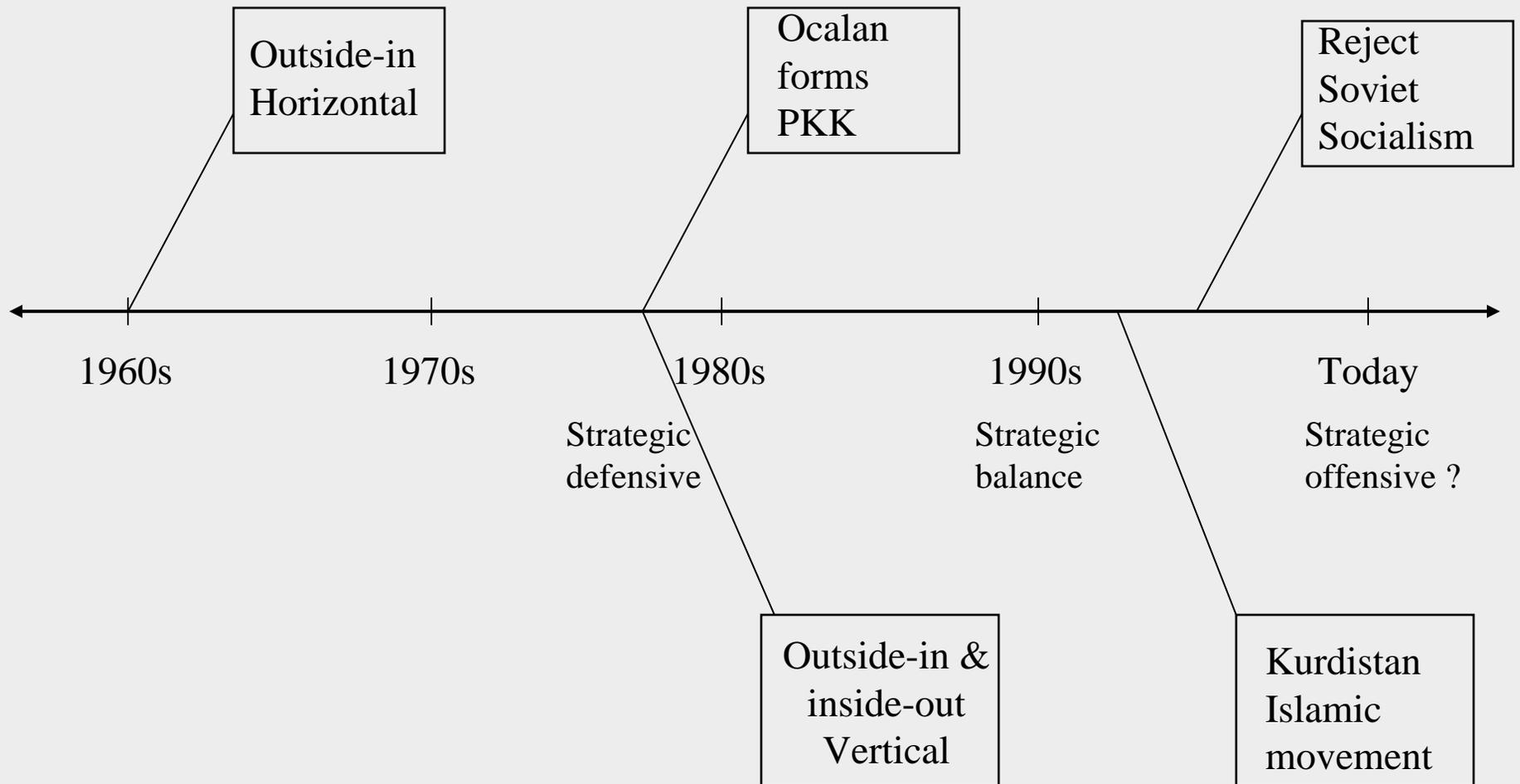


Model from LTC (P) Borgen and U.S. Special Forces Doctrine

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Strategy



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Operations

PKK Operations **(Mao)**

- Strategic Defense
- Strategic Balance
- Strategic Offense

U.S. Special Forces Doctrine for **Insurgency Development**

- Phase I: Latent or Incipient Insurgency
- Phase II: Overt Guerrilla Warfare
- Phase III: Mobile Warfare or War of Movement

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Tactics – Battlefield Operating Systems

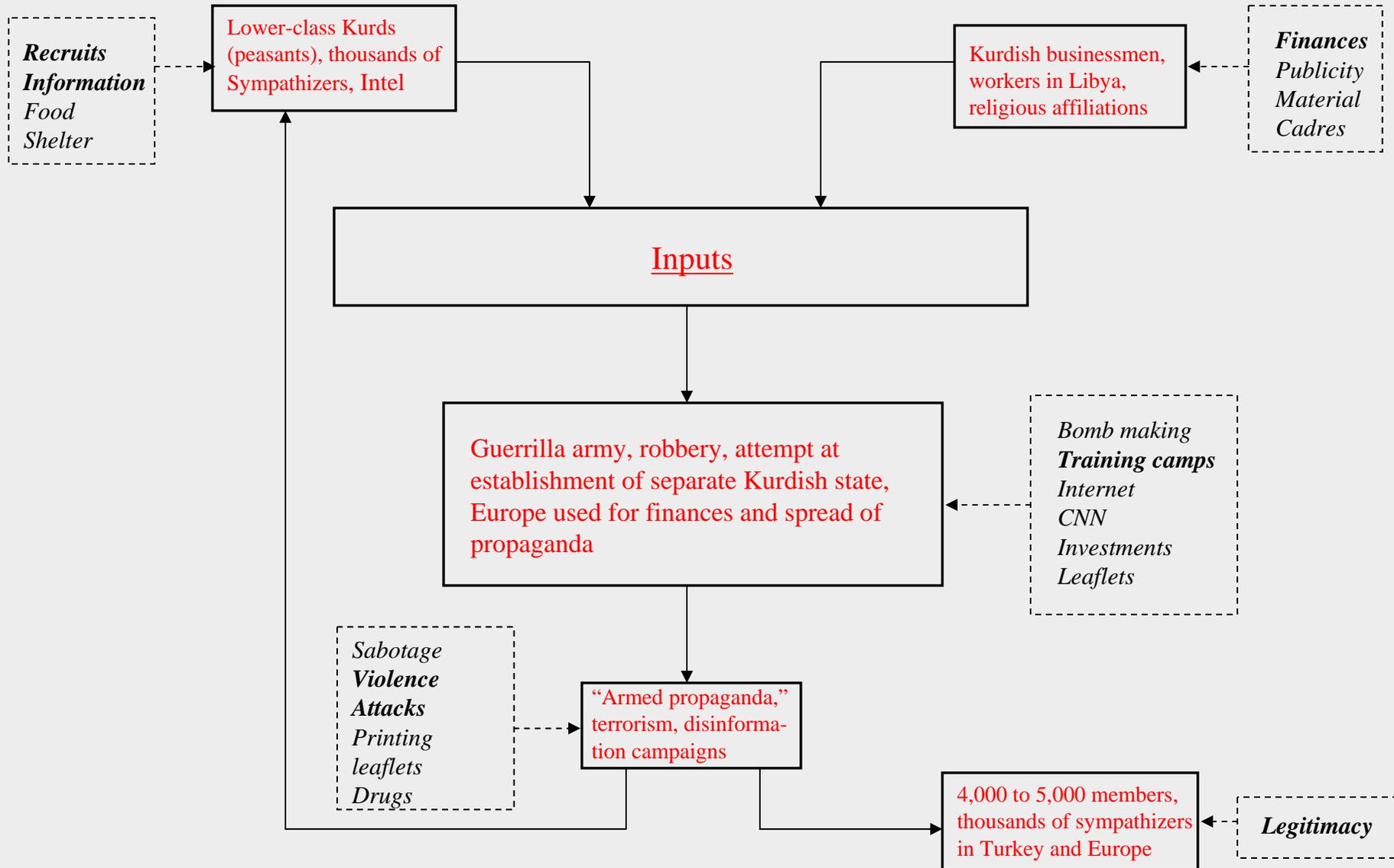
- **Maneuver** - 1980 Move to Beka'a Valley "Ali"
 - Sanctuary
 - Military coup
 - Spread (Palestinians and Libyans)

- **Mobility and Survivability**
 - Gained sympathy
 - Safe havens (sanctuary)
 - Foreign training camps
 - Recruitment offices

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Insurgency as a System



Model from Leites and Wolf, *Rebellion and Authority* (February 1970)

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QUESTIONS?

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