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FOREWORD

This was by the mid-May 2011 that events started in Syria. Almost every-body might realize the difference between popular protests against the results of economic steps taken in recent years and armed assaults against official security forces and people.

Syria had adopted neo-liberal reforms that quickly impoverished large masses, creating unrest among the people and triggering protests. The very first moment of the movement was clearly democratic and peaceful, while the second would be a different story. We cannot call the clashes thereafter as a civil war. Ordinary people and the obvious majority sided together with the government, both supporting and joining the official army, or gathering in resistance organizations.

The movement was originally a progressive one of spontaneous nature, welcomed by secular and left forces. But the second phase was controlled by Sunni Islamists of all tendencies, with a dense involvement by foreigners.

At the same time the so-called "Arab spring" was turning into the rise of Islamic movement led by Muslim Brotherhood, as observed in the governments created in Tunisia and Egypt. This Islamism, not fundamentalist but "moderate" as it has been called by Western authorities and analysts, was quite in conformity with imperialism, especially US. So the transformation in the Arab world should be seen in fact an operation of reshaping of imperialist hegemony in the Middle East.

Also the month of May 2011 was the scene of the first direct and open imperialist intervention since the beginning of the "Arab spring" as happened in the case of Libya. The deep social fragmentation of the Libyan society did not open the way for a geneous political authority to rise from within, but let a chaotic picture spread over the whole country. With other factors as the need of imperialists to legitimize foreign intervention once more after the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, or the competition among themselves, March 2011 witnessed the bombs over Libya.

First news about the involvement of Islamist mercenaries from various countries were related with Libya. Hundreds of Libyans were reported to join the ranks of Salafist or Jihadists crossing the Turkish-Syrian borders under the supervision of Turkish government, which might be seen as one of the pioneers of the Islamism neo-liberal in economic policy and quite compatible with imperialism in international relations.

The peaceful and democratic opposition in Syria simultaneously stepped back, taking position against foreign neighbours giving support to armed opposition, as Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, no need to mention Israel.

These countries pretended to defend democracy and human rights in Syria, despite the fact that all of them were led by dictatorships, with the exception of Turkey which has a political system based on parliamentary elections.

But AKP government in Ankara, ruling since 2002, was in fact the leader of a counter-revolutionary change in the political system, launching a campaign against all that was inherited from the anti-imperialist independence war in early 1920s, and liquidating bourgeois democratic legacy, including laic-secular political system and way of life, the public economy in heavy industry and main public services as education, health etc., in favour of the neo-liberal reintegration of Turkey into the world capitalism. AKP has been one of the early examples of political islamists combining neo-liberalism and Sunnite reactionism. The left, mainly the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) was long commenting the process as the rise of Islamo-fascism. So Ankara neither, had the right to talk about democracy in Syria.

Struggle for the human rights and against the dictatorship in Syria was a meet demagogy that kept behind the reality that Damascus was the only Arab capital with a firm stand against sionism, and in solidarity with Palestine cause and people.

Baath party in Syria, originating of the Cold War era, inheriting a bourgeois statist line not conforming with imperialists' wishes to create a thornForeword 7

less rose garden, was considered by western analysts as an easy and weak element of the "Arab spring" chain and expected to collapse within few weeks. The enemy neighbours were strong, arms easily transported; the wind force of the transformation in the region was powerful, and islamist mercenaries very eager to win over the government, also full of desire to eliminate non-Sunnites of Syria; media propaganda was playing its role quite successfully etc. So the prime minister and the foreign minister of Turkish government even once formulated the aim as to perform their prayer in a holy mosque of the central Damascus.

This analysis and expectation have collapsed instead of Damascus regime, thanks to the resistance which was politically against the Salafist-Jihadist terror backed by islamic reactionary forces of the region and supported by the whole imperialist world. The resistance obviously gained the masses that really felt that secularism was a must to keep Syrian society together and that was mobilized with patriotic anti-imperialist thoughts.

As the regime proved difficult to be overcome, opposition lived splits and regional forces began to interfere to shape its leadership and organization, as Turkey, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, but also forces related with Al-Qaeda and so on. In the case of a quick triumph over Damascus, life would probably be much simpler. But it didn't work at all.

To be sure, the world peace movement has been in solidarity with the Syrian people. Demonstrations were not comparable with the time of threats against Iraq and this lack of mobilization in the world was due, among others, to the factor that left movement has been somewhat confused about what was happening really in Syria. Not only the dirty propaganda led by media as Al-Arabia, Al-Jazeera, or CNN International effected the public opinion, but also a faction of the left considered the Arab Spring as a democratization process and underestimating -if not denying- the role of imperialism. However the position of many peace organizations, including World Peace Council, has been clear about the imperialist-sionist plans regarding Syria, the collaborative nature of the "moderate" or namely "compatible" Islam etc.

By 2012 a WPC mission, presided by Socorro Gomez, the president of WPC, and organized together with WFDY (World Federation of Democratic Youth) visited Syria on late April. The visit would be followed by the World Assembly of WPC met in Katmandu on July where Syrian issue was at the top of the agenda.

On the other hand, Turkey had assumed a prime role in Syria, even before the rising opposition and terrorist actions. The two governments lived before, a real honeymoon with common meetings between councils of ministers, support offered by Ankara about how to deal with the neoliberal reforms in Syria. This was the demagogic time that Turkish government was trying to gain the hearts of the muslim peoples in the Middle East, pretending to criticize Israel and Western colonialism in general. By 2010 Turkish foreign policy shifted or stepped into a new phase. Turkey actively supported armed intervention to Libya and rapidly emerged as the champion of a similar action in Syria.

Here is not the right place to discuss if there is a contradiction or continuity between the phases of the Turkish foreign policy, before and after 2010, but we can shortly try to clarify. Turkish role never contradicted US or Israel, but helped the imperialist strategy, clearing off the memory of the region about the Crusades remembered in Afghanistan and Iraq, letting -at least- Syrian guard down offering to Damascus a bridge to the world system through neo-liberal reforms, and lastly preparing the ground to a severe conflict between muslims, i.e. Sunnis and Shia, the second including Allawites.

Anyway, let's go back to the recent period of plotting against Syria.

The long border region between Turkey and Syria is quite complicated ethnically. The west part along the Mediterranean coast including Lattakia in Syria, and Antakya and Samandağ in Turkey is mainly inhabited by Alawites of Arab origin, claiming in secularism. Syrian Alawites feel themselves brothers and sisters to Asad, the President of the Republic. But so do those leaving at the northern side of the border. Ankara's propaganda favoring Sunni chauvinism and Turkish nationalism had no basis among

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this population whose mother tongue is Arabic.

But there are also Sunni Turkomen in the very region. Turkish province of Hatay has been traditionally proud of the traditional tolerance and the peaceful relations among different ethnic and religious groups, but we know, simply by experience, that such differencies may easily create tensions and turned to be a reason of conflict.

As you go towards the East, the situation gets more complicated with Turks, Kurds and Arabs leaving side by side at both sides of the border, with diverse Christian minorities.

So the region is both a champion of peace and powder barrel!

Turkish government quickly built many refugee camps, among them some were actually terrorist camps. Syrian army had to leave the larger part of the area to islamists and a smaller one to Kurds, keeping only a channel in the West side, inhabited by Arab Allawites and also Armenians and other Christians. So the long border was under the control of different terror groups, travelling easily from Turkey to fight against Syrian army or organizing terror blasts in villages, getting all the logistical help from Turkish side, as hospital service, recreation, finance, arms, training, political gatherings etc.

By early 2012 Turkish society turned against AKP's warmongering and the center of the Hatay Province, Antakya assumed a leading role. People were deeply affected of the conflicts. Economically border trade and tourism were finished, people suffered from losing the physical contact with relatives at the other side, they were severely disturbed by gangs sharing the towns and cities. First peace demonstrations began to be organized by local mass organizations by 2012. Some of the demonstrations would have been reacted by police violence and sometimes barricades were erected in the poor neighborhoods of Antakya. It was obvious that the overwhelming majorities in the region were against AKP's policies of war and were refusing the warmongering lies and demagogies. In fact the majority of Turkey as a whole was far from being convinced by the government.

The Peace Association, well aware of the fact that Turkey is the one where the struggle against the war to Syria, should be raised up first, took initiative to organize together with WPC leadership an international conference in Antakya in late October. The organization was successful, but the participation was limited. The international delegation included WPC and the representatives of peace organizations from Belgium, Cyprus, Greece, India and Palestine. Conference was attended also by politicians and intellectuals from Turkey and followed by a peace concert. The whole event has been one of the important moments in the people's awareness of war threat and peace struggle in Hatay province.

This first organization, although organized on an international level had local effects, as Antakya is not one of the metropolises of the country, so beside the censorship, the national media used to turn a blind eye to such provincial areas.

The second conference called "Peoples want peace", was though first as a three-step one, Istanbul-Antakya and a Syrian city, but could practically only be designed as a conference in Istanbul and a mass mobilization in Antakya again. Delegates from US, Brazil, Greece, Syria, Sweden, Germany, Ukraine, Serbia, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Iran were present, together with the president and the executive secretary of WPC, Socorro Gomez and Iraklis Tsavdaridis, and also representatives of some other organizations as International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Global Network, European Forum and World Federation of Trade Unions. Many peace organizations could not attend for various reasons, among them one was the obvious difficulty to travel both to Istanbul and Hatay, two cities almost at the two far corners of Turkey. Delegates met also peace loving people from various organizations, as trade unions, municipalities, Alawite mass organizations, Bar Association of Istanbul and anti-imperialist MPs. The mass event in Antakya was held as a concert with strong messages in Turkish and Arabic and with a participation of more than ten thousand people.

Here in this booklet, you will find the contributions of delegates and guests in the Istanbul conference held on April 27th. It took some time to collect

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the texts, but the real reason of delay of this publication is the political turmoil in Turkey following the International Peace Conference.

Firstly, the Turkish border city near to Antakya, Reyhanlı had a bomb attack on 11th May, leaving hundred dead behind. What was politically shocking, was that the whole population of Reyhanlı who had less than two years ago voted by great majority for AKP (the results of the former elections had favored the fascist party), the ruling conservative party, started to protest against the government, believing that the assault was a provocation to prepare the ground for a military intervention to Syria, to create an escalation between Sunnis and Allawis, and possibly organized by terrorist gangs struggling in Syria. This was a step in the way to Gezi uprising, or June resistance.

The month of June witnessed an unprecedented popular movement, against all the reactionary practices of the government. The Peace Association, as a progressive organization took place in the resistance, still continuing under various forms... At the end we are able to present you the outcome of the April Conference. By the way Antakya has been one of the pioneer cities of the demonstrations, and police violence. It is not a coincidence that three of six victims killed by the police were from Antakya.

Before finishing this introduction, let us remind you that you will also find the final declaration below, summarizing the anti-imperialist and class-based approach of WPC in this very concrete issue. Beside other formulations the conference took a decision expressed as below: "The international conference Peoples Want Peace' calls upon anti-imperialist forces, peace-lovers, honest jurists, intellectuals and journalists to step forward to create an international non-governmental war crimes initiative to investigate the crimes against the Syrian people. Furthermore, the conference has decided to enforce the communication and networking in order to counteract the imperialist and reactionary black propaganda, foremost, on Syria."

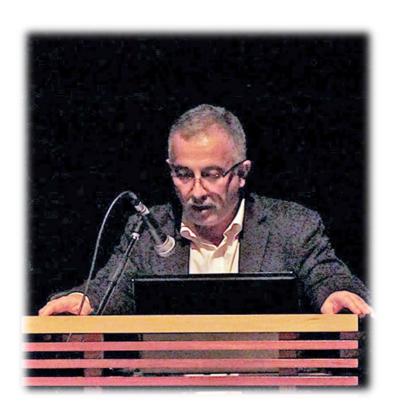
PA of Turkey following this decision that would be reaffirmed by WPC Secretariat held in Lisbon late May and early June, has gathered a working judicial committee to prepare a draft report on war crimes committed aga-

inst Syrian people, especially by Turkish authorities. The conference, you have now the booklet had also such an outcome for further initiatives in our common struggle for peace in the world.

Peace Association of Turkey

Jamshid Ahmadi

Association for the Defense of Peace, Solidarity and Democracy of Iran IRAN



Dear Comrades and friends,

Let me start by thanking the Peace Association of Turkey and the World Peace Council for their efforts in organising and facilitating this important and timely international conference. I also would like to thank the hosts and organisers for inviting ASPSD- Iran to share with you its thoughts and analysis about significant and potentially dangerous developments in the Middle East region.

It is significant that this important International conference is taking place on the 10th anniversary of the US' and the EU' criminal war and occupation of Iraq. It is also a time of unprecedented tension in the region signified by the escalating military conflict in Syria, open threats of military attack on Iran and instability in Pakistan and Iraq. Earlier this week the new US Defence Minister, Chuck Hagel, visiting Israel announced that "The bottom line is that Iran is a threat, a real threat." This extremely dangerous and provocative statement came only two days after the Pentagon admitted it was finalising deals totaling \$10 billion to strengthen the military capability of Israel and two of Iran's key adversaries – Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. It is also very important to note that the threat of a so called "limited military strike" against Iran by US or its puppet, the right wing government in Israel, still persists.

I would also point out that during the last three years, following the peoples' movements in the Arab countries which toppled the American backed regimes of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt and Ben Ali in Tunisia, we have witnessed an ongoing imperialist intervention in the Middle East which took different forms. These have ranged from the use of brute and direct military force in Libya and Bahrain, to covert war in Syria. The results of these hegemonistic policies are the same; death and destruction for the peoples of these countries and further setbacks in their struggles for national liberation.

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Comrades,

We are gathering at this conference barely for one week since the political representatives of NATO powers, multinational armaments industries and dictatorial Arab kingdoms met here in Turkey to conspire against the people of Syria and the future of that country. We cannot reflect on the developments in Syria in relation to the whole Middle East. The US Secretary of State, John Kerry, was very direct last week when he stated that the US intends to double its aid to the opponents of the Syrian government. Kerry talked of the timeliness of "intervening in the Syrian conflict". While the Jihadist reactionary fighters, armed to the teeth by the Saudis and the Qatari regimes, are forming the main force bringing terror and destruction to Syrian cities, the US Secretary of State is pontificating about "everyone being on the same page" and that "Qataris, Saudis, Emirates, Turks, Europeans" all have the same intentions. It is important to note the admission by John Kerry that the US, the EU and Turkey, all supposedly advocating liberal democracy, have the same intentions as Saudis and Qataris who are exporting the most backward conservative and repressive Salafist Islamic forces to fight against any semblance of modernity and human and democratic rights.

The fact is that the policies pursued by the US and its European allies have ensured that instability is ruling the region. Libya, Egypt, Lebanon and Iraq are all gripped by various degrees of political crisis, all as a result of imperialist interventions and interference. The situation in Syria is directly influenced by what is taking place in these neighbouring countries and also from what is exported through Turkey. The US is determined not to allow any force in the region to be able to challenge its hegemonistic rule or the aggressive policies of its strategic ally, the Israeli state.

The consequences of a US planned and desired "regime change" in Syria would have serious destabilising consequences for the whole of the Middle East. We are concerned that the developments in Syria could directly or indirectly result in military conflict, between the US and its NATO and regional allies, and the theocratic regime in Iran. As you are aware that Iran has a strategic cooperation agreement with Syria going back to 2006

which cover energy, economic and military affairs. The Islamic regime in Iran considers Syria as one of its forward lines of defence in any probable conflict with Israel and its allies. It is also a fact that the US / Israeli axis are fully aware that with the worsening of the situation in Syria, the theocratic regime may be tempted to directly intervene in the sectarian conflicts in Syria to shore up its regional interests. This would offer the ideal justification to the US camp for a military attack on Iran. Although this military adventure on the part of the US and Israel may not take the form of a full scale war, it will no doubt be aimed at strategic facilities and infrastructure targets that could cause serious damage in Iran and further destabilise the region. This is what the US and its allies want: a destabilised Middle East which in turn justifies imperialism's presence for years to come, militarisation of the region and ensuring that the current socioeconomic situation in the region is perpetuated. The region's oil and gas reserves, vast and untapped markets and its strategic geo-political position make the region one that imperialism considers as vital for its plans to exercise its hegemony.

Comrades,

As far as the SDPSD- Iran and all progressive forces in Iran are concerned with any military adventure in the region which will be catastrophic for all people struggling for genuine democracy, progress and social justice. We believe that our real contribution to world peace, and a Middle East of peace and progress, will be primarily through ensuring the development of an independent, democratic, prosperous and peaceful Iran.

In the past 34 years we have had first-hand experience of dealing with imperialist intervention. Since the victory of the Iranian revolution, whose anniversary was celebrated in February, to the present day we have had almost constant interference in the affairs of our country. The Iraq – Iran war which was instigated by imperialism through Saddam Hussain in 1980 lasted for 8 years, leaving over a million dead and injured in our country. The development of nuclear technologies for peaceful purposes is exploited by the US and its allies as a means of creating tensions in relation to Iran and constantly threatens its security. Today Iranian people

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face *devastating economic sanctions* which have brought nothing but poverty and misery to millions of ordinary people in our country. Therefore our people have first-hand experience of what imperialist intervention means.

As far as Iran is concerned we need to be clear about the main reasons and the underlying events behind the current crisis. We believe that the tensions and the standoff between the US imperialism and its allies and the Iranian regime in recent years has very little to do with Iran's nuclear policy and the West's concern about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in our region. If the US was really concerned about nuclear weapons in the region it would have objected to the massive Israeli stockpile of nuclear weapons.

The real issue behind the current standoff has more to do with the long term strategic plans of US imperialism to control the Persian Gulf and its vast oil and gas resources. The military occupation of Iraq and the vast US military presence in the Persian Gulf region is a clear indication of the long term plans of the US. Furthermore it is the continuous occupation of Arab territories and the suppression of the Palestinian people's rights to establish their own independent state, due to the US backed policies of the Israeli right-wing government, which remains a core reason for tension and military conflict in our region.

It is therefore clear that the statements made by the US and its allies regarding their concerns about the dangers of nuclear weapons in the region are nothing but a smoke screen to hide the real US agenda. It is also worth mentioning that imperialism, particularly US imperialism and its allies have been largely responsible for the current arms race in the Middle East and for enabling the US allies like Israel and Pakistan to develop nuclear weapons.

The peace movement in Iran, along with all the progressive forces in the region, has been calling and struggling for a nuclear weapon free Middle East. However, to achieve this it is not Iran that has to give ups its nuclear technology programme but the countries in the region who currently pos-

sess nuclear weapons (key allies of US) that need to be monitored and made subject to sanctions.

The Iranian progressive forces have made it clear, and we are united with them, that the peaceful use of nuclear energy by Iran, or indeed any other country in the region or the world, is the legitimate right of that country and does not require the permission or approval of the US or the European governments.

Clearly the way forward from the current crisis, which could seriously affect world peace and result in other conflicts, is not by the threat of military strikes but through meaningful and genuine dialogue, International negotiations and trust building exercises.

Comrades,

As far as the Iranian people are concerned, we are strongly against any aggression and war against Iran, whether limited or unlimited. As I mentioned earlier, the Iranian people still bear the deep scars of the 8 years of the Iraq – Iran war.

Furthermore the catastrophic military occupation of Iraq and its disastrous aftermath, including the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians, clearly shows that the main victims of any war under any pretext are the civilian population.

It is also important for the peace movement to understand the complex situation in Iran and the struggle of the progressive, peace loving people against the theocratic dictatorship. Over the last 4 years, and following the electoral coup in 2009, where the security forces intervened to disregard millions of votes by Iranian people to forcefully install Ahmadinejad as the president, we have witnessed an intensification of the suppression of human and democratic rights. This has manifested itself in the security clamp downs of independent trade unions and union activists, womens' rights activists and the security forces occupying Iranian universities. In addition there has been widespread closing down of independent newspapers, magazines and internet sites. The mass arrest of independent journal-

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ists and bloggers is preparing the country for another controlled and orchestrated presidential election in 6 weeks time. This is just another example of the anti-people nature of the ruling regime in our country.

It is important to observe that despite the anti-American rhetoric voiced by the Iranian government and its leaders, all the major socio –economic policies of the regime, including their latest attack on workers' rights, are nothing but right wing reactionary policies prescribed by the World Bank and the IMF.

It is also worth reiterating that the adventurist policies and rhetoric pursued by the Iranian regime only benefits the most right wing reactionary forces in our region and the US-led world imperialism.

Having stated these facts we strongly believe that the struggle of the Iranian people against tyranny and dictatorship is only a matter for the Iranian people to decide. Our party therefore strongly condemns any foreign interference in our country's affairs under any pretext.

Iranian peace activists, alongside other progressive forces and some of Iran's prominent independent democratic figures and personalities, have been campaigning against war and military intervention in our country. It is also not coincidental that many peace campaigners are harassed and imprisoned by the regime as the current rulers of Iran, like imperialism, benefit from an atmosphere of tension and the threat of war.

We believe that it is only through our joint efforts that we can stop the war mongers on both sides. It is only through our united stand against imperialism and reaction that we can secure lasting peace and progress in our volatile region. The international peace movement, in the region and especially in Iran, can have a significant impact in stopping the slippery and dangerous process of inching towards a catastrophic full scale war in the region.

Comrades.

We believe that it is only through mobilisation and the pressure of world public opinion upon imperialism and its allies that we can stop another military adventure in our region. In this critical struggle the progressive peace movement has a major responsibility, to ensure that it has the ability and organisational capacity to mobilise the widest spectrum of social forces in opposition to war, militarism and imperialism's aggressive policies. We are only as effective as our ability to bring people to the streets to fight for peace, bread and jobs.

Long live peace!

Long live international solidarity!

Natalia Bondar

European Peace Forum, Ukrainian Anti-Fascist Committee UKRAINE



The Ukrainian section of the World Peace Forum protests against the pressure of the NATO, USA and EU imperialists, which support paramilitary groups to change the regime in Syria.

Inner conflict is caused by the pressure of the imperialist forces in the same way as in other countries of North Africa and the Middle East. It provokes the intervention of many other countries (China, Russia, Iran). All of this leads to the escalation of the conflict, the destruction of the country, the loss of life. Need to find a way for a peaceful resolution of the conflict

It should be noted that in March 2011 in the Syrian Arab Republic started peaceful demonstrations demanding greater freedoms. In response to these demands, the government abolished the state of emergency and the state supreme court of security. The Government has adopted a number of new laws and regulations aimed at democratization of society:

- Legislative Decree on the organization of peaceful demonstrations;
- On the procedure of the election of members of local administrative councils, about the media;
- The Law on General Elections;
- The law on political parties;
- The chain of laws and measures to combat corruption and salary increases of civil servants.

It is rather difficult to find the other governments in the world, which would have taken such drastic measures to improve the living standards of the country and political system in such a short time.

To improve the country's political system there were implemented the following reforms:

Adoption of the government's resignation and formation of new Cabinet:

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Change in the management structure of the center and of the provinces;

- The National referendum on the draft of Constitution, which was supported by about 90% of the citizens of the country (February 26, 2012,);
- The election of the National Assembly (Parliament), local administration councils were held in an atmosphere of democracy and freedom (the voter turnout reached 80%);
- The first time elections were passed under the judicial control.

Syrian president issued many amnesties to release detained.

These measures are supported by most Syrian and Arab public, as well as the progressive forces of the world community.

But, along with the positive steps of the Syrian leadership there are some oppositional groups and parties that are linked to the foreign plans for the destruction of Syria's foreign and domestic policy. These groups use force, sabotage, incitement, hatred and unrest, terrorist acts that lead to death of civilians, destruction of infrastructure and the economy.

Multilateral international intervention also facilitates the escalation of violence in Syria. Negative impact on the assessment of the situation in the country was made by the media, which give biased coverage.

We also believe that the main theme of the conference should be to look for ways to complete cessation of external interference in the internal affairs of Syria and the start of negotiations between the warring parties. These negotiations should lead to the creation and adoption of the Road Map for peace in the country.

During the discussing the problem of settlement of the situation in Syria should be considered the facts of falsification of events in the media and the proven facts of attacks coordination from abroad.

At the conference we propose the establishment of the International Public

Tribunal on the Syrian issue (Statute of the Tribunal adopted in Caracas at the congress of the World Peace Council in 2008 included), to create a steering committee for the preparation and the date and place of the Tribunal (about middle of 2013).

From Ukraine in its work to representatives of Antifascist Committee of Ukraine, the European Forum of the World (Ukrainian section - Forum of the World), the Slavic Committee of Ukraine, representatives of the Ukrainian People's Friendship Society, Syria, Ukraine, representatives of the Syrian national groups (Diaspora) in Ukraine, as well as representatives of local associations of Ukrainians in other Arab countries.

At the session of the Tribunal we propose to consider the general problem of peace in the Middle East and Syria in particular.

During the session of the Tribunal on the Syrian we suggest to hear reports of prosecutors and witnesses of:

- violation of human rights;
- war crimes:
- Crimes against peace;
- Violations of the Constitution of Syria;
- Violations of UN resolutions and the UN Security Council;
- On how to deal with the complexities of the peace the warring parties;
- The responsibility of the media and government, distorting the truth about the actions of the opposing sides.

All reports must contain evidence about true facts of violations, with specific articles of official UN documents.

We believe that the collective wisdom of all the participants in this conference will help to find the most reasonable way out of this situation.

Marjorie Cohn

International Association of Democratic Lawyers USA



The Responsibility to Protect and Preventing Foreign Intervention in Syria

I'm going to talk about the so-called Responsibility to protect doctrine, which will likely be invoked for a foreign invasion of Syria.

In 2011, the United States, France and Britain invaded Libya with cruise missiles, stealth bombers, fighter jets, attack jets, and drones. The number of civilians those foreign forces killed remains unknown. That military campaign was ostensibly launched to enforce United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 in order to protect civilians in Libya.

The military invasion of Libya was rationalized by reference to the Responsibility to protect doctrine, which is the latest version of humanitarian intervention. NATO's bombing of Kosovo was called a humanitarian intervention. NATO's "humanitarian" bombs killed between 500 and 1,800 people, wounded untold numbers of people, devastated the countryside, and exacerbated ethnic cleansing and the fleeing of refugees. On the eve of the NATO bombing, U.S. President Bill Clinton declared, "If we're going to have a strong economic relationship that includes our ability to sell around the world, Europe has got to be a key. That's what this Kosovo thing is all about."

The Responsibility to Protect is contained in the General Assembly's Outcome Document of the 2005 World Summit. The United Nations Charter does not permit the use of military force for humanitarian intervention. It is not enshrined in an international treaty nor has it ripened into a norm of customary international law. Paragraph 138 of the outcome document says each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. Paragraph 139 adds that the international community, through the United Nations, also has "the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII

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of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity."

Chapter VI of the Charter requires parties to a dispute likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security to "first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." Chapter VIII governs "regional arrangements," such as NATO, the Arab League, and the African Union. The chapter specifies that regional arrangements "shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements..."

It is only when peaceful means have been tried and proved inadequate that the Security Council can authorize action under Chapter VII of the Charter. That action includes boycotts, embargoes, severance of diplomatic relations, and even blockades or military operations by air, sea or land.

The Responsibility to protect doctrine grew out of frustration with the failure to take action to prevent the genocide in Rwanda, where a few hundred troops could have saved myriad lives. But the doctrine was not implemented to stop Israel from bombing Gaza in late 2008 and early 2009, which resulted in a loss of 1,400 Palestinians, mostly civilians.

Security Council Resolution 1973 begins with the call for "the immediate establishment of a ceasefire." It reiterates "the responsibility of the Libyan authorities to protect the Libyan population" and reaffirms that "parties to armed conflicts bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of civilians. The resolution authorizes UN Member States "to take all necessary measures . . . to protect civilians and civilian populated areas" of Libya.

But instead of pursuing an immediate ceasefire, immediate military action was taken instead. The military force exceeded the bounds of the "all necessary measures" authorization. "All necessary measures" should first have been peaceful measures to settle the conflict. Yet peaceful means were not exhausted before the military invasion began. A high level inter-

national team – consisting of representatives from the Arab League, the African Union, and the UN Secretary General – should have been dispatched to Tripoli to attempt to negotiate a real cease-fire, and set up a mechanism for elections and for protecting civilians. Moreover, after the passage of the resolution, Libya immediately offered to accept international monitors, and President Muammar Qadaffi offered to step down and leave Libya. These offers were immediately rejected by the opposition.

The UN Charter commands that all Members settle their international disputes by peaceful means, to maintain international peace, security, and justice. Members must also refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

Only when a State acts in self-defense, in response to an armed attack by one country against another, can it militarily attack another State under Article 51 of the UN Charter. The need for self-defense must be overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation. Libya had not attacked another country. The United States, France and Britain did not act in self-defense. Humanitarian concerns do not constitute self-defense.

There is a double standard in the use of military force to protect civilians. The Asia Times reported that before the invasion of Libya, the United States made a deal with Saudi Arabia, whereby the Saudis would invade Bahrain to help put down the pro-democracy protestors and Saudi Arabia would enlist the support of the Arab League for a no-fly-zone over Libya.

The League's support for a no-fly-zone effectively neutralized opposition from Russia and China to Security Council Resolution 1973. Moreover, the military action by the U.S., France and Britain went far beyond a no-fly-zone. The NATO force fought until Qaddafi is gone, even though the Resolution does not sanction forcible regime change. Forcible regime change – which took place in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya and may happen in Syria and Iran – violates the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

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The Arab League asked the Security Council to consider imposing a nofly-zone over the Gaza Strip in order to protect civilians from Israeli air strikes. But the United States, an uncritical ally of Israel, would never allow the passage of such a resolution, regardless of the number of Palestinian civilians Israel kills. This is a double standard.

The military action in Libya set a dangerous precedent of attacking countries where the leadership does not favor the pro-U.S. or pro-European Union countries. What will prevent the United States from stage-managing some protests, magnifying them in the corporate media as mass actions, and then bombing or attacking Venezuela, Cuba, Iran, or North Korea? Recall that during the Bush administration, Washington leveled baseless allegations to justify an illegal invasion of Iraq. The United States is motivated primarily by a desire for stability to protect foreign investment, which means expanding markets and dominating large areas of the world.

During a discussion of the Responsibility to Protect in the General Assembly on July 23, 2009, the Cuban government raised some provocative questions that should give those who support this notion pause: "Who is to decide if there is an urgent need for an intervention in a given State, according to what criteria, in what framework, and on the basis of what conditions? Who decides it is evident the authorities of a State do not protect their people, and how is it decided? Who determines peaceful means are not adequate in a certain situation, and on what criteria? Do small States have also the right and the actual prospect of interfering in the affairs of larger States? Would any developed country allow, either in principle or in practice, humanitarian intervention in its own territory? How and where do we draw the line between an intervention under the Responsibility to Protect and an intervention for political or strategic purposes, and when do political considerations prevail over humanitarian concerns?"

The Right to Peace is finally being recognized as a human right. The General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace in 1984. Peace is a human right belonging to everyone - individuals and peoples - without distinction or discrimination. Peace is not just the ab-

sence of war or violence. Inequality, exclusion, and poverty generate structural violence, which is incompatible with peace, and therefore, must be eliminated. Standards of positive peace include actions towards peace in areas such as the rights to development, a healthy environment, and the rights of refugees and migrants. There cannot be peace where there is poverty, hunger, discrimination, inequality, exclusion and intolerance. There cannot be peace without social justice.

Peace is the primary goal of the United Nations, and a reason for its existence. In the Preamble of the UN Charter, the peoples of the world proclaimed their determination to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

The first purpose of the UN Charter in Article 1 is "to maintain international peace and security, and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace." In pursuit of this purpose, Article 2 requires all Member States to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations.

Member States should take note of the importance of unilateral efforts towards de-militarization and peace. Cases such as Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution and Article 12 of the Costa Rican Constitution are living examples of the positive impact of peace constitutions and demilitarization towards human development and peace in international relations.

To achieve peace, we must totally eliminate nuclear weapons. The Middle East must be a nuclear-free zone and a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction, as stated by UN Security Council Resolution 687, which ended the Gulf War. The Middle East includes Israel, which has a large stockpile of nuclear weapons.

The time has come for UN Member States to take their responsibility and make the right to peace operative.

Sandra Davidovic

Belgrade Forum for the World of Equals SERBIA



Dear comrades and friends,

I am much honored that, as a representative of the Belgrade Forum for a World of Equals, I am participating in this important international gathering of respected intellectuals, diplomats, and political activists from all over the world, dedicated to solidarity with the friendly people of Syria. I am a final year student at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade and social activist in the country I come from.

Allow me, dear friends, to convey the warmest greetings from the leadership and members of the Belgrade Forum to the organizers of the conference -the World Peace Council, our Turkish hosts and all of the participants, with sincere wishes for its success.

George Orwell said: "At the time of universal deceit, telling the truth is a revolutionary act." Today, I am extremely proud to be a part of the revolution which is carried out by free-minded individuals and organizations who do not hesitate to raise their voice, during an outrageous campaign of lies, to create an all-out campaign of truth. I would like to hereby convey strong support from Serbia for every aspect of the fight against modern imperialism, to which this gathering is dedicated. Disobeying any kind of injustice is inherent to my people, the people of Serbia, who has, in recent history, repeatedly been the victim of aggression.

We are living in the world of the "new military humanism", as Noam Chomsky described. The UN system is put in service of powerful interests, the international law is selectively applied, the force is the first and last principle, and a human concept of human rights is perverted in most perfidious tool to create a pretext for a policy of aggression. My people have been the victim of the very same military humanism aggression in 1999. 13,000 tons of bombs with depleted uranium that were dropped on Serbia, opened the door to the bare arrogance of the "humanitarian intervention", that is continued in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. I was 8 years

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old when I watched the bombs falling on the factories, hospitals, bridges, and I know that there isn't anything even remotely worthy of such images in the eyes of a child. Today, every morning when I look out the window, I see dozens of small children running in the yard of the Syrian Cultural Center, located across the street from my apartment in Belgrade. The task of each and every one of us, is to do everything we can so that the smiles on children's faces never disappear, guided by the old writing of Dostoevsky, who said that "there is no war worthy of one children's tear".

Today, we are here to give support to the friendly people of Syria, who was unwillingly proclaimed an obstacle to the achievement of the "new world order" and therefore joined all of us who have chosen that status voluntarily. Using more or less the same pattern, Syria has forcibly drawn into the politics of interventionism, in which the bullies who were never invited and who do not know any element of politics and the system of values of this country will determine its way. They use false paternalism to seize the sovereignty of the Syrian people, forcibly taking away its right to decide the fate of their own country. The principle of self-determination and non-intervention, which were built in the post-war international order, is anachronistic and outdated, if it is said so by the supervisors from Washington and Westminster.

The SS-Divisions of the New World Order- the non-government and international organizations, the media and the NATO-forces, contrary to their own statutes and regulations, perform the tasks their bosses, no questions asked. The platitudes of democracy, human rights and modernization are wrapped with Newspeak. Many centuries earlier, describing the Roman empire, Tacitus has left us a simple explanation of the modern empire's acting – "robbers desolate the world and call that peace!"

But, who did them deceit? In my country, we often hear on the news about the civil war in Syria, though not many people have dwelt on the story of the spread of American humanism. A large number of articles analyze and discussions talk about the fact that the Syrian people are just another obstacle in achieving the geopolitical interests of the powerful. If ten or twenty years ago we could buy the "Newspeak" (I would say to the delu-

sion), doing so today is certainly much more difficult. My fellow citizens feel great resistance to the western justice, and their solidarity with each of the victims in this process is extremely strong. As an act of support of the Middle Eastern people in their aspirations for a democratic change, the Serbian youth has often organized rallies and internet campaigns, and identified itself with those people. Today it also applies to the friendly people of Syria. The people of our two countries are linked together by years of friendly relations and fruitful cooperation. A great honor was given to me, as a representative of Belgrade Forum on this prestigious international event, to convey solidarity and support of the Serbian people to the friendly people of Syria, in its heroic struggle to decide the fate of their own country sovereignly and independently.

I am convinced that, whatever the current situation of mankind might be, the struggle for freedom has finally been resumed, and the beginning of the end of the Big Brother farce published.

Guided by the idea that while we do not revolt, we will not disseminate awareness of the people, we have been organizing for months, together with our colleagues, street protests and performances which express resistance to the dismemberment of Serbia and the seizure of Kosovo and Metohija, who represents the cradle of Serbian spirituality and statehood. Kosovo is not only in Serbia, Kosovo and Iraq, and Rwanda, and in Indonesia, and in Libya, and Afghanistan, and Palestine. Kosovo is in every part of the planet, where the common people, due to the geopolitical interests of the Western powers, live surrounded by wire fence, without electricity, water, freedom, or dignity. We do not want another Kosovo in Syria; we do not want another colonization and the spread of democracy through uranium and cluster bombs. We want a free Syria, freedom to the long-suffering people of Palestine, freedom to the Middle East!

The force with which we face is terrifying, but we're a generation that has no time for fear. A Serbian Nobel prize winner Ivo Andric wrote, in tough times: "There are so many things in life of which we've feared. And we shouldn't have, we should have lived". I am sure that Andric would agree that today it should be read: "There are so many things in life of which we

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are afraid, and we should not, we should fight!"

Thank you so much for your attention.

Irene Eckert

Working Circle for Peace Policy
Nuclear Free Europa
GERMANY



In the name of reason the German Working Circle for Peace Policy, WCPP, whom I represent here, says NO to military interventionism, NO to supremacy of the western hemisphere, NO to military bases abroad and NO to deployment of questionable "patriots" near the border of Syria. We say NO to the ongoing destabilization of this beautiful Mediterranean country, a friend of the Palestinian people. We veto the terrorist attacks of the hired foreign mercenaries. We advocate international law. We say YES to the letter and the spirit of the UN Constitution and YES to the humanitarian conventions built upon it. But we reject any kind of hypocritical pretense. We say therefore definitely NO to the questionable title "Responsibility to Protect". Under the secretive formula R2P this dubious scheme pretends to protect human rights while meddling in the affairs of sovereign countries. The same is true for neo-colonial efforts for "Regime Change". This title also means nothing but interference in internal matters of UN-family-members. We will not accept humanitarian excuses for such unlawful interventions. As peaceloving people we defend the sovereignty of small and large nations and their legitimate governments. It is not up to foreigners to decide who will govern Turkey or Syria or any other country in the world. Democracy must be defended at home.

Since the foundation of our working circle in the heydays of the peace-movement of the early 80ies we have equally been saying NO to deployment of nuclear missiles and to threats with preemptive nuclear strikes. We have been protesting against deployment of nukes on foreign soil. Threating with nuclear warfare is not only immoral but also flagrant violation of the UN Charter. Threatening other nations with violence is already illegal. A nuclear free Europe is on our agenda. We also say yes to a nuclear free Middle East and yes to a nuclear free world. We stand with democratic values and demand cuts of military expenditures. Human needs at home are our first priority. Expenses for warfare are an obstacle. In Germany, in Europe and on all continents the peoples want to be liberated from the burden of warfare. Our late Chancellor Willy Brandt used to

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underline "Peace is not everything, but everything is nothing without peace". The worst enemy of humankind is war itself. Its astronomical costs are inacceptable. Home defense is not expensive. Public funds can be and must be re-directed to help liberate human beings from poverty and to help free the planet from pollution. Cutting military expenditure will contribute to free us from one of the major nightmares. Freedom from poverty and fear will come along with peaceful solutions for all conflicts. To achieve this we must stop feeding the banks and the war machine. Let us collectively demand budgets for peace instead.

Foreign military bases are eating up taxes of home country contrary to people's needs everywhere. In Büchel and Ramstein in Germany, in Vincenca in Italy, in Okinawa, Japan and on Jeju Island in South Korea, citizens stand up and say "No" to foreign military installations. Nobody wants to host nuclear and other military devices in their backyard. Citizens say "No" to the 30.000 starts and landings at the US airbase Ramstein in the Rhein-Ruhr-area in Germany. They say NO to the noise damage caused by the fighter bombers and No to the lethal damage they carry to their destiny. Only peace must start from German soil! This is an obligation off our war ridden history. This is why we say NO to the investment into 6,527 German soldiers abroad!

NO to the German military presence at 15 different theatres of crisis and war abroad!

NO to the 8 billion Euros of German tax money wasted on the Afghanistan "mission" since 2001!

NO to 68 million Euro in 2012 for the Kosovo "mission" and to the 62 million thrown away for German "presence" at Somali and no to the 25 million for the Lebanon "mission".

German foreign interests must no longer be defined by sanctions, threats, and military missions against sovereign nations. We therefore call for a fundamental change in policy. We disagree with TINA (There Is No Alternative) fatalism. We say NO to TINA. Alternatives are right there. Let us learn from other nations, let us learn from other continents. In mid-

April President Rafael Correa from Ecuador at the Technical University of Berlin, that it is possible to help stimulate economic growth and scientific research by putting human needs as the first criteroin of public decision making.

Our NO to feeding the gun-smiths, to helping arms exporters is well founded. Economic growth and scientific progress do not come along with them. Producing tools of warfare is destructive and serves only the greedy interests of one percent of our societies. This tiny minority can be and must be stopped before their lethal course will lead us into another major catastrophy. It is late, but not too late.

Our Struggle is for Life - whereas NATO Bears Death!

This is why we call upon all our compatriots and on all the peoples across the planet to join us in the struggle for peace and for a livable society, a society where women, the young and the elderly can fully participate. All citizens want communities that allow for the young generation to use their creative potentials, to develop their personalities in breadth and depth, to perform excellently and to do so without drug misuse. All peoples strive for an economic order under which nobody will be forced to make harmful choices. We all strive for a world where careers and children are compatible and both part of a meaningful and human life. NATO with all its lethal infrastructure is contrary to a humanist vision. Even its "Smartest Strategy Concepts" can never fulfill our dreams and visions.

NATO can only secure the interests of a tiny handful of oligarchs, a handful of people, who do not want to share the natural richnesses of mother earth. It is our duty as peacemeakers to challenge those few on their road to destruction. We must help one other to understand the true nature of the NATO alliance. We must not allow this anti-social coalition to continue bullying the world. A look at history can help. No empire has lasted forever. No matter how affluent their available resources and how powerful their military machinery, no matter how brutal their methods. They all came to an end. Contrary to its appearance of strength, the moment of

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truth for NATO is already on the horizon. Its wisdom has come to a dead end. Whereas its military apparatus swallows almost every tax dollar, the serious global economic crisis increases its weakness. Conflicting interests within the military alliance are growing. And we, the people dearly need butter instead of canons. We must be aware of its frailty. People need jobs, but not in the war machine, not at the expense of the lives of our husbands, sons and grandsons, not at the expense of any life. Let us therefore join voices for the retirement of NATO. Let us help block its road to destruction. This call is urgent if humanity is to survive.

Our coming together here in Istanbul will be a major contribution. It will help to overcome "the unjustified and unacceptable silence of the peace movements" all over the world. The article of the US Peace Council on Syria, the Middle East and Africa issued on March 20th 2013 needs to be translated. The very precious US document covering the "Imperialistic Military Escalations in Africa and the Middle East" must be studied closely. It will help us to overcome the agony of our respective tired and weary movements.

No matter what our differences or our visions are, let's be clear on one thing: Neoliberal strategies breed war and they deprive all peoples of their basic needs. We can overcome these strategies and replace them by others. Let us learn from the Latin American peoples. They have been through all imaginable crises and they offer their experiences freely. Let's begin organizing from scrap and if necessary on the smallest scale. Let's meet our neighbors in a friendly manner and share our frustration with exploding rents and barricaded roads and talk about legal ways to object. Let's have meaningful talks about real issues at workplaces among friends and in family circles. Most political parties, citizen's associations, NGOs as well as trade unions are no longer reliable, they have become more or less obsolete. The media is not helpful as they are in the hands of the one percent. They all share the neoliberal strategies. We must be inventive. We can and will find ways to communicate if we know what's needed. As war resisters and as people of vision we are obliged to challenge neoliberal strategies, because its structures and needs necessarily push us into the war machine. This is why organization against war begins where basic people's needs are violated, at home, not abroad. We must visualize where our taxes go and we must say where it should go. Moral and ethical oppositions to war and military intervention are important, knowledge about international law helps a lot. But let's be vigilant. We must no longer be fooled by enemy images coined for us. We must no longer allow the humanitarian question be misused as a tool for warefare. Bombing for human rights and humanitarian military assistance are a nonsensical concept. Humanitarian goals can never be achieved by terror and through warfare. Human rights violations must challenge at home, where we can find out names and addresses of those responsible for it and take them to court. Let's defend the law against the powerful lawbreakers. Let's learn how to speak truth to power at home and let us join voices for social justice programs in order to help meet the most urgent human needs. Our demands are simple:

- Budgets for Peace! Cut the military expens! Feed the cities!
 Human needs at home first!
- Invest in hospitals, schools and public infrastructure!
- Respect national and international laws!
- Trust other nations to solve their problems and respect their sovereignty!
- Withdraw "patriots" and other military equipment from the Syrian border!
- Stop funding mercenaries, thugs and terrorists!
- Retire NATO!

Socorro Gomes

President of the World Peace Council

Brazilian Center for the Solidarity with the Peoples and the Struggle for Peace

BRASIL



Solidarity with Syrian people, for peace in the Middle East

Comrades and friends, ladies and gentlemen,

For 25 months, the Syrian Arab Republic has been plunged into a political crisis which evolved to an armed conflict of serious proportions. It has resulted in dozens of thousands of dead and in an exodus of more than 1 million of people.

The crisis has started on the inaccurately and falsely trail of the so-called "Arab Spring", under the pretext of promoting democratic reforms and conquesting claims of economic and social nature.

But what is featuring along these more than two years in Syria is the existence of an oriented movement, instigated, financed, instrumentalized abroad, from imperialist powers and regional forces, aiming the withdrawn of President Assad's government, as a phase of execution of a plan of imperialist recolonization of the whole Middle East.

They are not democratic and social inner forces struggling to "improve" the country. They are mercenaries which appeal to terrorism on behalf of goals very different from human rights, democracy and social conquests.

During this period it was patent the imperialist aggressiveness in the region of the Middle East, using brutal methods, mobilizing mercenaries which do not hesitate to practice terrorist acts against civilian people, creating chaos to destroy the infrastructure of the country.

I ask licence to quote a description of the Syrian scenery, made by the Italian journalist Maurizio Musolino, which was in this Arabian country last year:

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"[the mercenaries] are the hearth of Syrian Free Army. They are an international mercenary militia with a strong Islamic feature that are for years at service of strong powers and consolidated interests, willing considerable spoils on the table. A militia that was born and consolidated in the Afghanistan of 1980s, promoted by US' secret services, aiming to feed the contraposition of Soviet bloc. After some years, they were transferred firstly to the Balkans; after this, to an element of destabilization of Saddam Hussein's government in Iraq; and finally in Libya and Syria. A militia that sometimes takes many names and definitions like Al Qaeda, jihadists, salafists (...), but in essence they conserve their own characteristics. They are a non-ideological army that beneath the apparent coverage of Islam, hide an extreme lack of scruples.

About this militia the Western world should do some reasoning and reflection. Especially after that what happened in the United States, September 2001. Who can guarantee that once you have used these mercenaries to do the dirty work in various parts of the world, we would not find them within our own countries as a strong element of destabilization?"

Obviously, the democratic aspiration of Syrian people has no relationship with the actions of these groups, many of them which use the faith and religiosity of the people, as well as social problems, to serve to the interests of imperialist powers and their regional allies.

The struggle to remove the President Assad and the preparation of a foreign intervention attend to interests like changing the correlation of geopolitical forces in the region and plundering of natural resources, on behalf of the imperialist powers coalition.

The United States, the European Union and its allies in the region have established a strategy which the end is the military intervention, occupation and disaggregation of Syria. Tactically, they fight on the diplomatic ground to obtain a mandate in that way by the UN's Security Council; at the same time, they sabotage all initiatives of dialog and peace made by the coverage of this organization.

In April last year, the World Peace Council, together with the World Fed-

eration of Democratic Youth, conduct a mission in solidarity with Syria. In that occasion we made contact with social movements, personalities and authorities. We took a public position stating that under any circumstances we would accept any political or military foreign intervention in Syria and we denounced the hypocrisy of the United States, Israel and NATO, that claimed the pretext to intervene in Syria "to protect" civilian people and human rights.

Many of the national and regional organizations that integrate the World Peace Council have done in their countries demonstrations in solidarity with the Syrian people.

Like a world organization which struggles for peace, once again we claim that we oppose to military interventions which violate the people's right, their national sovereign and cause tragedies: only the united people of each country have the right to decide about their political and socioeconomic future system. Intervene in a country to impose a political model, like the imperialist powers want, is a vicious method, a violation of the principle of sovereign and international law, serving to goals of these powers to dominate nations and peoples and to install themselves as an oppressive force in the region.

What is behind the imperialist intervention in Syria - today through mercenaries financed and armed by the United States, the European Union, NATO and regional powers - is the imperialist plan for the "Great Middle East", which aims to control energy resources, obtains spheres of influence and geostrategic space occupation in the fight for world domination.

The own evolution of the events reveals that the imperialist powers do not want dialog, nor democratization of Syria and human rights, because they systematically reject all initiatives by this way, including political reforms by constitutional amendments, the adoption of multiparty, the convocation of elections, the ministerial changes and the managements seeking dialogue and national reconciliation.

Even the limited proposal of dialog aiming the pacification presented by the United Nations, together with Arabian League was rejected by opposiSocorro Gomes 47

tionist groups on the payroll of imperialism. For the imperialist powers, the only qualified diplomat forum would be the so-called Group of "Friends of Syria", which acts as an adversary. This group met in this country last Saturday, 20 April, when it adopted new decisions and aggressive measures against the interests of the Syrian people. It remains an ongoing campaign for political and diplomatic isolation of Syria internationally.

It is increasingly evident the purpose of imperialist countries to instrumentalize the United Nations, especially its Security Council and deflect the international organization from its essential function to resolve by peaceful means international conflicts and ensure the world peace.

Within the framework of the United Nations, US' imperialism and its allies in the Security Council make efforts to adopt a resolution that could pave the way for the military intervention in Syria. Thus they seek to repeat what they did in Libya, which was violated in its national and territorial sovereignty by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the armed wing of US' imperialism and its European allies.

The imperialist powers rip the basic document of international law, which is the Charter of the United Nations on behalf of arbitrary concepts like "humanitarian intervention" and the "right to protect". It is necessary to clearly reject any attempt to adopt resolutions for a military intervention in Syria.

We firmly believe that the Syrian people reject war and want peace. At the same time, they want to assert their will to live in a sovereign and democratic country with full social rights, in which their fate is in their own hands, without interference or foreign intervention.

The immense media campaign conducted in order to create a pretext for foreign military intervention in Syria is part of a broader plan of European and US' imperialism to redraw the political map of the Middle East in accordance with their interests, strengthening local regimes that support them as well as knocking down those who oppose them.

The policy promoted by imperialism and reactionary regional forces, have only encouraged hatred and political and religious sectarianism, in contrast to the history of a country always tolerant to diversity, like Syria.

We are in solidarity with the Syrian people and we oppose frontally to any kind of foreign military intervention. Recent examples occurred in this and other regions of the world show that the results of these interventions are always traumatic, with loss of life, material damage and sacrifice of national sovereignty.

For the imperialist powers the institution of democracy, individual freedoms, human rights are merely pretexts to overthrow governments that do not comply with their wishes and their imperialist plans.

In our understanding, for a real solution to the crisis in Syria to put an end to the military confrontation is essential that foreign countries that finance armed groups and mercenaries stop immediately this practice.

The fate of the Syrian people should be defined solely by themselves, by his sovereign institutions, and never by outside interests.

Also, it is essential to cease the threats of external intervention from the great powers, notably the United States and the European Union, which need to withdraw their demand to overthrow the current government in Syria.

We entirely rely on the capacity of discernment of the Syrian people, the good will of its political forces, even those that are legitimate democratic and based on sincere opposition intentions, the ability of their movements and the decision of his government to undertake policy, economic, social, legal, and administrative measures matching the patriotic aspirations of the population. We hope that the agreements between these forces lighten the path of reform and peace.

We consider that from the part of the international community, especially the United Nations, all diplomatic efforts should be made to stimulate Syrian dialogue. In this sense, we should avoid confrontational attitudes, policies of sanctions and any attempt of international isolation of the SyriSocorro Gomes 49

an government.

For these reasons, we reject the maneuvers of the United States and some of its allies in the region to unify politically the opposition forces and give them international recognition, not for the purposes of peace, but as a means for more confrontation.

The pacification of the country will be an important step for the Middle East to become a region of peace. This is our role as organizations of social, popular, democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist movements which support efforts for national reconciliation in Syria.

Reaffirming the efforts for peace in the Middle East, we also think the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation, the constitution of their sovereign state within the 1967 borders, with East Jerusalem as its capital, is a struggle that gave significant step in the last year with the recognition obtained at the UN as a non-member and observer.

It is also necessary to continue the struggle for the withdrawn of all foreign occupation troops in the region, the closure of all military bases, the declaration of the Middle East as a zone free of nuclear weapons, the dismantling of NATO (the monstrous war machine), and the cease of all threats from US' imperialism and its allies against Iran, as well as the suspension of the unjust sanctions against this country.

The World Peace Council, when manifests its unconditional solidarity with the Syrian people, believes that the solution to the crisis in this country is part of the efforts for peace in the region and around the world, in contrast to the interventionist policy of war and imperialist powers.

Thank you very much.

Cathy Goodman

U.S. Peace Council USA



The Peace Movement's Silence in the Face of Imperialistic Military Escalations in Africa and the Middle East is Unjustified and Unacceptable!

The United States has announced it will provide the so-called "Syrian opposition" with "non-lethal" aid in an effort to overthrow the Syrian government of Bashar al-Assad. This is a clear step toward escalation of the U.S. military intervention in Syria, which should not surprise anyone, given the well-known U.S. plan for a "New Middle East." What is surprising, however, is the absolute silence and inaction of the peace movement against the criminal acts that are being openly committed against the people of the Middle East, and against the peace and security of the region and the world.

It is clear that the U.S. is already involved in a lethal war against Syria—a totally managed terror campaign led by the U.S., France, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, with the help of Turkey, Jordan and various terrorist groups and organizations. This "Free Syrian Army" includes elements of al-Qaeda, jihadists from Afghanistan, Somalia and Pakistan, and a handful of deserters from the Syrian army.1

This proxy war on the Syrian people—together with punishing Western sanctions—has wreaked havoc for Syria, resulting in close to 50-thousand deaths, 700,000 refugees, and the displacement of more than two million people.² estimated losses to the country's economy over the last 22 months amounted to \$48.4 billion. And "the US-backed 'rebels' have looted the economy, stripping factories of their goods and machinery and

¹ Noureddine Merdaci, "Road Map Drawn Up by Syrian Traitors to Serve Imperialists, Gulf Monarchies," Information Clearing House, December 11, 2012.

² Finian Cunningham "West Moves in for Syrian Endgame and War on Iran," Information Clearing House, December 6, 2012.

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smuggling them across the border to Turkey."3

Well aware that the armed rebels within Syria have no credibility among both the Syrian people and the international community, the Obama administration has been trying desperately to put together its own surrogate government for Syria, without any input from the Syrian people themselves. Thus the "Syrian National Coalition" was cobbled together by the US State Department at a luxury hotel in Doha last November. The resultant Qatar-brokered Doha Protocol, binding the SNC to the U.S agenda, contains the following 13 points:

- 1. Syria should reduce the number of soldiers of the Syrian army to 50,000;
- Syria will assert its right to sovereignty over the Golan only by political means. Both parties will sign peace agreements under the auspices of the United States and Qatar;
- Syria must get rid of, under the supervision of the United States, all its chemical and biological weapons and all of its missiles. This operation must be carried out on the land of Jordan;
- To cancel any claim of sovereignty over Liwa Iskenderun (Alexandretta) and to withdraw in favor of Turkey from some border villages inhabited by Turkmens in 'muhafazahs' in Aleppo and Idlib;
- 5. To expel all members of the Workers Party of Kurdistan, and to hand over those wanted by Turkey. This party should be added to the list of terrorist organizations;
- 6. To cancel all agreements and contracts signed with Russia and China in the fields of subsurface drilling and armaments;

³ Bill Van Auken, "Washington Escalates Syrian Bloodbath," Global Research, March 01, 2013.

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- 7. To allow Qatari gas pipeline passage through the Syrian territory toward Turkey and then on to Europe;
- 8. To allow water pipes to pass through the Syrian territory from the Atatürk Dam to Israel:
- Qatar and United Arab Emirates pledge to rebuild what has been destroyed by the war in Syria on the condition that their companies have the exclusive access to contracts for reconstruction and for exploitation of Syrian oil and gas;
- 10. To terminate relations with Iran, Russia and China;
- 11. To break off relations with Hezbollah and with Palestinian resistance movements;
- 12. The Syrian regime should be Islamic and not Salafi;
- 13. This agreement will come into effect as soon as power is taken.

"This is the price of foreign pressures and of resignation and treachery on the part of Arab states. A high price, an exorbitant price, for Syria ... Nowhere is there any question of democracy, freedom, human rights, building a new Syria in which the Syrians, whatever their ethnicity, religion and belief, enjoy the same rights. Instead, each of the 'sponsors' served himself first, taking whatever he wanted...."4

What we are witnessing in Syria today is another step in the direction of implementation of the imperialist policies developed by the infamous neocons at the Project for the New American Century, the objective of which is to guarantee the absolute hegemony and domination of the United States over the rest of the world and its resources. The founders of the Project published a 90-page document in September 2000 (a year before 9/11) entitled "Building America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Reso-

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⁴ Noureddine Merdaci

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urces For a New Century" to explain the methods of achieving their objectives. It is worth looking at excerpts from this very revealing document.

"In broad terms ... [our] defense strategy ... [must be] maintaining U.S. preeminence, precluding the rise of a great power rival, and shaping the international security order in line with American principles and interests...."

"[I]t is important that **NATO** not be replaced by the European Union, leaving the United States without a voice in European security affairs.... In Turkey, **Incirlik Air Base** ... also needs to be **expanded**, improved and perhaps **supplemented** with a **new** base in eastern Turkey...."

"Raising U.S. military strength in East Asia is the key to coping with the rise of China to great-power status.... American and allied power in the region may provide a spur to the process of democratization inside China itself.... stationing rapidly mobile U.S. ground and air forces in the region will be required...."

[E]lements of U.S. Army in Europe should be redeployed to Southeast Europe, while a permanent unit should be based in the Persian Gulf region.... American land power is the essential link in the chain that translates U.S. military supremacy into American geopolitical preeminence...."

"The challenge for the coming century is to preserve and enhance this 'American peace.' ... In particular, ... the United States must:

Maintain Nuclear Strategic Superiority "... There may be a need to develop a new family of nuclear weapons..."

Reposition U.S. forces to Southeast Europe and Southeast Asia

Develop and Deploy Global Missile Defenses ... for U.S.

power projection around the world....

Control the New "International Commons" of Space and "Cyberspace," and pave the way for the creation of ... U.S. Space Forces – with the mission of space control..."

And, most importantly, none of these can be done "absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event — like a new Pearl Harbor..." (all emphases added)

The criminal attacks of September 11, 2001, the "new Pearl Harbor" that they were waiting for, triggered the implementation of this grand imperialist strategy. The new wave of imperialist aggressions that started after 9/11 with the invasion of Afghanistan and continued with the invasion of Iraq, the coup attempt against Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, the NATO attack on Libya, the ongoing military intervention in Syria, the continuing economic sanction and threats of war against Iran, the drone attacks on Pakistan, and the most recent military interventions in Africa, are all integral parts of this grand imperialistic project now carried out under the guise of the "global war on terror."

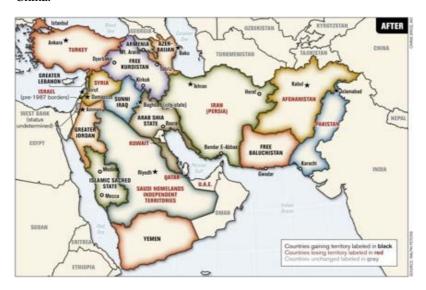
The U.S. strategic goal is controlling the global supply of oil, especially to its rivals like China, Russia, and the European Union, as well as to the emerging economies like India and Brazil. The real plan is to put the U.S. military and NATO in charge of the global supply of oil for everyone. And this requires redrawing the political map of the Middle East according to this imperialist project.

Hence the U.S.-Israeli project for the "New Middle East," introduced officially by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in June 2006. "This project consists in creating an arc of instability, chaos, and violence extending from Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria to Iraq, the Persian Gulf, Iran, and the borders of NATO-garrisoned Afghanistan." And more impor-

Mahdi Darius Nazemoroaya, "Plans for Redrawing the Middle East: The Project for a "New Middle East," Global Research, November 18, 2006 (republished January 27, 2013)

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tantly, establishing permanent "forward military bases" ever closer to China.



Although not officially sanctioned by the Pentagon, recent U.S. military and political interventions clearly demonstrate that the map is a logical representation of what Washington and its allies are after. A look at the map reveals several important points:

- 1. Iraq is being de facto partitioned into three separate states, with its oil reserves divided between two U.S.-controlled states of "Free Kurdistan" and the "Arab Shia State," with the oilless middle part left in the hands of the Sunnis who have been fighting against U.S. Intervention.
- 2. Iran's southern province of Khuzistan (where the Iranian oil fields are located) will be carved out and given to the U.S.-controlled "Arab Shia State." Iran's northern provinces, which have potential unexplored oil reserves, will be carved out and added to the U.S.-controlled states of Azerbaijan and "Free Kurdistan."
- 3. Given the U.S. concerns about the instability of the Saudi re-

gime, that country, too, will be divided into several pieces. The oil fields will be carved out and, again, given to the U.S. - controlled "Arab Shia State."

- 4. Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, already U.S. proxy states, are left untouched.
- 5. Northern parts of Syria will be carved out and given to the U.S.-backed "Free Kurdistan."
- 6. A big chunk of Pakistan, against which the drone attacks have already started, will be carved out and given to the NA-TO-controlled Afghanistan and the newly-created "Free Baluchistan" (partly carved-out from Iran as well), paving the way for oil and gas pipelines that will connect Central Asian republics to the Indian Ocean.
- 7. Ironically, Turkey (a member of NATO and a close ally of the United States) will also lose some territory to the U.S.-controlled "Free Kurdistan." Yet, if the plan for the establishment of a new NATO military base in eastern Turkey is implemented, the transfer of eastern territories of Turkey to "Free Kurdistan" would make this new state a potential NATO member on the northern borders of Iran.

The neocons have a "second objective," namely, "destruction of OPEC." Prior to 9/11, of the OPEC member states, all but two in the Middle East (Iran and Iraq) were already under direct control of the United States; all but one in Africa (Libya) were either directly controlled by or were friendly to the United States; and in Latin America, Venezuela was the country that resisted the U.S. domination. Since 9/11 and the beginning of the so-called "war on terror," Iraq and Libya have been attacked, invaded and their governments overthrown. What is left for U.S. imperialism to do is completely destroying OPEC and secure its absolute control over the

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⁶ London Observer, November 3, 2002.

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global supply of oil? Crushing the remaining "deterrents" to total U.S. domination: Iran and Venezuela.

It is in the context of this grand imperialist strategy that the fate of countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Mali, Venezuela and many other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America is linked. As one analyst has correctly observed: "Obama's recent strides in Syria end with a logical conclusion: U.S. direct military intervention. The stage is still being set, waiting until optimal conditions are met for a Libyan style U.S./NATO mass-bombing mission to finish off the Syrian government. In the eyes of Obama the resulting disaster will be worth the mess, since a non-compliant regime to the U.S. will have been toppled, thus clearing the path for the long term plan of crushing Iran."

Given all of these facts, one has no choice but to be deeply concerned about the lack of outrage and mass mobilization on the part of the peace movement, both in the United States and globally. True, we have issued numerous statements, have signed numerous petitions, have participated in various protests and demonstrations, and even have resorted to civil disobedience tactics. But as we all know, none of these have been successful in stopping imperialist wars, invasions, occupations, coup attempts, political assassinations and other such criminal acts.

It is time for the peace movement to take inventory of its past activities, analyze its weaknesses, and develop an effective strategy for preventing all these atrocities and crimes against humanity.

Let us look at our weaknesses:

1. The peace movement, both in the United States and at the global level, is very much fragmented. We have been lacking a coordinated leadership that is capable of producing a timely and effective response.

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⁷ Shamus Cooke, op. cit.

- 2. We have also been fragmented politically. Different parts of the movement have been defining their priorities separately, and are mostly acting as single-issue movements, without recognizing the organic links that exist between various issues they are fighting for. It is clear that such single issue oriented approach, at the expense of a systemic approach, will not get any of us anywhere.
- Almost all of us are one way or another victim of govern-3. ment propaganda and the corporate media, which define for us who is a "terrorist," who is a "dictator," who is the number one "enemy" and who needs to be attacked immediately. The demonization tactics of the governments and the media have pacified the movement at very critical junctures: Castro, Chavez, Arafat, Noriega, Saddam Hussein, Qaddafi, Ahmadinejad, now Assad and the list goes on. Neither all these leaders are equally demons, nor all of them are freedom-loving democrats. All this is beside the point. They are demonized not because the U.S. and other imperialist powers are concerned about "democracy" and "human rights," but because they are standing against imperialist plans or are an obstacle to the imperialist plans. This demonization has been so effective that it has paralyzed the movement in the face of the blatant imperialist intervention in Syria.
- 4. Probably the most important weakness is lack of understanding of the nature of imperialism. There is a general tendency in the movement to look at these crimes and atrocities as consequences of either bad policy or incompetent leadership. This is a totally misguided approach because it ties its hopes and effort to changing the policy or leadership (mostly through electoral process). This path has been tried over and over for decades without any results. The fact of the matter is that imperialism is neither a result of "wrong" policy nor of bad leadership. Imperialism is the very essence of the present sys-

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tem of global capitalism itself and until the movement comes to grips with this undeniable fact it will not be able to stop it. Understanding this is essential to understand the link between all issues that the movement is fighting for and developing an effective strategy for success. Preventing another catastrophic eruption of American militarism depends upon the mass mobilization of the peace movement against the root causes of war and injustice throughout the world: the imperialist agenda for the 21st Century world.

On the positive side, we are witnessing mass uprisings by the oppressed peoples of the world against this imperialist agenda. This is exactly why the "global war on terror" has been declared. The strategy is to label any resistance to the imperialist agenda as a "terrorist movement" and crush it by military force while paralyzing the peace movement with the fear of being identified as supporter of "terrorists" and "tyrants." But as we have seen the real terrorists and tyrants are the imperialists themselves.

What we need is a peace and justice movement that acts in a coordinated way, not just in response to the imperialist crimes, not just as a reactive force that only protests after the fact, but a peace movement that is proactive, that take preventive measures rather than seeking remedies.

Let us substitute imperialism's policy of "preemptive military strikes" with the peace movement's policy of "preemptive peace strikes." Let us respond not just to wars and invasions after they happen, but to even the smallest preparations that are being made for wars and interventions before they happen.

We need a preventive peace policy if we are to save humanity from total destruction.

Aydemir Güler

Peace Association of Turkey TURKEY



Turkey does not fit into the AKP constitution, nor can do the Middle East into imperialist designs

The current government in Turkey acceded to government through the elections held in 2002. Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) had been founded just one year before the elections. The Islamist party from which it was born through a separation had become strong in mid-90's and became the first party for a short span of time, and won the municipal elections in the two important cities, Istanbul and Ankara. However, this Islamist rising during the 1997-2001 period was ceased by a campaign that rested on the coalition of the military and middle classes, and supported by the grand bourgeois, and the course was reversed.

The economic crisis that burst in 2001 turned into a political crisis through which the main system parties were liquidated. The left and the labour class did not have the power to intervene the chaos that emerged. The current situation in Turkey, in fact, had been settled during the very days of the crisis.

On the one hand, a neoliberal social democrat coalition was tested. However, the party founded with the name New Turkey Party (Yeni Türkiye Partisi, YTP) was not considered as a first-class representative by the internal and foreign prevailing forces and dissipated just after its foundation. The weak point of this party was that it was perceived as a continuation of the central right and central left. The soil fostering the centre of the political spectrum had been so wiped out that it could not support a new initiative.

AKP, which was born through the dissolution of the former Islamist party,

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was offering a political programme synthesizing the conservative Sunni-Islamist tradition with imperialism and neo-liberalism, for the first time in the history of the Islamist movement. This synthesis, in the beginning, had only been a bet and became concrete during the rule of AKP. One has to examine the prevailing powers' quest for "a candidate which could heal the wounds of the economic crisis and even take over its responsibility" at that moment and the support of the imperialism to reconstruct the bourgeois politics, to understand why AKP won the elections.

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The religionist conservative-neoliberal synthesis was founded after AKP had acceded to power and AKP gained strength as the irreplaceable representative of the bourgeois and the imperialist centres. The most important external input of this process of resurgence of AKP is the continuous and unprecedented external financing of the economy until the last global economic and financial crisis. In Turkey, AKP made an ideological and political campaign to liquidate the secular Republic and organized the mobilization of semi-fascist Islamist electoral base.

The example that manifests the shaping of the AKP rule in terms of the relations with the imperialism is that the Parliament of Turkey did not accept the use of its territory for the Iraq operation by the U.S. Military Forces. After this unforeseen obstacle, Ankara would make more efforts to restore compatibility with the U.S.

We can record that more than one third of the privatisations of the last 30 years had been realised during the 10-year rule of AKP in order to ensure the representation of the bourgeois. The most important components of the public services such as health, education and social insurance have been marketised and important steps have been taken to open the urban areas, agricultural, forestry lands to neo-liberal rent-seeking economy.

The Kemalist-social democrat reaction arising from the prevailing forces was oppressed through scandalous trials and investigations, and came into prominence the oppressive character of the AKP policies, which have been introduced as democratisation for long time. There stands a religion-

ist-reactionary mass movement behind this oppressiveness.

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We can claim that, as of 2011, when AKP won the parliamentary elections of 2011, the political regime has changed, the modern capitalist structure founded after the 1919-22 Independence War and the 1923 Republic has been replaced by a regime which is neo-liberal, Islamist and fully compatible with imperialism.

AKP exonerates itself by holding the Kemalist period responsible for the Kurdish Question and argues for the solution of the problem through "1000-year-old Islam brotherhood". Nowadays, a strategy is often uttered that if Turk-Kurd coalition is achieved, the regime will opt for the union with the Kurds living in other countries of the region and the Great Turkey will de facto be the decisive power in the Middle East. It seems that this approach has been influential among the Kurdish political movements.

AKP, in terms of foreign policy, did not have any difficulty in indoctrinating compatibility with the U.S. Turkey is a member of NATO for 60 years. The important question to answer was that what role Turkey would play as an Islamist state. At this point, Turkey could not take a step without hiding her decades-long alliance with Israel, the "cursed enemy" of the oppressed peoples. During the last years, a scenario in this context is being realised and Erdoğan is presented as the leader of all the Muslims.

This scenario is even misperceived by some left-wing circles in Turkey and the world, and by ignoring the anti-labour, pro-imperialist and religionist reactionary character of AKP, some opinions regarding the secession of Turkey from the imperialist Western coalition were claimed.

However, the lack of time-overlapping of the roadmap of AKP and the Arab Spring changed the situation during the conflicts in Syria. AKP was alarmed due to the possibility of a pro-West and reactionary change without its role and contribution. AKP felt to come into prominence as the leader, the initiator and the provocateur of the dirty coalition against the Syrian people in the region. Along with the fact that dozens of countries

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play role in the conflicts in Syria, the process underway most probably appears to be an unnamed Turkey-Syria War. Almost for two years, the agenda of Turkey has been set with those issues.

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Consequently, we can claim the following:

First: Turkey is under a process of rapid Islamisation.

Second: Taking into account the global economic crisis, the dependency of the economy of Turkey on inflow of external financing, and consequent fragility of the economy, the political dependence of the government to imperialism has increased. Installation of the radar system in Malatya, deployment of the Middle East missile system of NATO in Turkey by pleading the tension in Syria, recognition of the NATO encampment in Izmir as a land force centre, use of Turkey as the main passageway for the unlawful interventions against Syria are the signs that indicate to what extent Ankara must be compatible with the imperialism.

Third: While the secular organisms were being liquidated and public economic domains were being opened to rent-seeking economy, the new Islamic and neo-liberal regime set the agenda of preparation of a new constitution. The likely new constitution, whose class-character and political meaning is evident, will be the solemnisation of the change of the regime. The progressive forces in Turkey struggle with the catchword of "Turkey does not fit to AKP Constitution".

Fourth: The facilitator and excuse of this transformation is "the solution of the Kurdish Question". This year, negotiations have started among the AKP government, the imprisoned leader Öcalan, Kurdish national party BDP, the guerrilla organisation PKK, and the Kurdish associations in Europe. During this process, some fractions of the left of Turkey support it by saying "peace at whatever cost" and some fractions get into the position of "Kurdish people do not fit to AKP Constitution". The softening of the relations between PKK and AKP seems to bring to an end the Kurdish Question to be an obstacle against the construction of the new regime and

the imperialist planning in the Middle East. In Turkey we see a bunch of examples in this vein, the Kurdish political figures put forward claims implying that democratisation can be achieved under the rule of AKP and the peace might be established. Outside Turkey it appears that PYD, the Kurdish organisation that is in connection with PKK, has a role in opening some districts in Aleppo, the second most populated city of Syria, to proimperialist and reactionary FSA.

Fifth: One of the strategic outcomes of the Arab Spring has been the transformation and renewal of the old-fashioned type of imperial chain of dependency. The imperialism, instead of appearing as an external enemy dating back to the Crusades, is in accordance with the Islamist regimes in the region and the Middle East is being pushed to an inter-sect war. An image that can be depicted as "on one side the Sunnites, on the other the Shiite and the Alawites, who are known to position close to Shiism" is intended to replace the perception of Western-Christian-Jewish invasion.

Sixth: The internal political, ideological, institutional transformation in Turkey has been the pioneer and early model of the reshaping of the region, moreover, the transformation, contrary to the bloody uprisings in the Arab countries, is achieved through harsh and tense but political struggles.

Seventh: The constitution being debated in Turkey is not only an item of the internal agenda. It is also related to the pro-imperialist, sectarian transformation in the Middle East. The entire process aims at the ultimate integration of the Kurdish factor into the Sunni axis. The progressive forces in Turkey stand against this plan in the region, they coherently oppose the militarist policies of Ankara, and declare that Turkey would not only fit to the AKP Constitution but also not fit to the imperial scenarios in the Middle East. In this vein, a secular anti-imperialism should define the common ground of the progressive and pacifist forces in the region.

Eighth: There exists a spontaneous bubble up against this transformation in Turkey. The Alawites, branching of the Turkish, Kurdish and Arab ethnicities and who are being described as enemies, the labour class under the neo-liberal attack, intellectuals who resist the reactionism are the social

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base of this restlessness.

Ninth: The conspiracy against Syria is being pursued along with a big media campaign in Turkey. However, it cannot be claimed that the aforementioned social groups, which might be considered as opposition potential, adopt the image of "The Enemy Syria" and support the war policy of the government against Syria. The real reason behind the installation of the patriot missiles in our country in the last months and it are not being voted at the expense of the violation of the constitution is the uneasiness of the government in this regard. It was very probable that the anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments of the masses would put pressure onto members of the parliament.

Tenth: The sensitiveness and the insistence of the Peace Association of Turkey on the Syria issue, without doubt, have ethical bases. It is firstly the progressive and pacifist forces of Turkey who oppose the unlawful and inhuman interventions of the prevailing forces of Turkey. The other dimension of the ethical responsibility is the fact that the Baas Regime had not grudged to be in solidarity with the revolutionary movements of Turkey. This relation can also be understood from the fact that the Syrian Baas is the unique Arab state that stands against the militarist policies of Israel. However, the issue is beyond this ethical base. The re-design of the region is now dependent on the events in Syria. The class and political character of the Syrian regime is questionable, however, we might anticipate that a larger scale war would have started if Damascus had the same destiny of Cairo, Tunis and Tripoli. This war fronts towards the all antiimperialist and non-Sunnite forces in the region and Iran. In addition to this international dimension, the problem is related to change of the political regime in Turkey in a counter-revolutionary context. The more the reactionism in Turkey is stopped, the more likely that the war politics will fall down the drain. The more the war policies against Syria are weakened, the more the reactionary dynamics in Turkey will fall down the drain.

Eleventh: The Peace Association of Turkey, within this context, fully supports the World Peace Council's considering the Syria issue in an antiimperialist axis. We have already been in the delegation of investigation sent to Syria by the WPC with WFDY. The anti-imperialist peace approach of the WPC is noted and mentioned in several meetings, as in the World Assemble in Katmandu in 2012, in the trilateral meetings of the peace committees of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. The conference that we have organised in November 2012 was achieved through the same approach. We aim that our current conference that is going to gather us in April 2013 strengthens the work that we will do in the immediate future. Taking this purpose into consideration, we propose initiation of a non-governmental law initiative to investigate the crimes against humanity and war crimes against the people of Syria, and forming an international information and documentation centre as a part of this initiative. We think that our conference that assembles has the ability to realize this organisation in a strong and effective manner.

Today, the typical delusion of the policies of the prevailing forces in Turkey and the region, therefore the solution of the progressive and pacifist forces, is that the powers of the peoples are underestimated during the application of the prevailing policies. Turkey does not fit to an Islamist and neo-liberal constitution. The Kurdish people cannot be deceived. The peoples of the Middle East do not fit to imperialist plans!

Christos Marganelis

Greek Committee for International

Detente and Peace

GREECE



NATO AND WORLD PEACE

Dear friends and fellow fighters,

When the North Atlantic Treaty, well known to all of us as NATO, was signed on 4th April 1949, the pretext for this was the "communist threat" and the obvious target the USSR, the newly established peoples' Republics and the international workers' and popular movement.

NATO was founded before the Warsaw Pact was and from the outset it expressed the imperialists' intention not to limit themselves to the narrow boundaries of the North Atlantic Treaty's action and operation. On the very day the Treaty was signed, the US President, Harry Truman, clarified that interest would remain intense "...regarding the security and prosperity of other regions as far as the Near East".

Sixty-four years have elapsed since then and as the basic military and political pillar of imperialism, NATO, has manifested this interest in our region with military dictatorships, wars and huge armaments programs, the cost of which has been a crushing burden on the peoples, especially during the capitalist crisis.

According to the statement of the General Secretary of the NATO alliance, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly in Prague, Greece comes second to the USA in military spending of over 2% of GDP. Specifically, in 2008 Greek military spending represented 3,1% of GDP, while over the last two years it came to 2,1%. Billions of Euros in earlier arms orders have been included in the public debt, which along with the interest and according to modest calculations exceed 50% of said debt!

After the dissolution of the USSR, the basic justification for NATO's action and role no longer exists and the demand for the dissolution of this wolves' alliance is self-evident.

What remains, however, is the anti-imperialist resistance of countries and workers' and popular movements, which persist in demanding the right of the peoples to determine their own historical path and social prospects. At the same time, the exacerbated intra imperialist differences and the realignments stemming mainly from the strengthening of emerging imperialist powers outside of NATO, are forming new international alliances, unstable by definition, to divide up markets and regions in order to control energy sources and the routes for their transport traced by the sweat and blood of the peoples.

The result for this reality is NATO's adjustment of its doctrine and structure in recent years. It has stated that the entire planet constitutes its "vital" space and has been aggressively spreading from Somalia and Afghanistan to New Zealand and Australia. It has expanded its "pre-emptive wars" and with its deployment of its "missile shield" is reinforcing its capacity to inflict a "first nuclear strike".

It is widening its frame of action against supposed "new" and "unsymmetrical threats", which are now been used as a pretext for the expansion of its action in spheres such as: cyber attacks, piracy, "terrorism", the proliferation of ballistic and nuclear weapons, "energy security", climate change, migration, water scarcity, etc.

In this framework, issues regarding the Aegean Sea but also the eastern Mediterranean are directly connected to the new imperialist arrangements, which, focused on developments in Syria, make the possibility of an overall war in the region.

The Greek Committee for International Détente and Peace (EEDYE) believes that the anti-imperialist struggle, friendship and solidarity amongst the peoples and the mobilization of every progressive person against unjust wars and the system which gives birth to them are the only hope.

Working people's interests in Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and other countries cannot be guaranteed by bourgeois governments and parties who are interested in how they will hand over mineral resources to the monopolies. Possession of the loot, which is determined by interdependencies and rank

on the imperialist pyramid, can in no way benefit the popular strata, regardless of the type of political administration. On the contrary, it presupposes their destruction.

Strengthening the workers' and popular movements against the monopolies in our country and internationally vindicates that which is being put forward by the anti-imperialist peace movement and by the overall anticapitalist prospect as being the only realistic way out.

Worldwide peace and the capitalist system are incompatible concepts.

Moving towards the 34th Peace March to be held on May 19 honoring the memory of the peace fighter Gregory Lambrakis, who was murdered 50 years ago, EEDYE is carrying out many types of activities to mobilize the popular masses against imperialism and unjust wars, its policies and structures.

We are struggling for and demanding:

- No conventional obligation turning Greece into a springboard for attacks on Syria and Iran to be fulfilled.
- The US/NATO Souda base not to be used against the peoples of the region and that to be closed now.
- All the NATO and EU bases and command headquarters in Larissa, Thessaloniki, Aktio and Araxos to be closed.
- All Greek troops and police forces outside our borders on imperialist missions to return.
- The military maneuvers to be cancelled and all agreements for military cooperation with Israel to be abrogated.

We are continuing our struggle against NATO and the EU for Greece's disengagement from those imperialist organizations. We are contributing to the growth of the movement with this orientation in the Balkans and in other regions.

We are continuing our campaign demanding the return of Greek military

and police forces from abroad through various types of mobilization, with joint action with other organizations in the militant mass movement, by opening up in schools and universities but also to the families of troops and police who have been sent abroad.

We are seeking to hold discussions and to take common initiatives with class-oriented unions, parents, student organizations, with soldiers who have taken part in imperialist missions outside of Greece.

We are undertaking coordinated initiatives in Europe for the withdrawal of soldiers from NATO and the EU operations outside of Europe's borders.

We are reinforcing our efforts to develop the movement for solidarity with Cyprus, for an end to the occupation, for the Cyprus issue to be resolved in such a way as to ensure the unity of the Republic of Cyprus based on a bicommunal, bi-zonal federation with an international identity and a single citizenship.

We condemn the "Eurogroup" agreement on Cyprus and express our solidarity with the Cypriot people in facing the anti-popular measures being set in motion against them.

We are redoubling our efforts for the growth of the solidarity movement with the peoples who are being targeted by imperialism and threatened under various pretexts because they demand the right to decide for themselves regarding their future without foreign interference.

We support the Palestinian people's struggle against the Israeli occupation, for an independent Palestinian state within the 1967 borders and with East Jerusalem as its capital.

With all our might we support the WPC's action, strengthening its antiimperialist character within the framework of the resolutions taken by its Assembly held in Nepal on 20-23 July 2012.

Agneta Norberg

Swedish Peace Council SWEDEN



Sweden has during the last ten years transformed dramatically from being a country, advocating peaceful means to solve international problems, to a country deeply involved in US wars. In fact Sweden has become one of the most ardent activists in taking part in US/Pentagons different war affairs. We send soldiers to Afghanistan and we also contributed in the Libya war with seven JAS-Gripen warplanes. Sweden in a member of Partnership for Peace, an antechamber to NATO. NATO is no peace organization. It is the world's largest military apparatus with the world's largest storage of nuclear weapon. The Nordic countries have become a gigantic training field for all kinds of warfare for USA/NATO. The Nordic countries have even become a center for war via satellites that is space war.

On the 15th of February 2004 a shameful decision was made about Sweden's adjustment to European Union and NATO and there by USA's need of a large area for training for their many wars. The decision was grounded on one-man proposal called "Snow, Darkness and Cold". The war-training areas USA has in Italy and specially in Germany are very unpopular. Opposition to the USA's presence increased after the end of the Cold War. Mass demonstrations were common. And new types of weapons demanded larger space especially the space steered weapons for example Excalibur and other types of robots and drones. The gigantic Swedish, area in the North known as North European Aerospace Test Range, NEAT, became very popular for these reasons. NEAT has within its area the world's largest station for receiving information from satellites, known as Esrange Robotbase.

The testing area is 216 miles long which makes it possible to test long range missiles. The same goes for the drones, the pilot less planes that are tested in this large area. 20 years after the end of the Cold War Sweden has within its borders Europe's largest war test range in one common area. It is the government which decides in every individual case about the right to

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use NEAT. July 2010 USA's Air Force was given permission to train bombing for two months in the test range Lomben outside of the city of Kalix. 2011 the British Air Force was given permission to use the area for almost the entire year.

Satellite War

Satellites have become more important in modern warfare. Esrange, which is the world's largest modern downloading station for satellites situated close to Kiruna. Esrange gives, on demand, detailed maps of countries via satellites. One example: The satellite downloads detailed maps of North Korean territory, which is sent to South Korean military. Pilot-less airplanes UAV, drones are steered via satellites. Large investments have been made to test the drones. At Esrange and Vidsel Testrange. The possibilities to do such tests in crowded Europe are almost impossible. This makes Esrange/VIDSEL unique says The Space Company (Rymdbolaget).

Swedish SAAB, among other companies, has developed the big drone NEURON. This is a 4 billion expensive prototype that will be the first of the future pilotless bomb drones. NEURON will do its first test flights at NEAT 2014. NEAT has been used for training of drones earlier. 2002 Israel military NEAT and tested their pilotless aircraft UAV Eagle which is produced by Israel Aircraft Industries. This type of plane is, according to UN and UNRWA, the one that has been used in Israel's attacks on Gaza. When we mention drones I want to say that USA has placed its biggest drone, Global Hawk in the Baltic States. Global Hawk can be in the air 24 hours at a time.

AMRAAM is radar seeking fighter robot that is used against flying objects. The robot has been tested at NEAT by 8 countries; among them were USA, Great Britain and Sweden, 2006 and 2007. AMRAAM has been used by USA in wars in Iraq, former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Libya.

Constant War Maneuvers

The Swedish counties Norrbotten and Västerbotten, in the North, are together as large as Germany in size. It has been used during the past few years as a huge war test range.

Here are some examples:

The end of September, 2007 the Norrbottningar suffered through an enormous air maneuver. There were 30 airplanes in the air at the same time. The countries that were training together were USA, France, Switzerland, Finland, Norway and Sweden. According to the local newspaper the air was filled with airplanes for two weeks. 300 persons participated in the action. 300 of them were foreigners. The maneuver they participated in was called, Nordic Air Meet. This was the beginning of the international war maneuvers in Norrbotten in big scale according to the head of F-21 Lars Jäderholm (Norrbottens Kuriren 27/9 2007). John B. Kelly the head of the US Air Forces in Europe was very impressed by the gigantic Swedish air room. In an interview in Norrländska Socialdemokraten, he said "in Europe it is more and more difficult to practice because of the civilian air traffic."

In 2009, it was time again for Loyal Arrow -histories largest air maneuver in Norrbotten, June 8- 16. It was lead from Bodö in Norway. This maneuver was quickly given a new name -Royal Error- by peace activists. Our government turned over one third of Sweden's air room, land and territorial water to USA/NATO. USA's nuclear capable fighter plane F-15 Eagle and F-16 participated. A British aircraft carrier M/S Illustrious made its way up in the Bothnian Bay and lay at anchor outside of the harbor of Luleå. Even this was the first time in history such an event had taken place. At the same time 6th of June, 42 war ships from 12 countries were in Karlskrona to partake in USA/NATOs marine war maneuver Baltic Operations. This was the largest BALTOPS maneuver so far. Both of the maneuvers in the North and the South were aimed at Russia. In our peace group we wondered what the Swedish defense committee and parliament had to say about that. We discovered that they had no idea what was being

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planned. The question had never been discussed.

Cold Response No. 1

In 2009, it was time for Cold Response No. 1, a winter maneuver in northern Sweden and northern Norway. 1000 Swedish soldiers participated in the marine, air and army war maneuver that began February 18th and went on until March 5th. This was the first time this type of war maneuver was done in this area by the northern border and Abisko. At the same time 9000 soldiers from 10 nations participated including, among others USA. The maneuver was to show how they should act towards Russia in the Arctic if there is a conflict about gas and oil finds. These founds are becoming more in view as ice melts because of climate change. In our peace group we demanded that conflicts over energy resources should be solved peacefully, with diplomacy.

Cold Response No. 2

In the middle of March 2012, this year, a Norwegian transport plane crashed against the Swedish mountain Kebnekajse. The plane had 5 young Norwegian soldiers on-board and all of them died. If this had not happen the general public would perhaps never known anything at all about the gigantic war maneuver that was taking place in Northern Norway and Northern Sweden. USA's fighter plans F-15 Eagle and F-16 took part. Both of them are nuclear capable. Many people mean that this was the largest war maneuver since the end of the Cold War. 16.500 soldiers from 15 different countries took part. It was called Cold Response and it took place in 9 days. Cold Response means - cold answer. Answer on what? The name of this maneuver is similar to the name of the big maneuver before the war in Georgia 2007. It was not called Cold Response but Rapid Response. It was before President Saakasvili's attack on South Ossetien where almost the entire capital city Tskinvali was totally bombed to pieces, schools, hospitals, homes etc. It triggered the Russian army to go

into Georgia and bomb Gori. The Georgian war maneuver that proceeded that attack was called Rapid Response.

The Swedish defense minister and the foreign minister Bildt in our conservative government have used the war in South Ossetian as an example for how the gigantic Russia attacked the democratic defenseless land without cause. Both of them have carefully neglected to say what proceeded and the media has of course followed them. I happen to have a friend who has a cousin who happened to sit in the cellar of a house in Tskinvali during the bombings. My friend got a telephone call from her cousin's cellphone. She described how the Georgian forces bombed hospitals and homes etc. Later we heard that 35.000 people were forced to flee to North Ossetien. So for these reasons the government bought 17 Black Hawk helicopters. According to former Swedish Commander Per Blomquist these helicopters are not to be used for defense. They were attack helicopters. That colonel told me that the Sweden has done away with its defense forces and now only has attack forces to use.

Different Russian newspapers have commented about Cold Response No. 2 for example Igor Korotchenko in the magazine National Security: "This maneuver is taking place while NATO is increasing its activity in the Arctic. These exercises are a result of the increasing disagreement about the natural resources in the Arctic. By showing their muscles NATO wants to strengthen its geopolitical and diplomatic power with military might." "The maneuvers could just as well be held on Canadian territory," said Vladimir Yevseyjev from the Center for International Security in Global Economy and International Relations. But the maneuvers are being held on Swedish and Norwegian territory, closest to the Russian boarder. Therefore it is seen as a provocation. Russia has all reason to be worried because US ships are armed with Aegis system. Aegis system is a military defense system that is based on ships and is a radar system with a huge range. That means that these battle ships can hit enemy ballistic missiles. This system is a part of USA's missile defense system. Nikolay Makarov who leads the Russian general staff says that Russia will take necessary counter steps if USA's battleships armed with Aegis systems are based in Agneta Norberg 83

northern waters. USA's battleships in northern water represent a definite threat according to the same general USA have pressured Norway to arm its battleships with a missile defense system. But it seems that Norway has not wanted to do that. USA's battleships armed with the Aegis system have recently visited Ukraine in the Black Sea harbor Sevastopol. Protest broke out in Russia.

The Russian forces have a minimal amount of conventional forces in relation to its enormous area and long boarder. They depend completely on their tactical nuclear weapons, according to professor Yuri Morosov, who spoke last summer in Luleå. Especially this concerns their submarines. Russia is building 8 Borey submarines and 8 Yasen submarines by 2020.

Besides this general Makarov says that Russia will not hesitate to use its tactical nuclear weapons if this is necessary. The Russian nuclear weapons are the cornerstone in strategic stability and they now strive to modernize the country's nuclear weapons.

USA Marine Corp. General James M. Lariviere, commander of the forth marine division was in northern Norway during Cold Response 2. He said, "This is an opportunity for us to practice with our allies. Many are coming from the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. They have had good opportunities to cooperate with USA s allies in different capacities."

I have earlier mentioned Esrange, the world's largest down loading station from satellites in northern Sweden, how I want to speak about Vardö base, the world's strongest radar construction, Globus 2, which is a part of USA's total control of the Russian land mass and a part of USA's missile defense system. This radar system completely surrounds Eurasia. Recently an agreement was signed between USA/Turkey and USA/Romania concerning gigantic radar construction that will be an important link in this attack system around the whole continent.

The installation of the Vardö radar was done at the end of the 1990's and caused great protests from the Russians because this was against the ABM-Treaty (The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty) which was a stabilizing treaty that was signed 1972. 2002 President Bush pulled USA out of that

treaty which was meant to hinder the placing of equipment close to any of the great powers boarders so that it could not be used as a first strike of nuclear weapons.

The Norwegian journalist Inge Sellevåg disclosed in Bergen's Newspaper 1998 that this radar construction had been moved from Vandenberg air base in California, USA. This radar had earlier been used with tests of USA's robot defense (Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, March/April 2000).

Vardö radar is one of the strongest radars that USA has placed around the world and it makes USA's robot defense possible. It can be used offensively. Radar installations of this type have been installed also in Clear in Alaska, Fylingdales and Menwith Hill in England and Thule base in Greenland and countries around China and Russia.

The Russian political security spokesmen see the Vardö radar as extremely dangerous. It gives the USA a first strike capability with nuclear weapons. One of the few Swedish opposition to this is the nonviolent network Ofog. In June 2004 seven Ofog activists drove all the way there in an old rusty car, through Sweden and all the way to northern Norway. They said they wanted to inspect the base. The head of the base Magne Tunestved denied that the radar was a part of the missile defense system and that any Americans worked on the base. But the receptionist at the islands only hotel said that everything about the base was a secret and that Americans live in the hotel when they are there. According to professor Theodor Postol from MIT University in USA can the radar in Vardö together with the radar on the island of Shemya on the other side of the Russian continent cover the entire Russian and check when they send up missiles. The Raytheon Company says this in their documentation. The retired military advisor Terje Wahl, from the Norwegian space center disclosed that the radar station on Vardö played an important role in the invasion of Iraq. According to him the Vardö radar was used to hinder the collision of satellites over Iraq. Large quantities of the precision bombing of Iraq were steered by satellites stationed over the equator. Wahl named also the important role that the Vardö radar plays has been mentioned sources in Norway and USA. The installations in Vardö have according to him played a very Agneta Norberg 85

important role because they are placed much further East than other satellites and that they have been able to watch satellites stationed over Bangladesh according to US military sources.

Now I want to tell the main points from Bård Wormdals book Satellitkrigen (Satellite Wars will soon come in English and Russian), that was published November 2011

Before that I want to cite Loring Wirbel from his book, Star War: US tools for space supremacy. He says in the introduction. When a precision bomb falls over Tikrit, steered to its goal by satellites in the global position system, then space weapons have been used. When a flying object with no pilot fires a robot toward what they think is a car filled with al Qaeda members in Yemen, using electronic information to define the goal, then space weapons have been used. This warfare was refined in Kosovo, in Afghanistan and in Iraq. He ends: Space based, military superiority represents an international crisis of the highest degree.

I have mentioned Esrange that gives all of the world's war-faring countries with maps of the land area they are about to bomb and makes it possible for them to do precision bombing. Now we will see how Svalbard and the installations there made it possible for US/NATO when they bombed Libyan to get correct bombing information from satellites that had contact with Svalbard. Bård Wormdal, who is author of the book Satellite War, lives in Vadsö and is journalist on Norwegian TV, NRK.

He claims that the Norwegian satellite activities are not permitted by international agreements which state that Svalbard should be a peaceful area. The Svalbard agreement is from 1920 and it says that the islands may not be used for war purposes and that all military activities are forbidden. But according to Bård Wormdal the satellite station SvalSat is used for military purposes and that information from the satellite was used in the war in Libya in "Operation United Protector". He also claims that modern warfare is more and more dependent on satellites for secret service activities, steering of weapons, communication and much more.

Because of the location of Svalbard both in Arctic and in the Antarctic, the

Norwegian satellites have a special ability. It is only they who can reach the satellites that go over the poles every time they go around the earth. Those who scrutinize what the satellites are used for have no possibility to see what kind of information is received. Norway has signed the Svalbard Agreement which states that this area should not be used for war. The Norwegian foreign department denies that they break the Svalbard agreement.

A Nordic mini-NATO is being created?

Neither Sweden nor Finland are members of NATO but they are in Partnership for Peace a first step towards NATO. There is rather a compact opposition to NATO membership in both Sweden and Finland, according to the latest popular opinion polls. How can one get around that? Prime Minister David Cameron of Great Britain was hosted for a meeting of all of the Nordic countries, including the Baltic countries.

The meeting was held January 19-20, 2011. The meeting was held to consolidate the common interests of the Nordic countries. The countries are going to cooperate about air space, sea areas, security in Northern regions, cyber security, training of equipment and trooped etc. The reason for the needs for this cooperation was said to be the increased tensions in the Arctic area. Some people think this is part of sneaking Finland and Sweden in to NATO.

Adel Omar

National Peace Council of Syria SYRIA



Dear comrades,

Dear friends and guests,

The organizers of this anti-imperialist international event of solidarity with the people of Syria.

I deliver to you, at the beginning, struggle greetings from the Syrian Communist Party, members, leadership and especially comrade General Secretary of the Communist Party Dr. Ammar Bagdache.

Yes, dear comrades and friends, we support the slogan of this conference, we are with you all, in the struggle to achieve the following slogans;

Imperialists out of the Middle East...

Stop war...

Stop the NATO aggression...

No to intervention in Syria...

My country Syria, is exposed to the most dangerous aggression against its sovereignty, its independence, its territorial integrity, and the dignity and freedom of its people. This aggression led by U.S. imperialism and Zionist Israel, and supported, with all strength, by the European Imperialism, and implemented by reactionary Arab and Turkish government the loyal arm of NATO in the region. Under false slogans, such as; "human rights" and "freedom of peoples", they use in their aggression a fiercest campaign of lying and disinformation to cover what is happening of destruction and sabotage in my country Syria. Oh, what this lying, U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners talk about the rights of Syrian people! We saw what freedom and human rights left by U.S. imperialism in Iraq and Afghanistan. Killing innocent people, this is their freedom, stealing the country's wealth and monuments and the destruction of its economy, this is the American concept of human rights.

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Dear comrades and friends,

The reason for this international terrorism against my country Syria, is because that Syria did not kneel down, and will not kneel down, is because that Syria has said no to the fascist of this era, said no to the killers of the peoples, Syria, which has stood and still stands against to the projects of neocolonialism for our region, especially the project of "The Big New Middle East", Syria which supports the national liberation movements in the region, it supports the national resistance in Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq. Syria, which is a rock in the face of the forward imperialist base in the Middle East – Zionist Israel, and persistent in the struggle for the restoration of its territory from Israeli occupation. Syria, which refuses to be a colony devoid of dignity, controlled by NATO.

Those who claim that they are keen on the rights and freedom of the Syrian people, instructed their mercenaries to destroy Syria to weaken it and to make it kneel down.

They destroy our universities and our schools.

They destroy our hospitals.

They have killed our scientists, thinkers, and our strugglers.

They stole our monuments.

They burn and steal our factories.

They stole our wheat to starve our people.

They burnt the plants of production of milk for the children of Syria.

They destroyed power plants.

They destroyed drinking water networks.

They burnt the factories of medicines needed by Syrian children.

They stole Syrian oil.

They want to destroy Syria; history, civilization and future.

Dear comrades and friends,

The Syrian people are steadfast and resistant, and despite all the pain and daily criminality, determined to victory.

We will make the Syrian land a graveyard for the conspirator invaders.

Syria today is a steadfast castle in the face of all the imperialist forces in the world, defends its existence, and defends all the free, the honest and the revolutionaries in the world.

From here, from İstanbul, I say: The Turkish patriotic honest forces, the Turkish liberation democratic forces, fight to stop the policies of aggression carried out by the Turkish government. Turkish people raise your voice high against the dirty role played by the Turkish government against Syria and its people.

The motto of the Syrian Communist Party, which raised is: for international front against imperialism.

Salute to all the revolutionary liberation forces struggles against imperialism.

Salute to everyone who supports the struggle of Syrian people against the most dangerous terrorist war.

Tribute to the martyrs Syria.

Syria will triumph, and we will celebrate the victory in the streets of Damascus.

Thank you for your solidarity with the valiant Syrian people.

Jamil Safieh

Lebanon Peace Council LEBANON



Dear comrades

We meet today when our Arabic region is undergoing profound and dangerous changes which may lead to serious consequences, consisting of fragmentation of existing entities and establishment of conflicting states, created on religious or ethnic grounds, which reinforces the status of the imperialist-Zionist plan and devotes Israel as a Jewish state to be the strongest one in the region, in the purpose of dominating the petroleum and gas sources, and more precisely the ones explored lately in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. The popular uprisings that exploded in most of the Arab countries are normal expression of the people yearning to accomplish the tasks of social and national liberation. Despite the widening circle of social forces participating in these uprisings, they were characterized by lack of leadership and avant-garde, and the program clearly expressed the aspirations of these peoples within the framework of democratic change. The spontaneous character of these revolutions alleged counter-revolution forces to take the leadership of popular movements with the support of the Arab reactionary forces and world imperialism, especially the United States of America.

In fact, the popular uprisings overthrew some of the dictators that stayed on the head of some systems, but they couldn't hold profound changes in economic, social and political structures, originally responsible for the dependence of these countries on the American and Israeli policies. In their turn, the imperialist powers replaced their political support by the forces of political traditional Islam. What is happening in Syria and on its ground nowadays exceeded the democratic popular movement, trying to conduct radical changes in the political system and in the neoliberal economic and social policies. As the result of the reluctance of the Syrian regime to take the initiative to satisfy the legitimate demands, on one hand, and the intervention of the Arab reaction forces supported by the American and western imperialists to push up the Islamic forces, including the

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extremist ones, on the other hand, led to shift of the peaceful and democratic struggle into violent conflict threatening the integrity of Syria and inflicted severe harm to the interests of the Syrian people and the Syrian state institutions, and the systematic destruction of Syria and its history which may pave the way to divide Syria into rival and conflicting multi-states. For that matter, we call all Syrian political and national democratic forces to try to stop violence. As well as we invite all true representatives of the Syrian people for initiating a democratic dialogue titled as:

- Military security solution accompanied with political democratic solution.
- Act against external military intervention and the flow of arms and money to the armed terrorist groups.
- Supporting the Syrian people's rights to decide their fate.

The armed conflict in Syria has immediate repercussions on Lebanon. The Lebanese sectarian forces are divided according to their external subordination to parts supporting the Syrian regime, and another opposing it, at a time when the Lebanese government announced a policy of non-position regarding the situation in Syria. Lebanon became a place for fundamentalist groups and mercenaries and a corridor to deliver weapons and armed people into Syria. These divisions among the Lebanese forces led to internal fighting of sectarian nature and resulting in casualties and causing great damage, especially in poor popular areas.

Lebanese democratic forces has sought, on the basis of its principled positions, defending the civil peace and preventing the recurrence of civil war in Lebanon, to organize grassroots activities and to communicate with the democratic forces in the Arab world to develop and elaborate a popular position, refusing the internal war and defending the interests of popular groups, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. All the democratic and peace-loving Arabic forces are called to expand their activities in defense of the economic and social demands, public freedoms and solidarity with the peoples of the region and to refuse the barbaric imperialism and foreign intervention and the establishment of NATO military bases and release

all prisoners and detainees in Israeli prisons, which recalls the death camps created by Nazi Germany during World War II.

The Lebanese Peace Committee expresses its deep thanks to the organizers of this meeting: comrades in Turkish Peace Committee and World Peace Council and to all the participants and organizers around the world.

Akel TaqzPalestinian Committee for Peace and Solidarity PALESTINE



Dear comrades and friends

I would first like to express, on behalf of the member organisations of the WPC from the Middle East, our respect to the Peace Association of Turkey for hosting this important activity of WPC. This meeting is taking place in this critical moment in the world history and for the world peace. We would also like to thank all comrades and organisations who participate in this meeting and also in the previous one held in Istanbul last November, which reflects the understanding that the moment in the region especially in Syria and around Syria is really very dangerous and threats the whole region with new aggression by NATO and alliance forces.

We hope and wish all success of our meeting, and we are sure that all of us will do our best for this success and for the future of our peace movement in the struggle for world peace.

Dear comrades.

We are here to discuss the situation in the region in general and in Syria in particular where we can witness the imperialist countries with USA and NATO members in the first plan, preparing the ground for the intervention in Syria.

From the beginning of the so-called Arab spring, USA and imperialist countries tried to redirect the developments in these Arab countries to serve their interests. Their influence and efforts unfortunately succeeded in many of them.

They succeeded to destroy Libya, to take control of the oil and to create a chaos drawing this country under control of extreme elements.

In Egypt, they supported Islamic forces to jump to the power, leading the country to instability with a danger of civil war.

In Bahrain, with the intervention of the military forces of Al Jazeera, they

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prevented Bahraini people to express its willing for democratic and peaceful change. In Yemen, using the presence of Al Qaeda in this country for military intervention and bombing the country on daily basis.

But we knew from the very beginning that their target after Egypt as the biggest Arab country was Syria.

With the pretext of democratic changes and transition of power, they prepared the field for regime change by force, by creating a wide coalition of NATO members and its alliances in the region for military intervention, they started early by sending weapons and extreme elements in Syria to implement their goals.

When they could not pass such resolution in the UN as in the case of Libya, they used the pretext of defending Turkey, by sending Patriot missiles and by opening the borders of neighbouring countries for the import of weapons and extreme groups to Syria using every tool to kill and to destroy the country. Despite the long time without serious results in achieving their goals, they are continuing the preparation for military intervention.

We are as peace forces, against any kind of intervention in the internal affairs of Syria; we demand the stopping of all kinds of aggressions against Syrian people. We believe that only Syrian people have the right to decide for its future. Peoples of the region have common interests for development, progress, social justice and they have nothing to do with the plans of the world imperialism. Turkish and Arab peoples have lived together for centuries and they can solve any differences with dialog.

Discussing the situation in the ME, we cannot ignore the dramatic situation in Palestine where Israeli occupation is continuing for more than 65 years. Israel is continuing the building of settlements in the Palestinian land especially in East Jerusalem, creating a separation wall, arresting Palestinians and closing Jerusalem and declaring it as the capital of Israel, all with full support by USA and its allies.

We believe that the solution of the problem must be on the basis of the UN

resolutions, with ending the occupation and establishment of the Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as the capital. The solution of the problem of the refugees, according to the UN resolution 194, is the release of prisoners from Israeli jails, ending the siege of Gaza and stopping all kinds of aggressions against Palestinian people by settlers and army.

We believe that the efforts of USA for the restart of negotiations will not have any result if they do not change their approach.

International community must take its responsibility to face the unacceptable Israeli behaviour, to end the occupation and to recognize Palestine as a full member state with East Jerusalem as its capital. Only then, peace will be possible.

Once again we thank our comrades from the Peace Association of Turkey, hoping that your solidarity with peoples of the region will continue. Our struggle and common actions for peace must continue.

Our peoples really want peace.

Thank you

Iraklis Tsavdaridis

Executive Secretary WPC
Greek Committee for International
Detente and Peace
GREECE



Dear friends and comrades

Dear peace loving people of Istanbul and Turkey

We are gathered today from dozens of countries, peace movements and solidarity committees, sharing the same agony and anger about the ongoing imperialist plans and designs in the world, and in the broader region of the Middle East.

We salute all participants who attend the conference and want to underline that the WPC is the only international Peace Structure which is continuously and firmly opposing actively these imperialist murderous plans, which are aiming to impose willing regimes in the region, which will guarantee the flow of oil and gas as well as the geo-strategically control of the richest area in energy resources by the multinational monopolies. The WPC has no illusions or confusions about the role of the UN today, we can not accept the interference and aggression under any pretext, with or without UN mandate.

The initiative of the Peace Association of Turkey to host this important conference at this crucial moment and here in Istanbul, to be followed by the program in Hatay, is the best proof for the principled and deeply internationalist character of our Turkish friends of the PA, but at the same time also the patriotic approach towards the dangers of further escalation of the war in the region for the Turkish people,

It is the genuine anti-imperialist position which we share with the Peace Association of Turkey, to call for an end of the foreign interference into the domestic affairs of Syria, which is serving the interests of the powerful imperialist forces, such as USA, NATO and EU, along with the interests of the ruling classes in the broader region.

We are convinced that the initiative and positions of the Peace Association regarding the growing aggressiveness against Syria and its people, is being

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endorsed and respected by the vast majority of the Turkish people, and we were able to witness this in several meetings we had with trade unions, social organisations and professional associations of Istanbul these days.

We would like first of all to convey our sincere and deep feelings of solidarity to the suffering Palestinian people, in all the Palestinian lands, a people struggling for its inalienable right for an independent state. We support the full recognition of an independent State of Palestine within the borders of June 4th 1967, with East Jerusalem as its capital. We reiterate our support to the right for the return of the Palestinian refugees to their lands and demand the release of all Palestinian prisoners from Israeli jails. These days the new Secretary of State of the US is touring around the Middle East, offering and promising again, amongst others, the solution of the Palestinian problem. We want to stress that no just and viable solution can be found, no substantial negotiations can take place, if Israeli continues building settlements in the West Bank, if Israel keeps on its plan for the Judaization of Jerusalem, if the Israeli troops will not refrain from acting as occupation forces in the Palestinian territories.

At the same time we express our solidarity to the Syrian people, who are subject of fierce political and military interference by the imperialist forces and its regional allies (including Turkey). We are denouncing firmly the plans for an open military aggression by NATO, USA and EU in Syria, on the road to their plans to attack Iran in future. The deployment of NATO Patriot missiles in the south of Turkey constitutes a further escalation in the aggressiveness against Syria, in which the Turkish government plays along with the Gulf monarchies a key role. The Peace Association took various initiatives to protest and oppose the deployment of the Patriot Missiles, with massive actions in Adana province the last months.

The international mass media are broadcasting for so many months, day by day, about Syria, the clashes between government forces and "opposition forces" in Syria. They call it an "uprising" of the Syrian people, even a "revolution". The owners and bosses of these media, the main stream media, are surprisingly concerned about the welfare of the Syrian people, the democracy in Syria and the human rights.

The same media are not saying a word about the invasion and occupation of Bahrain by Saudi Arabia, they are not speaking any more about the ongoing occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and of course not a single word about the aftermath of the bombardment in Libya where thousands of people lost their life. Instead of all this, a new coordinated campaign has started, to convince international public opinion about the Weapons of Mass Destruction Syria is supposedly using in the conflict with the mercenary armed groups since two years. We have seen this "movie" before, with Yugoslavia and Iraq. Much less people will fall this time into this trap by which the imperialists are trying to prepare the ground and the pretext for an open invasion in Syria. And it is the obligation of the peace loving people and their organisations to stand firm and draw conclusions from the previous experience and informing the peoples about the new imperialist crimes under old or new pretexts.

It is enough to issue statements and hold conferences, we need to uncover the lies that the reasons for the conflicts are religious, of ethnic minorities, or the humanitarian crises. We need to exercise pressure and to denounce all governments who bear together responsibilities within the EU and NATO, for their criminal complicity.

The crimes of imperialism against humanity are endless. At the same time the militarization of International relations is growing, the aggressiveness of imperialism and its mechanisms is deepening and sharpening, especially when the capitalist system is passing a severe economic crisis, where the capital is trying on the one hand to pass the consequences of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers, pensioners and peasants and on the other hand trying to maximize profits also through the military and war industry, which marks every year new records in arms sales and expenditure.

What we want to stress and emphasize while being here in Turkey, which is part of the preparations of a new imperialist aggression against the Syrian people, is that it is the same social and political forces internationally, which are supporting the capital exploiting and robbing the working people in various countries, the same those forces are behind the war plans against Syria or Iran, for the control of the energy resources, their transport

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routes and the new spheres of influence. Those forces, expressed also through the respective bourgeois governments, may compete hard for the share each of them will get, but they are together when it comes to smash the genuine peoples' protests, demonstrations, strikes or uprisings of the peoples.

Therefore the Global Peace Movement can not but recognize the following fact as it was stated yesterday by the chairman of the Medical chamber of Istanbul in our meeting with him when he said: "As much as the human beings need water and food in order to survive, as much global capital needs wars and exploitation in order to dominate"

As WPC we believe that we can not fight imperialism and its mechanisms, the wars and the aggressions, without fighting the causes which generate all the above.

The imperialists can not hide their guilt, not even when they are being awarded with Nobel Peace Prices, like the one given to US President Obama or last year to the European Union. It constitutes a provocation but also a farce to award those who are responsible for the misery and suffering of millions of people, to award the ones who are making profits out of wars and exploitation of the peoples and who represent the interests of the monopolies and the big capital.

Against all of them there is one only one "super-power" which can confront and change the course of history. It is the united anti-imperialist front of the peoples, the workers, the poor and the oppressed in all countries of the world. Through the class oriented trade unions, the peoples' organisations and the peace movements, through their regional and international coordination and common actions.

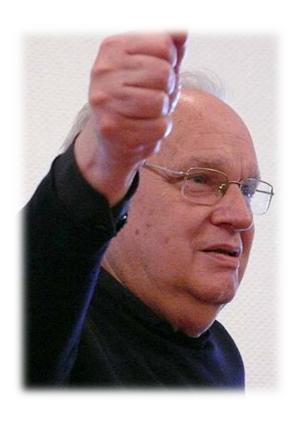
With these words allow us once again to congratulate the Peace Association of Turkey for this excellent conference in a timely moment. The Peace Movement in Turkey has a longstanding history and strong traditions. Your solidarity and friendship with the neighbour peoples and with the people of Syria in particular, is the real face of the Turkish people.

Long live the friendship of the peoples!

Down with imperialism-solidarity with the peoples struggling against it!

Klaus von Raussendorff

Member of the German Free Thinkers Association and German Peace Council GERMANY



Comradely Greetings from Germany

I regret very much for not being able to come to Istanbul and Antioch to take part in the International Peace Conference (April 25, – 29, 2013). I appreciate the organizers for having asked me to contribute with a few written remarks.

As a member of the German Freethinkers Association, as well as a member of the German Peace Council, I am naturally the most concerned with the position that, the German government has adopted in the context of the war against the nation of Syria.

The hierarchical pyramid of imperialist states

This war is being waged under the leadership of the US government, by a conglomerate coalition of so-called democratic NATO states, despotic, feudal dynasties, Turkey, Israel and others. The aggressors are deploying their own special services and forces, as well as various types of terrorist groups, mostly mercenaries, some fanatically pursuing, what they call Islamic – but in fact, barbaric – objectives. The individual elements of this odd coalition, as has been rightfully stated, are each trying to push through its own particular interests, which are largely conflicting with one another. As odd as this purely destructive coalition may seem, it is a true expression of the current state of the imperialist world system, as a hierarchical order, in which, each ruling class is jockeying for a more lucrative, more powerful position at the expense of the other, mostly weaker players. Thus, the imperialist world system can be visualized, as Aleka Papariga, chair of the Communist Party of Greece, has proposed, as a pyramid of states, in which the big powers adopt a position at the top. But, what is Germany's role in this picture?

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Germany's role in the Syrian conflict

German governments, aware of pacifist moods among the German population and of underlying foreign distrust of German ambitions, resulting from two World Wars, want to be seen as an international player exercising prudent restraint and acting in close accordance with their European and Atlantic partners. Thus, the deployment of German Patriot rockets in Turkey, early this year, was hypocritically camouflaged as "demonstrating Germany's solidarity with its alliance partner, Turkey. "So, this is how it was formulated in the proposed resolution for approval of the German parliament. However, in the same document, the government had to admit, "The political will of the Syrian regime to use its arsenal against Turkey has not been discernable." And according to the same document, at the very moment, the authorities decided to initiate this dangerous act of German military projection of power, they also had to admit that "Turkey's binding commitments in support of the deployment are not yet available." Later, the German Parliamentary Commissioner for the armed forces submitted a report containing a number of complaints about the conditions of the installation of German troops in Kahramanmaras, which were rejected in a statement of the Turkish general staff. This seemingly insignificant incident illustrates, however, that the rulers of the two countries, pretending to be partners, tend inevitably to be at odds as they serve different capitalist interests.

Disruption of international law

The deployment of Patriot missiles close to the Turkish-Syrian border, camouflaged as a defensive measure, is yet another escalating step. It combines with other active German support of the interventionist forces, such as the deployment of a naval espionage vessel off the Syrian coast, the supply of tanks to Qatar and Saudi Arabia, the logistic assistance furnished to Syrian opposition groups making plans for "the day after" Assad, the expulsion of the Syrian ambassador, the call for even harsher economic sanctions, crippling the Syrian economy, and the refusal to take part in

efforts to forge a peaceful solution. In sum, these German moves and measures of support constitute substantial involvement in an aggression, which is, itself, an act of aggression.

Immigrants and indigenous Germans united

The criminal aspect of the official German attitude towards Syria becomes evident in the light of international law. However, even many in the peace movement have glossed over, this aspect. It was absolutely necessary to submit a petition to the German Bundestag, wherein the German Freethinkers Association highlighted the Definition of Aggression contained in the UN General Assembly Resolution of 14th December 1974. This important document defines various forms of aggression, including the "sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State..... or its substantial involvement therein". The very day, the German government decided to deploy Patriot rockets in Turkey, the chairman of the German Freethinkers Association, Klaus Hartmann, sent an Open Letter to each member of the German Bundestag, who were about to vote on the resolution. The message was: "Say 'NO' to the war against Syria! "An internet campaign was immediately initiated, thanks to the assistance of Tlaxcala, the international network of translators for linguistic diversity. More than 1000 people signed the open letter, in only seven days. Earlier in 2012 immigrants from Turkey, Syria and other countries of the region had staged demonstrations in support of the people and government of Syria. The German Freethinkers Association joined them to organize a common demonstration in Frankfurt on the 1st of September, with up to 3000 participants. It was the first time that in the recent years a joint action was undertaken by immigrants and indigenous Germans. This must be considered an important step towards a greater mobilization.

Weaknesses of the peace movement

The potential for mass mobilization exists. But, activities of the others in

the German peace movement really got under way only after the danger of war became more tangible by the shipment of patriot rockets to Turkey. The weaknesses of the peace movement were highlighted recently in a statement of the US Peace Council: The peace movement must understand that there is a connection between all instances of the imperialistic aggression around the world. It must overcome the false perception that each is just an isolated case pertaining to a particular country at any given time. Only then can it succeed in carrying out a preventive mass mobilization against war and aggression around the world. I would like to add that the problem of advocates of interventionism by major powers within the peace movement, claiming so-called humanitarian or democratic reasons, should be confronted openly, frankly and fearlessly.

Germany's war aims

The motives of German expansionism have nothing to do with human rights and democracy. The real motives had become clear, even before the unrest in Syria began. The German minister of transport, returning from a visit to Damascus in early February 2011, spoke publicly about Germany's "manifold possibilities to participate in the planning and construction of infrastructure" in Syria, which he, at one time still considered a "relatively stable" country. He said: "I am thinking for example of a rail line linking the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean." So it seems that Germany's strategic course is directed, inter alia, towards the very same region, where, before the World War I, the German Empire had already built the railroad to Bagdad. In pursuing this geopolitical thrust, the German government shifted from exploring possibilities of economic cooperation with Syria, to supporting terrorist violence against Syria – all within only a few months. Such are the rules of the game in the hierarchical imperialist world system: when one or two imperialt powers take the lead in the conquest and exploitation of a weaker country, others will join in, because they all are in a permanent wrangle with each other for influence, as we have seen in Iraq, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq again, Libya and now Syria. History shows that imperialist rivalry can end in wars on a regional or even a global scale.

A peace movement in defense of international law

I hope the International Peace Conference in Turkey will contribute to understanding the gravity of the current global crisis of the capitalist system and the seriousness of the danger of even much larger future wars. Besides, I hope that, the conference helps to create the awareness that the crisis also contains the opportunity to overcome capitalism, as the main source of wars. Moreover, I finally hope that the conference will contribute to the identification of specific actions in defense of international law, which should and could be a focal point for the unity and solidarity of people from all walks of life, of different beliefs and various persuasions in our common struggle for peace.

Dave Webb

Convenor, Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space

Chair, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, UK
UNITED KINGDOM



Concept of Peace and Anti-imperialist Struggle

First let me thank the organisers, helpers and attendees who have put this important International Peace Conference together. It's a great pleasure to be here in this important place at this important time and to meet so many wonderful people.

As we have already heard, it is so important for us to stand in solidarity with all oppressed people in the world and in particular today with the people of Syria. The situation there is a terrible indictment of imperialism and noncooperation. It is undeniably criminal that the violence is being inflamed by the provision of arms from imperialistic interests. If we are to survive as a species we have to change the ways in which we approach conflict and the development of war machinery.

I am the current convenor of the Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space and our work involves the need to recognize the growing use of space technology to further the interests of imperialism and the desire by the US to dominate the planet through an ability to deploy military force anywhere at short notice and with devastating effect.

We will all have seen news and reports about the situation in Syria from national and international media which comes to us through space technology and it is of course extremely biased and heavily edited as it is from any region of conflict. My aim today is to inform you of our involvement in preventing the US empire from achieving the goal of global military reach through similar kinds of space technology. The GN is a network of over 160 affiliated groups from the US, Europe, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Scandinavia and Asia. Some are small local community groups, some are larger regional, national or even international organisations but they are all working for peaceful change and they all recognize that imperialist wars are being conducted largely through the growing militarisation of space. Satellites enable the command, control, communication and

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intelligence gathering that is needed to achieve a military global reach across the globe. Of course, the US is the greatest practitioner of space warfare and is leading the way with remotely piloted armed aircraft, commonly known as drones, which are controlled through satellites from the US, some thousands of kilometers away from where they are being deployed to target specific individuals or groups. We know that considerable numbers of civilians, including hundreds of children, are among the victims in the drone attacks.

During the 20 years or so of working with the Global Network, we have visited many communities around the world for our annual meeting. We have met with, talked to and learned from people working in campaigns centred in major cities such as New York, Washington, Melbourne, Seoul and Vancouver. But we have also joined smaller, locally based groups who can't and won't let the presence of a nearby contributor to the war machine go unchallenged. Today I am pleased and privileged to add our voice of solidarity and support to the many people who are protesting at the US missiles being placed in Eastern Turkey. In the Global Network we work to link groups and people who are involved in the same struggle together in the realisation that war has to be made obsolete and the huge US war machine dismantled. For that to happen the roots of war have to be unearthed wherever and whenever they appear. This includes not only the ways by which war is fought but also the ways and means by which it is justified and enabled.

Last year we were in South Korea at the small fishing village of Gangjeong on Jeju Island where we were supporting the villagers in their epic struggle to prevent the construction of a huge naval base that id destroying their environment and their livelihoods. The base is being built by the South Korean Government at the instigation of the US because of its proximity to mainland China and the naval base will give a convenient birth for US war ships.

In fact Asia has been a focus of the Global Network for the last few years and our campaigning message has been to resist the US encirclement of Russia and China with missile 'defense' systems that are key elements in

the Pentagon's hegemonic programmes. President Obama's deployment of US Navy Aegis destroyers, armed with SM-3 missiles in the Mediterranean and Asia pacific region are not positive steps towards a more secure and peaceful world. The US and NATO joint installations of ground-based Patriot interceptors in Central and Eastern Europe, including those in Turkey, and the large number of US support bases around the world (such as Menwith Hill – the huge US spy and surveillance base near my home in Yorkshire, England) are increasing international tension and are among the greatest threats to world peace. It is not difficult to see why Russia and China are very concerned about the stationing of bases and missiles close to their borders.

Under the pretence of threats from Iran and North Korea, the US and NA-TO are building up forces and weapons at an astonishing level, while at the same time claiming that austerity measures are required that involve the removal of welfare and education facilities for the poorest members of society. These missile and troop deployments will be directed by space technology controlled from the US through its military bases. The importance of space technology to the war-fighter is increasing as is the number and spread of bases and installations around the world that support this globalised network centric warfighting system. It is so important that the resistance to this is also networked – working together we must become a force for peace that is more powerful than any force for war.

As peace campaigners we often visualise a world in which governments have agreed to abolish weapons of mass destruction and strive towards, what the philosopher Immanuel Kant, called "perpetual peace". However, advocates of peace are often accused of being out of touch with the harsh realities of political life and human nature and are often caricatured as well meaning visionaries who simplistically and ineffectually dream of a return to a non-violent golden age. Therefore, two years ago I was working with a group of academics and activists in a project called "Projecting Peace" which was an attempt to provide an interdisciplinary forum for exploring the complexities, ambiguities, and varieties of peace-making and peace-thinking with the aim of addressing how this work and schools of thought

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can address, in some practical way, perhaps the greatest challenges in history – anthropogenic climate change and nuclear proliferation.

The 'scramble' for sustainable natural resources within a technologically-changed and -challenged climate is an increasingly important source of global conflict. The self interests of governments for national survival run counter to the evident necessity for collaboration and cooperation on an unprecedented scale. Therefore, our main focus in "Projecting Peace" was on the practicalities of applying and maintaining ethical, ecological, and humanitarian considerations beyond national boundaries in the fragile economies of emergent cultures of peace and security. In so doing we also hoped to be contributing to the current interest in "cosmopolitics", i.e. a politics which reaches beyond - or even supersedes – the nation state and to whatever form - pacific or otherwise - this might take in the future.

It is now widely recognized that the future of our planet is threatened by two man-made dangers – nuclear proliferation and the effects of climate change. These self-inflicted problems have generated the necessity for an elaborated strategy of global cooperation. So the question therefore becomes - can we join together to ensure our future survival by developing a better understanding of the underlying human aspects of our past and current predicaments and one thing is clear - the kind of cooperation needed for our survival does not come from mountains of weapons, threats, counter threats and violence. At present most governments are not fulfilling their obligations to their citizens, and are more interested in ensuring the security of themselves and the state machinery than the security of the people.

Even so the principles of peacebuilding have become well established over the years. The need for change should be obvious to everyone. We need to transform societal values and overcome the fatalistic acceptance of violence and the apparent attraction of global power. For this to happen, societies that are currently infused with not only direct but also structural and cultural violence (that is, inbuilt injustices in the structures of society that cause conflict between included and excluded sectors, and the militaristic nature of a culture that encourages violence and war as a legitimate way of resolving problems) would have to be changed into ones that nurture, understand and practice non-violent methods of conflict resolution. The deep rooted myth of military violence as a means of enforcing people's safety and regressing wrongs has to be debunked once and for all.

The importance of building peace from the bottom up and of focussing on nurturing and empowering local communities is becoming clear to many activists and practitioners. Imperialism is the exploitation of the many by the few and is not the answer to any human problem. It has been shown throughout history that empires do not last but they are often at their most dangerous when they are in their final stages - as they die. As the US and empire begins to crumble we need to ensure it does not behave like a cornered and wounded tiger and attack anything that it thinks might be a challenge. But we also need to ensure that the demise of one empire is not immediately followed by the rise of another.

So we will continue to build networks with groups working for peaceful change – we will challenge militarism at every level and every opportunity, we maintain the vision of peace but work to bring together the academic debate and analysis and the practical aspects of political activism to create the changes needed for a truly peaceful and secure world.

Manfred Ziegler

Frankfurt Solidarity Committee for Syria GERMANY

I really want to thank the organizers of this event and you all for your attendance, for me it is a privilege to be here. So please allow me some remarks about the question of peace and war and anti-imperialist struggle from a very German perspective.

Global shift of power

When I was young, we held our congresses in Paris. France was the epicenter of the European Workers-movement and Paris was an existing city.

Now things have changed. We meet in Istanbul and even if everything is different from the past, I had a bit of the same feeling of excitement, when I came to Istanbul, as I had in the seventies of last century, when I participated in a congress on the 100th anniversary of the Paris commune.

This congress is in Istanbul because it's about Syria and there is this special role of Turkey in the conflict. But there is more to it; it's an expression of changes that happened on a global scale. New global powers are emerging: Brazil, maybe Turkey, India, Russia reappears and of course there is China. New powers appear, the old ones loose influence

So I think, currently we see the first step of the decline not of Imperialism, but of US-Imperialism. And the conflict we talk about here, the current conflict in Syria and the potential conflict on Iran needs to be seen in this context.

And the war against Syria -and it is a war against Syria and not a civil waris the consequence of the so-called Arab Spring and it is only another step down the road to more wars in the restructuring of the Middle East. It's part of a struggle for power on a global scale. Manfred Ziegler 119

Imperialism and Syria

WPC talks about imperialism which uses pretexts for their militarist policies. Nothing could be truer and especially today.

I speak about Syria of course.

If we look at the numbers, we find a strong correlation between the amount of weapons sent to Syria via Turkey -more than 4.000 tons of it during last year and the number of people killed-. The more weapons are sent, the more people get killed. Of course there is this correlation, because weapons are meant to kill people.

Imperialists are no stupid people. They know that everything is easier if they get support for their actions, hence they use pretexts. And they are clever and use pretexts that are based on real problems.

If we look at Syria -there have been a lot of problems, like corruption, in transparency, a Security apparatus which was not fully under control, the role of the Baath-Party and many more.

But if we look at the problems only, we could never understand and explain the Syrian society and it's relative stability during the lasts 2 years.

So there is much more to Syria then just the problems

Media in the western world only refer to the problems of Syria to sell us the war -and they succeed- and in Germany they succeed very well.

Peace movement in Germany

In Germany we really have a media campaign against Syria and it started on the very first day of the events. The published opinion sets the environment where it is really hard to argue, because all the media play by the same tune.

Some groups and parties have a critical view on the events in Syria. They don't follow the mainstream media: Parts of the left party, groups like

Freidenker, Deutsche Kommunistische Partei, news outlets like 'Junge Welt', 'Neues Deutschland', some weblogs of course and parts of the peace movement like friedensratschlag, which at least presents information and discussions in a broad range of opinions. And then there are groups of Syrian community which are very active.

Many people generally and on the left specifically don't care about Syria at all and the predominant opinion is more or less like: I don't like NATO and I hate Assad. So let me alone with this bloody mess.

And many would support or even demand a humanitarian intervention.

So for a long time, people who wanted to defend Syria felt quite lonesome.

Tricky Part

Now comes the tricky part at least as discussions in Germany are concerned.

We defend Syria against imperialism. So the question is: which Syria do we defend. Do we defend corruption, security apparatus, networks? Of course not -we defend the people of Syria. So the next question that comes to my mind: If we defend Syria, can we make a difference between the people we support and the dark sides of Syria that we maybe do not want to support?

I think these are important questions to discuss, and we shouldn't evade these questions, just because the aggressor uses the dark sides of Syria as a pretext for its actions.

Just the opposite.

We see that the imperialist powers create exactly the kind of problems they pretend they want to solve via a so called humanitarian intervention

We know, how to stop the bloodshed: stop delivering money, support and weapons to the terrorists. We know the result of so-called humanitarian or other interventions. We just need to look when Saudi-Arabia, Qatar and

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NATO send weapons and money and any kind of support to the Jihadists of course they don't do it in any way, shape or form to support democracy in Syria. And who believes otherwise, should just look to Iraq, Afghanistan, Libia, Mali -and maybe other countries also

Most people in Syria wanted changes -to the better. And they wanted it in stability not in chaos and bloodshed.

Of course we support an open civil society based on the aspirations of the Syrian people. To get even one step closer to it, we first have to stop the aggression. And also I think we must not ignore actions by hardliners who still may want to keep their privileges. And I think it's important to support all developments in Syria that lead to a more open society in Syria, based on dialogue that the government since a long time.

Of course we support an open civil society and we know that one of the reasons of the imperialist aggression is exactly to prevent an independent and open society in Syria which still would support the résistance. They don't want that. Things are changing in Germany too. Two years ago I had a strong feeling; I was the only one person in Germany against this media- and real war.

Now the work started to become easier. There are more discussions, even actions in Germany but still it is a long way to go. Most important in the political work I think is to contact groups that are not yet acting, and groups that fear any action because they are afraid to be called supportes of Assad. We cannot wait for them to come to us. We have to reach out to them to build a network in support of Syria. In Germany, for many reasons, we are still in the beginning only.

Istanbul

Let me tell you, it is really refreshing for me to be here in Istanbul. It really makes a difference to be in an environment, where you can discuss the struggle against these imperialist aggressions in such an open and self-understanding manner. And if you may excuse me, I will express one hope

I have, and it is: maybe in 2 or 3 years we will have such a conference in Syria.

Thank you.

Final Communiqué of the Conference "Peoples Want Peace"

25-29th April 2013, Istabul- Antakya, Turkey



The conference entitled "Peoples Want Peace", organized by the World Peace Council and the Peace Association of Turkey, concluded successfully with the participation of more than 20 national peace committees and international organizations, peace-loving journalists and artists in Istanbul and Antakya from 25th to 29th April 2013.

The conference program included debate sessions in Istanbul, contacts with peace loving forces of Turkey such as trade unions and mass organizations and a peace concert in Antakya which has turned to be the largest anti-war demonstration in the region for solidarity with the people of Syria.

- * The conference took place during a period of growing aggressiveness of imperialism and inter-imperialist contradictions, for the sake of control of energy resources and pipelines, as well as spheres of influence in the broader Middle East. The conference stated that the actions of imperialism for hegemony in the world and, in particular, in the Middle East are the main reason behind all the conflicts, tensions and wars in the region. Despite the antagonisms and rivalries imperialists are hand in hand in the attack against peoples' rights and peace. The imperialism of the U.S., the E.U. and the NATO, along with the pro-imperialist reactionary regimes of the region share common responsibility for the crimes against the peoples of the region. Our conference is in solidarity with and salutes all the popular forces, peace movements, oppressed peoples who resist the provocations, threats and warmongering of the imperialists and their collaborators in the world and especially in the region.
- * The fact that the NATO recently set up new radar facilities and installed Patriot missiles in Turkey, have been dangerous steps for the peace in the region and in the world. Instead of reinforcing NATO in the region, we call upon all peoples and countries to raise their voice and get rid of it.

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* Imperialism in the Middle East instigates and uses the Islamic intersect conflicts and within this context supports the religious fundamentalist provocative organizations by supporting any kind of cloaks of the war drive forces under the pretext of "humanitarian intervention".

- * We believe in the absolute right of the Syrian people, who suffer from subversive attacks and terrorist actions supported by imperialism and the reactionary regimes of the region, to determine their political path and leadership without any foreign interference. The people of Syria may exercise this right only if they terminate the foreign-backed military and political interventions. The conference declares complete and unreserved solidarity with the people of Syria, its demands for economic, political and social changes and calls upon the involved parties to solve the conflict through negotiations, nevertheless recognizing the right of self-defense of Syria.
- * Our conference states that, along with the other regimes in the region, mainly Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Israel, the current government of Turkey commits a crime against humanity in Syria in collaboration with the imperialist forces as USA, EU and organizations like NATO, having thousands of innocent civilians as their victims. The conference forewarns the government of Turkey to stop these prevailing policies.
- * The international conference "Peoples Want Peace" calls upon antiimperialist forces, peace-lovers, honest jurists, intellectuals and journalists to step forward to create an international non-governmental war crimes initiative to investigate the crimes against the Syrian people. Furthermore, the conference has decided to enforce the communication and networking in order to counteract the imperialist and reactionary black propaganda, foremost, on Syria.
- * The international conference welcomes the resistance and struggle of the people of Turkey against intersect religious conflicts and warmongers and declares its solidarity with the forces of peace.
- * The conference attaches importance to the cessation of warfare with regards to the Kurdish Question, which has caused irreparable sufferings

for decades. However, it is noted that the frame proposed by the government of Turkey as solution for the Kurdish question fits "religionization" of the whole society and the region, and implies changes of the borders which will necessarily cause new conflicts in the Middle East.

- * Our conference underlines the demand that the Middle East be purged from imperialist powers and nuclear weapons. We, once again, underline the position of the World Peace Council for the question of Palestine to be solved in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the UN and the establishment of the independent State of Palestine within the borders of 1967 and East Jerusalem as its capital, that Israel should respect the international agreements, abolish the siege of the Gaza Strip, and cease the occupation of the Syrian Golan heights and the Lebanese Shebaa farms.
- * "The Peoples Want Peace" Conference calls for a nuclear weapons -free Middle East, including known nuclear weapons as in the case of Israel and unknown ones as in the case of NATO settings in Turkey.
- * Keeping the consciousness about the risks of the use of nuclear energy, that have been experienced through recent tragic accidents, we state that every country has the right to freely choose the technique of producing energy and that the nuclear energy programs cannot be a reason for allegations or threats against any country. Thus we declare our solidarity with the people of Iran who resist the imperialist threats. On the other hand we declare our solidarity with the working men and women of Iran in their struggle for freedom and democracy, social and economic rights. We also condemn the economic sanctions applied by the US and EU upon Iran, under the pretext of its nuclear program, but in fact penalizing the large masses, and demand the abolition of all sanctions.
- * Our conference protests the attempts for affiliation of Cyprus to NATO using the economic crisis as additional pretext for it. We support the solution of bi–zonal bi–communal Federation with political equality, as set forth in the UN Resolutions regarding Cyprus, top level agreements between the leaders of two communities in 1977 and 1979 and the principles of International Law.

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* Our conference, which gathered in Istanbul and Antakya on 25-29 April, once more, declares its solidarity with all the forces of peace which struggle against imperialism and war, with all poor and oppressed who fight against imperialist wars and exploitation.

World Peace Council
Peace Association of Turkey
7 May 2013

Participants of the Conference

Brazilian Center for the Solidarity with the Peoples and the Struggle for Peace

Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space

German Free Thinkers Association

Working Circle For Peace Policy - Nuclear Free Europa

Frankfurt Solidarity Committee for Syria

Greek Committee for International Detente And Peace

Association for the Defense of Peace, Solidarity and Democracy of Iran

Jordanian Peace and Solidarity Council

Jordanian-Syrian Solidarity Committee

Lebanese Peace Council

Palestinian Committee for Peace and Solidarity

Belgrade Forum for the World of Equals

Swedish Peace Council

National Peace Council of Syria

European Peace Forum, Ukrainian Anti-Fascist Committee

US Peace Council

Peace Association of Turkey

International Association of Democratic Lawyers

World Federation of Trade Unions

World Peace Council