

THE PATH OF THE ANATOLIAN REVOLUTION
(A PROGRAMMATIC APPROACH)



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I. Introduction

The Anatolian revolution comes from within defeats. These are such defeats that some of which were suffered without ever taking to the battlefield, and armies that are defeated without taking it to the battlefield openly, lose their moral values along with their defeat. Despite many brave and daring attempts and examples of struggle in our history, the last defeat we lived was such a defeat. The defeat brought with it an attack on many of our moral values.

Immediately afterwards, the dissolution of the USSR and the new phase of capitalist restoration came into play. Thus, the erosion of values evolved into an open phase of loss of faith.

The 1980s are years that were and will be of great importance in the history of the Anatolian revolutionary movement. In these same years, there was the rise of the Kurdistan revolution in a manner that allows one to comprehend the importance of the law of unequal development. The defeat-unraveling and the development of the revolution meant a process that changed

our entire region. We are still living this process. Our region is experiencing the prelude of a great refinement to embrace the regional revolution.

Anatolia has always been home to births throughout its history. Anatolia, which means “The land of dawn,” “The land where the sun rises,” is today, as we enter the 21st century, preparing for the great birth that will repel all counter-revolutionary attacks.

Birth means overcoming the old, a new life.

Birth means force. Birth points to the increasing role of the subject in the social (societal) struggle.

That which is beautiful is hidden in the difficulty.

The Anatolian revolutionary movement is at a historical crossroads, at a turning point. Just as the Phoenix bird’s birth from its own ashes, the Anatolian revolutionary movement is being born by breaking out from its own history.

Our history full of defeats is, in reality, full of the bitter consequences of not being able to break away from the Kemalist mentality, from the bourgeois thought. For this reason, a radical break is essential with Kemalism and the “left tradition” which has not been able to sever ties with it. This break does not only mean an ideological break with Kemalism. Those who want to keep the problem here are those who miss the point that revolutionism is measured by revolutionary action. A person without action cannot develop their morality at the same time. Action is also a means of transforming the human being, a person in action changes, is transformed and transforms. This is what

we also need. We need a moral, ideological, organizational, and political rupture. And such a comprehensive rupture means revolutionary birth, a revolutionary subject.

Throughout the history of the Anatolian labor movement, the revolutionary movement and the labor movement have not flowed in the same channels. Today, it is necessary to merge the channels. But this is not the task of the mass of workers. It is the task of a revolutionary party, a subject. The search for progressivism in Kemalism has ultimately led the revolutionary movement either to despise the working class, to distance itself from it, or to exhibit unimaginable examples of worker sycophancy in the name of working within the working class. As a natural consequence of this whole process, the working class of Anatolia, the most developed working class in the Middle East in terms of quantity and quality, was left under the control of reformist bourgeois agents.

The revolutionary movement also could not develop an open and clear reckoning with the defeats. On the September 12 coup d'état, despite the great resistance shown in the torture houses, the attacks on our values were effective. This is, in fact, an indication of the weakness of the revolutionary movement's ideological and historical perspective.

Now, after all these experiences, those who set out on the road have to live and create a radical reckoning with bourgeois rule at all levels. Accordingly, a revolutionary movement that fails to consider its own history from this perspective has no chance of winning.

Today, the revolutionary movement is still relying on bourgeois democracy, still relying on bourgeois lies, still unable to protect its own agenda. However, if the revolution is a work of organization and war, the main axis of this war is carrying revolutionaries' own agenda to society.

In terms of its ideological, moral, political struggles or at least one of these forms of struggles, the Anatolian left kept adhering to the Kemalist mentality. Whichever of these three aspects was lost to Kemalism, Anatolian left faced losing all its healthy aspects as if infected by a germ. The inability to realize this radical rupture with Kemalism is at the root of the inconclusiveness of the exits undertaken so far.

Throughout its history, our revolutionary movement has not only failed to fuse with the workers' movement, but the reality of the land on which the revolution is fought has also been historically understood incompletely. As a natural consequence of this, the revolutionary movement has not been able to build tactical strength in the face of counter-revolutionary attacks. The lack of historical consciousness is manifested as a deficiency in the ideological-theoretical field, and this deficiency prevents the internalization of values. Superficiality, in the end, is also an obstacle to gaining tactical flexibility.

History consists of interruptions within continuity. When we deal with certain points in history and skip the logic of development, we destroy our power to win the future. This is what happens. The easy approach, the lesser labor approach, allows us to deal with history

in certain sections, detached from each other. In this way, history is explained (history explains) in terms of whether individuals are revolutionaries or not, which is taking a weak, powerless position when facing the future.

II. The character of the age

“The victor becomes vizier, the vanquished disgraced.” After the obvious defeat of the world socialist system, those who shouted about the “end of history” by showing the triumph of capitalism increased their attacks with great momentum. The counter-revolution quickly organized an attack on all the values of the revolution from points that had already been ideologically abandoned. So much so that the question of the “character of the age” came to the fore.

Today we talk of the sophistication of the means of communication and technology, when modern capitalism, in the name of “globalism,” is spreading the colonial domination of the White Man all over the world. Our age is given names appropriately. The atomic age, the information age, the communication age, the space age are some of these names. Meanwhile, four-fifths of the world is facing hunger. The number of unemployed people has risen to 15% across the globe. Death by starvation remains an ordinary event in the capitalist-imperialist system, which, thanks to the development of

technology, has deepened colonialism to the point of colonizing the human spirit. Brains are enslaved, souls are colonized and human beings are turned into a species that exists for consumption, a herd. Hundreds of people die in wars, people are massacred. Huge sums of money are being spent on armaments. And they tell us tales about the character of our age! They say that it is futile to struggle, to rebel, to resist, because human is transient and life is short. In contrast, capitalism is an invincible force. They want to end the human being. As it is claimed, the end of humanity does not require a nuclear war. But the fear of it, and the fear created to establish many other bourgeois dominations, defunctionalizes the human brain.

The human being of our time, like the primitive human being, lives to satisfy their basic needs.

However, judging by their shouts of joy at the dissolution of the USSR, it is immediately clear that they are speaking out of fear.

The human being, like the primitive human being, spends their life just to fill their belly, keep their children alive, to buy a new TV. However, their labor is now entirely social labor. Because it lacks the means of production necessary to produce something for itself, labor's dependence on the capitalist has also increased. Human labor is part of social labor in social production. Under today's capitalism, this can be seen with the naked eye. However, the products of labor are not utilized for social purposes. Private property is an obstacle to human development. Private property is the source of hunger, competition, torture, and becoming a herd.

Therefore, we can say that capitalism “lives an extra life” and the main reason for this is that the working class fails to take power. There is no longer a way to be human, no way to breathe, except through a socialist revolution led by the working class. The power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, will put an end to the exploitation of humans by humans. The technical infrastructure and the organization of capital in the present world show that the socialist phase will be shortened with the spread of the socialist revolution throughout the world. Thus, depending on the speed of the spreading revolution, the duration of the existence of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat as a state in a country will be shortened. Possibilities are present for this. Therefore, taking the perspective of a revolution that covers the entire surface of the earth—treating the socialist revolution as a world revolution—is the primary condition of eliminating the damage caused to the revolutionary theory by the perspective of one nation socialism.

Our age is the age of transition from capitalism to communism. The present blockage of the process of transition to communism, which began with the October Revolution, cannot be taken as proof that the character of the epoch has changed. The concept of an epoch of transition refers to a worldwide transition from one social order to another, involving a series of leaps forward and fallbacks. The blockage of this transition in one or a few countries does not change the character of the epoch; on the contrary, it shows that this process is not a linear movement forward.

Just as the complete defeat of the 1789 French Revolution in the 1830s, amid its continuous decline, could not prevent the triumph of capitalism on a world scale, the defeat of the October Revolution will not prevent the worldwide victory of communism. The progress of history does not take place in a linear line. Defeat and regression are characteristic of the epoch, but they are not the essence of the epoch. The ever-greater rise of socialism on a world scale is inevitable.

The international disintegration of socialism increased the eagerness of imperialism and the world bourgeoisie to wipe communism off the face of the earth. The chorus of renegades, under the leadership of this imperialist bourgeoisie, now hurls blasphemies at socialism. They fear socialism, which they declare to be dead, more than they fear death. When they speak of the “end of history” they know they are talking about their own end. The nightmares they want to forget are still alive. The Cold War is still going on.

Anatolian lands are accumulating the dynamics of a revolution that will paint the world red again in the boiling triangle of the Caucasus, the Balkans, and the Middle East. We are living in a period where every revolution that will develop in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, the Caucasus, and Asia must observe other revolutions more closely. For this reason, the revolutionary accumulation in our lands has a meaning on the international scale.

Historical experience has shown that revolution does not end with taking power. The revolution needs continuity inside and outside. For this reason, the Ana-

tolian revolution has to observe the dynamics of expansion from the very beginning. The first step towards this is to be a battalion of the international revolutionary movement, to organize oneself as such.

At the turn of the century, amid the imperialist war for market partition, the international proletariat, in the hands of the Soviet proletariat, achieved victory and dealt a blow to the imperialist chain. Thus, the international character of the struggle between the two modern classes became much clearer. The inter-imperialist fight took a back seat, and the international struggle of the two classes came to the fore.

Today, this struggle is temporarily won by the imperialists. Socialism collapsed more because of its own mistakes than because of the power of imperialism. However, the dissolution of the USSR again brought the struggle between the imperialist centers to the fore. The inter-imperialist rivalry has already bloodied various regions of the world. The true face of imperialism, which succeeded in binding all people to itself through anti-communism, is still visible today. That is why a resistance, an anti-imperialist stirring in various parts of the world, is present.

Every attentive eye will see the coming wave of revolution.

150 years ago, the “specter of communism” circulating in Europe struck fear into the hearts of the bourgeoisie. The Paris Commune showed how imminent and concrete the fear was. The October Revolution gave life and blood to the “ghost,” turning it into a living organism. Living for 70 years, the October Revolu-

tion made every cell of the bourgeois order live the fear of death. If the capitalist-imperialist world surrounded the October Revolution from the outside, the October Revolution and the world revolutionary movement surrounded capitalism from the inside. Today the besiegers have won. But the internal fear has not disappeared. Despite its dissolution, despite its great defeat, the fear of socialism is still dominant in the capitalist world; moreover, it is not decreasing, but increasing. Today the specter of communism hovers over the world. Regardless of which lands will give it life and blood, it is certain that the coming revolution will spread across the world with great speed.

The human being is the subject of history; they change themselves and the objective world. Socialism is a great leap in human history. Both socialist revolution and socialism require organization. Organization is concentrated, collectivized consciousness. It is the light of this consciousness that enables us to see in darkness. In this bend when socialism is experiencing an international defeat, the step towards a revolutionary party in every corner of the world is a step towards putting an end to the international disorganization of the revolutionary movement. These steps are the flourishing harbingers of the world revolution.

III. Purpose

The subject of the revolution, whatever its name, is a party. The party is a will. It is the concrete form of the will of the working class, the liberation of society, the will of freedom of the peoples . The revolutionary party wages war directly against the bourgeois state, against bourgeois domination. Therefore, the party as a means must completely transcend the bourgeois system in which it lives. The subject of the revolution, the party, as much as it's a will, is also a means of waging war against bourgeois rule at all levels and as a whole, a means of taking power. This means that its organization must also follow this.

From this point of view, it is possible to identify two diseases that have dominated the Anatolian left. The first is the “luxury” of not having an idea about this holistic war, even though they call themselves a party. The second is the “party in process” conception, bypassing the fact that the party is a demonstration of will. The party in process is the rejection of the party, the postponement of the struggle for power to an indef-

inite date. After all, everything happens in a process.

The subject of the revolution (the Party) is the vanguard organization of the Anatolian working class on the road to world revolution and communism. Of course, many organized parties will exist within the working class. However, vanguardism requires defending the ultimate interests of the working class under all circumstances and transforming other forces into elements of its revolutionary struggle. The vanguardism of the working class begins with the revolutionization of the working class. The creation of a subject in the revolutionary process is a big step. The second step is the revolutionization of the working class. An unrevolutionized working class cannot lead the liberation of society and itself.

The party is a narrow organization by essence. It does not include everyone, but it opens the way for everyone to participate in the revolutionary struggle. The party is the voluntary unity of revolutionary fighters and the most advanced elements of the working class, who set out to overthrow capitalism by revolutionary force, to make the working class the ruling class, to establish socialism and to achieve communism, a communal society founded on siblinghood and love.

The aim of the Revolutionary Socialists is to put an end to the exploitation of the human beings by human beings, the existence of classes, and with it the existence of the state, and to establish a siblinghood society, a society that will abolish all borders from the earth, that is, communism. This goal passes through

fighting for the victory of socialism in one's country and the support of the world revolutionary movements worldwide. The revolutionary subject in a country cannot contribute to the international revolutionary movement by postponing its own revolution. Nor can this contribution be seen as the contribution of a revolutionary party. If there are conditions that create a revolutionary organization, then it is possible to march to power in that country. However, the revolutionary party in each country must see itself as a platoon of the world revolutionary movement. Internationalism is not an activity that can be confined to translation offices. On the contrary, internationalism, which is essential for the cause of communism, is an indispensable organization for the fight for freedom.

The immediate aim of the Revolutionary Socialists is to establish socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, by organizing the working class as the ruling class in the country. To achieve this goal, for Revolutionary Socialists, expropriation is an indispensable condition for the organization of the new society, which puts an end to private property with the seizure of power by the working class and extends it to the entire field of production to the extent that sufficient productive power is created. Starting from this point, Revolutionary Socialists extend the revolution to the entire social sphere, organizing all social activity, from science to politics, from art to culture, according to the principles of the new order, socialism. They direct all their activities by taking into account the continuity of the revolution at home and abroad.

However, they consider all steps to be taken in relation to their ultimate goal of communism. They approach all the problems of socialism and the socialist revolution from the standpoint of communism. Based on the fact that the new society will be built with the new human being, they place the creation of a revolutionary life and the new human being at the center of their activity. They initiate the creation of the new human beings in their own organization and relations today.

The party is the only weapon in the hands of the working class, in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, which directs the destruction of the old society and the establishment of socialism.

The party is not the only organization of the revolutionary struggle and of the working class. On the contrary, the party is the vanguard organization of the struggle for revolution and communism, the political vanguard of the class.

The party is an organization equipped with the most advanced theory, able to organize the most advanced elements of the class as its own vanguard, able to lead the struggle for power, able to use all forms of struggle and to move quickly from one form of struggle to another, equipped with internationalist consciousness, carrying from today the embryonic characteristics of the society and communist human being of the future.

The vanguard of the revolution must organize the force, as being pregnant with the new society and the midwife of every old society, at the highest level. It

is a combative, disciplined, collective organization of volunteers. It is a war machine.

The party is a weapon, a means at the hands of the working class that directs its struggle for socialism and revolution against the bourgeoisie. The party is not the goal. But it is not an ordinary means either. It is an indispensable means. The party directs not only the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. It is also the directing subject in the march to communism.

The party sees itself as a part of the proletariat's struggle for revolution and communism against the bourgeoisie on an international scale.

Secrecy is essential in the organization of the revolutionary party until it comes to power. Since illegal organization is the expression of the position of the Revolutionary Socialists vis-à-vis the order, it cannot be treated as a matter of preference. Illegal organization is fundamental. However, this does not mean the rejection of legal means of struggle at any level.

Revolutionary Socialists build socialism with the revolutionary method. The revolutionary method is a radical method. Organization is essential in the revolutionary method. The revolutionary method is also the only way of human renewal and rebirth. In this framework, Revolutionary Socialists do not harbor those who think that being an intellectual and being organized are contradictory.

IV. The world monopoly system

The capitalist world economy is a whole consisting of the imperialist centers and the colonial countries dependent on them. This whole is the world monopoly system, which includes Turkey. The world monopoly system is a capitalist-imperialist system.

Capitalism is the last of the class societies in which human beings exploit human beings and recognize private property in the means of production. In this sense, it is also the most advanced. It contains the characteristics of all class societies while developing them. From this point of view, to define capitalism as an advanced society compared to feudalism is to separate class societies from each other with very thick lines. Searching for progressivism in bourgeois revolutions or bourgeois rule from the feudalist point of view is to turn oneself into a substitute for the bourgeoisie. Especially since the Paris Commune and the October Revolution, still looking for progressive points in capitalism compared to feudalism is to cease to be an advocate of socialism.

Monopoly capitalism, on the other hand, is not a deviation from capitalism. To distinguish between “free competition” and monopoly capitalism, and to exaggerate this distinction, is for exonerating capitalism. Monopoly is not a tumor of capitalism, not a deviation from it. On the contrary, capitalism evolves into monopoly as an inevitable consequence of the laws that existed at its very birth. Monopoly capitalism is decayed capitalism, in which all the features of capitalism manifest themselves more clearly and directly. Monopoly capitalism is not a deviation from capitalism, but the inevitable result of its laws.

The internal dynamics of the world monopoly system are constituted by imperialist countries plundering all the other countries of the world and partitioning these other countries among themselves. It is this imperialist stage that unifies the world capitalist economy. Imperialist domination means the colonization of the peoples of the world. Unlike feudal colonialism, capitalist colonialism means deeper colonization, deeper dependence. Today we are confronted with a system that colonizes the human spirit.

The world monopoly system offers all the possibilities of a worldwide transition to communism. The current technological level is already sufficient to meet the basic needs of all the inhabitants of the earth without further work.

Monopoly capitalism is a stage in which the contradictions of capitalism are sharpening and socialism is knocking at the door. Monopoly capitalism reveals the social character of production in all its aspects. It

sharpens the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of property ownership. However, monopoly capitalism, imperialism cannot be understood from an economist point of view. Imperialism also means the organization of counter-revolution.

The rise of capitalism to the monopoly stage bears the stamp of the proletariat's conquest of the sky with the October Revolution, which immediately followed the birth of imperialism. Today, monopoly capitalism has internalized in every way the stamp of the era of proletarian revolutions that began with the October Revolution. Since the very beginning of the century there have been two world wars and a cold war. These are the results of monopolistic competition on the one hand, and the clash of two classes on a world scale on the other. The 20th century is the century of the clash of the two classes, the sphere of this clash is the entire globe; this clash permeates every issue, every detail. The solution lies in the total overthrow of capitalism. For this reason, the victory of capitalism today with the collapse of socialism is a Pyrrhic victory.

The recent scale of capital exports, the internationalization of production and the communication possibilities that go along with them reinforce the dominance of monopoly capitalism, while at the same time increasing its contradictions. The possibility for a revolution to spread rapidly increases. Regional revolutions become possible. It is known that the imperialist chain will break from its weakest link. The strength of a chain is equal to the strength of the weakest link, and due to

the internal dynamics of the capitalist-imperialist system, the strength of the whole chain is decreasing.

The state is shaped by class struggle. In a backward socio-economic system, the relationship between the base and superstructure is established primarily through class struggle. Moreover, since capitalism is at issue here, class struggle refers not only to class struggle within the borders of a particular country, but also to class struggle all over the world. Today's state, in accordance with monopoly capitalism, is shaped by the fear of the October Revolution and communism. This fear has confronted it with the task on the one hand of suppressing the revolutionary development in the present, and on the other hand of "finishing the human being" in order to prevent the possibility of a revolutionary uprising in the future. This dual task required an unprecedented intertwining of violence and ideology.

The state of modern capitalism is organized entirely for civil war. The state of today's capitalism is a monopolist police state. The monopolist police state is a state organized according to the fear of the future, to prevent a revolution. The monopolist police state is a clear proof that monopoly capitalism has no future.

The monopolist police state is the state of today's capitalism, it's today's bourgeois dictatorship. The monopolist police state expresses the evolution of the state according to the class struggle. This is today's bourgeois democracy. As far as the working class and laborers are concerned, it is a pure dictatorship. The state, on behalf of the ruling class, accumulates the experiences of class struggle and embodies them in its

organization. In capitalism, where class struggle pervades the whole of society, the state has become more competent via centralization against the revolution. The monopolistic police state refers to this growing competency of the bourgeois state. The modern state is the bourgeois state based entirely on media and repression. While the social function of the sword is assumed by the police force, intelligence units, secretly organized execution units, mafia organizations that are an integral part of monopolistic competition; the social function of the church is assumed initially by educational institutions and now mainly by the media.

For the monopolist police state; terrorism, the transmission of ideology through violence, the terrorist character of the media and a police organization developed for civil war (which is also the function of the army on a large scale) are the distinctive points. In today's capitalist-imperialist world this form of state is dominant with various differences.

The monopoly police state, the monopoly order, stands on its feet with increasing violence every day. It is necessary and legitimate to fight against this state by all means and means.

The media is the way to dehumanize human beings, to internalize violence and fear. Monopoly capitalism is a system that makes human beings selfish, loveless, isolated, closed off and withdrawn from society into oneself, and turns human beings into objects. In the monopoly system, the human being is an object that exists to the extent that she consumes. The monopoly system cannot survive in any way other than the dehu-

manization of human beings. Consciousness has been replaced by instinct, obstinacy by submission, sharing and devotion by animalistic selfishness and indulgence. Violence and fear dominate every aspect of life.

The alternative before human beings today is this: Either to rot in the wasteland of monopolies or to march towards socialism through revolutionary means. Socialism is therefore an urgent demand, the first goal. The struggle for democracy within the confines of the capitalist system is a dead-end street that leads to celebrating capitalism.

Today's capitalism is a capitalism in which the law of uneven development has become more prominent. At the end of the 20th century, this law is working much more effectively. For this reason, in many parts of the world the conditions are ripe for rapid and mutually igniting revolutions. However, the lack of internationalist organization of the world's workers' and communist movement is a major deficiency that marks the present. A new international, the defeat of the Second International lurking inside the Third International, will only be realized through new victorious revolutions. But communists can never forgive idleness until that day.

Monopoly capitalism hinders the development of the forces of production, of human being as the greatest productive force, and destroys nature. This does not mean that there can be no technical progress. It is impossible to omit the fact that monopoly capitalism hinders the development of the productive forces without saying that the profit ambitions of the monopolies are compatible with the "interests of humanity." Technolo-

gy is biased and monopolies will always develop new techniques for more profit and more exploitation.

Monopoly capitalism, while on the one hand, provokes war between peoples and increases armaments to gigantic proportions; on the other hand, destroys nature and makes the world uninhabitable. War and the destruction of the ecological balance are the inevitable consequences of capitalism. There can be no consistent struggle for peace and the preservation of ecological balance without fighting against capitalism and for socialism.

The history of humanity is a history in which it becomes more and more decisive in history and society. This is even clearer in the transition from capitalism to socialism and the establishment of socialism. Therefore, the disintegration of the imperialist-capitalist chain, the burial of capitalism in the grave, requires a party capable of leading a militant struggle, gathering the most advanced elements of the working class, armed with the most advanced theory and capable of using every form of struggle.

The world monopoly system will be shattered by the struggle of the working class in every country for revolution and socialism, and by the struggle of the peoples of the colonial countries for national independence and socialism. The historical legacy of socialism and the existence of socialist countries that still, against all odds, do not surrender the flag of socialism under siege, are of great value in this fight.

All Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples
Unite!

V. Capitalism in Turkey, and the State of the Republic of Turkey

Turkey is a monopolist capitalist country within the world capitalist-imperialist system. Turkey's place in this system is determined by a relationship of dependence, according to the characteristics of the imperialist stage. Turkey is a colony dependent on imperialism. However, this relation of dependence reflects both the path of capitalist development in Turkey and its position in the region. This position is a sub-imperialist position, a new method of imperialist domination and partition.

The rise to power of the bourgeoisie in Turkey took place about 300 years after the birth of capitalism and 70 years after it became a world system. Therefore, when compared to the Ottoman period, looking for advanced points in this process, coming to power of the bourgeoisie is changing sides in the war and joining arms with the bourgeoisie.

Capitalism in Turkey developed under the characteristics and effects of this development and reached today's monopolistic stage. Rising to the position of

the dominant social relation in a period when the bourgeois-led class struggle against the feudal nobility was essentially completed, the proletariat rose to the position of a revolutionary class on the stage of history, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat dominated all forms of life, monopoly relations became the dominant relationship of the system and the world was divided between imperialist countries; capitalism in Turkey was born dependent and reactionary.

Dependency and reactionism are not subjective choices of the Turkish bourgeoisie, but features it inherited from the system. In other words, Turkish capitalism could not be otherwise under the existing dominant relationship. Failure to comprehend this is a failure to comprehend the development of capitalism, monopolism, imperialism and class struggle.

The rise of Turkish capitalism to the position of the dominant system is a process that began in the middle of the 18th century and was completed in the 1920s. At the end of this process, the war between the bourgeoisie and feudal reaction was secondary, while the war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was decisive.

The bourgeoisie ended the rule of the feudal class before it took power. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First War of Partition (i.e., WW1) both facilitated and ended this struggle. The feudal class was defeated and lost its power. However, power had not yet passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie. In the Ottoman Empire, which was squeezed within the borders of Misak-ı Milli (National Pact) war after the First War

of Partition, a civil under the cover of national liberation (anti-imperialism) and the war of liberation of other peoples from colonialism were intertwined. The parties to this war were an organized bourgeoisie with a strong tradition; and a weak, disorganized, ideologically unclear but enthusiastic working class and people's movement that was inspired by the October Revolution and a newly developing movement of national pursuit. The bourgeoisie rose to power as the victor of this war and the State of the Republic of Turkey (TR state) was established. An extreme nationalism, a colonialism leading to the denial and annihilation of other nations, ideological denial and physical terror against the working class and laborers constitute the core of this state. This process is also the process of becoming a colony.

The bourgeoisie sought many ways to protect the Ottoman territories. However, the awakening of the peoples, backed by the wind of the October Revolution, and the revolutionary workers' and people's movement at home conditioned the bourgeoisie's agreement with the imperialist centers. From this point of view, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey was also the colonization of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to this, the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the bourgeoisie's coming to power, also has the character of a counter-revolution against the developing workers' and people's movement. What is presented to us as a war of liberation is in reality a civil war. The formation of the Turkish Republic is therefore completely against communism and the world revolution.

Crushing all its opponents, the bourgeoisie declared its power in 1920. Thus the fundamental problem of the revolution was solved. The power vacuum created during the civil war was eliminated. The power of the feudal class was replaced by the power of the bourgeoisie. Capitalist relations became the dominant relation of the system alongside and above the dissolving feudal relations. The remnants of feudalism have entered a process of transformation that was sometimes gradual, sometimes accelerating, but in no case jeopardised the stability of the system. It could not have been otherwise. Because the era when capitalism became the dominant system in Turkey and the bourgeoisie rose to power was not the era of the rise of capitalism but the era of its decline; the bourgeoisie was not the revolutionary bourgeoisie of the 1789s and the class struggle was now between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Compromise, reaction and militarism against the working class is the bourgeoisie's philosophy of life. The Turkish bourgeoisie's fear of the working class and national movements is a fear it learned even before it came to power and deepened at every moment. Today, the bourgeoisie finds a chance to live by growing this fear and spreading it among the working class and laborers.

Capitalism in Turkey was built on a puny capitalist accumulation in the economic sphere and a fierce class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class, laboring people and national movements in the political sphere. These two features inevitably brought to the fore the state and especially its repressive organ-

izations: the army, police and prison. The bourgeoisie, which found the people against it at the very beginning of its struggle for power, has always feared the people, the working class and national aspirations. This fear is the main factor shaping its organization. Kemalism is the ideological and political expression of this fear.

Capitalism in Turkey has continued its development under all these basic features and reached today's monopolist stage which means the absolute political and economic domination of finance capital.

The bourgeoisie, which initially started with small-scale factory production in traditional industrial branches on the accumulation of puny capital, rose from the mediation and agency of imperialist monopolies to large-scale production; from monopoly over the market to monopoly over production and market.

Throughout this process, the state, which maintained the order with its armed force, played an active and decisive role in creating the material and technical conditions for large-scale capitalist production in industry and agriculture with its bureaucracy, its facilities producing cheap inputs for industry (the organization of the infrastructure of large-scale capitalist production), the redistribution of national income for the benefit of the bourgeoisie through the budget, protection and incentive practices, regulations that accelerated the flow of capital and laws regulating work life. The state served as a school for the monopoly bourgeoisie, training its cadres and strengthening its capital accumulation.

This role of the state in the development of capitalism stems from the peculiarities of the development

of Turkish capitalism. Before its rise to power, Turkish capitalism was not based on a strong foundation of capitalist production in the bosom of the old society, as in France, Germany, etc. On the contrary, the Ottoman Empire, being a semi-colony state, had an extremely puny capitalist sphere of production, although it had a relatively large capitalist commodity market. Therefore, the organization and growth of capitalist production begins, essentially, with the seizure of state power by the bourgeoisie. The decisive role of the state in capitalist development derives from this belated, powerless birth.

In other respects, in line with the Ottoman tradition of looting and plunder, in order to create a “Turkish bourgeoisie” at the founding of the Turkish Republic, those who collected capital at their hands, the commercial capital and the Rum and Armenian commercial bourgeoisie who were the leaders of the Ottoman Empire, were exterminated and massacred in order to collect capital and confiscate their property. The role of the state is also indispensable in this respect. The famous Karakol society, Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa (Special Organization) are expressions of this role.

On the other hand, while the Turkish state organized against the working class, the people and national liberation movements at home, it also served as a soldier of the anti-communist imperialist organization against the USSR abroad. This task became even more concrete during the cold war years and the organization of almost every institution in the country was shaped according to this purpose.

This is also one of the material foundations of the relative weakness of Turkish capitalism and its constant need for interventions. Due to the weakness of the internal dynamics of capitalism, its position in the world capitalist-imperialist system, and the staggering effect of the class struggle despite all its subjective inadequacies, Turkish capitalism had to sustain its growth on a descending and ascending curve, but always continuing its growth in economic and political instability. The successive military interventions and constitutional reforms, each involving stronger physical and ideological terror than the last, are the political expression of this process. This process is a process of reorganisation of the state again and again, in line with the new requirements of capitalist development and the dimensions reached by the class struggle.

This reorganisation of the state is not independent of the world capitalist-imperialist system on which Turkey is dependent, on the contrary, it is the delayed reflection of the state organization within this system in Turkey. With one difference; while in the system, the terror apparatuses of the state can be concealed through keeping under control economic, political stability and the class struggle via the export of depression, in Turkey, the persistence of economic and political depression and the inability to keep the class struggle under control brings out the terror apparatuses into the open. In other words, the Turkish bourgeoisie is able to dominate in its own country and colony mostly through terror.

What is really important in the organization of the state is the conquest of the class movement from

within, by stifling the dynamics of class struggle. In other words, today's state is a civil war organization, a special war organization structured in accordance with the class struggle. The state is locked on this point with all its institutions. Its aim is to eliminate the working class, which cannot be eliminated as a class, from being a revolutionary class. Terror plays a special role in this organization. Terror is not only a means to oppress, but also to destroy in the oppressed and exploited masses the hope of a future. Monopoly capitalism gives rise to monopolistic competition based on violence and domination. Violence and domination are embodied in terror and the media and reflected in the state. This state is the monopolist police state, the state of monopoly capitalism.

In this state, political freedoms (organization, assembly, march, strike, etc.) exist only to the degree and to the extent that the working class and laborers are subordinated to the capitalist order.

The Turkish bourgeoisie is walking on the path of the world bourgeoisie, albeit belatedly. It is trying to take captive the working class, which it cannot destroy, by creating a special war apparatus. However, despite all its successes, the bourgeoisie has not been able to prevent Turkey from being a country of revolution. With the collapse of the world socialist system, the deteriorating balance of the imperialist system, the deepening depression and its reflection on the dependent countries on an exponential degree, the unstoppable rise of the Kurdish revolutionary movement and the inability to eliminate the working class as a potential

danger are rapidly maturing the objective conditions for revolution in this country. After a period of disintegration, retreat and stagnation, the class struggle is entering a new phase in which everything depends on the working class and its organisation.

VI. The quality of the revolution and the path of the revolution

One of the endless debates in Anatolia is the democratic revolution debate. The discussion cannot be considered as a revolutionary strategy discussion based on the concrete situation of the country. That's the practice. Rather, the form of revolution has been discussed by drawing analogies with the conditions of victorious revolution in a particular country.

However, the discussion on the nature and path of the revolution has to be based on a concrete analysis of the concrete situation. This is not enough, the discussion of the nature of the revolution cannot be separated from the discussion of the way of the revolution. Discussion in light of this perspective is helpful.

In terms of the nature of the revolution, the concrete situation today can be summarized as follows.

1. Today, Turkey is a moderately developed capitalist country.

Capitalism is monopoly capitalism. Bank and industrial capital are intertwined. The economic management of the country is in the hands of the financial

oligarchy. Monopoly capital is dominant in political power as well as in the management of the country's economy. Finance-capital in our country basically sits on the following legs; state monopoly capital, monopoly industrial and bank capital, and imperialist capitals. This situation also requires considering imperialism, state power and monopoly capital as a whole. Attempts to find "contradictions" among these sections and to pursue a policy based on them are not revolutionary.

2. Capitalist relations in agriculture are dominant relations. The dissolution of feudal relations, the development of capitalism in agriculture, separated the peasantry in accordance with the class structure of capitalism. The peasantry is not a class as in feudalism. For this reason, there can be no talk of the peasantry as a whole in the revolution. Peasant:

a. Capitalist rich peasantry, landowners,

b. Middle capitalist peasantry,

c. It was divided into poor peasantry. Poor peasantry constitutes a large part of all segments living in rural areas. The poor peasantry constitutes about two-thirds of the entire agricultural population and lives in conditions of heavy exploitation.

3. Monopoly domination has led to the spread of capitalist exploitation from the working class to all working strata through monopoly profit. Poverty is experienced with the deepening and spread of exploitation. This intensifies and sharpens the contradictions of capitalism. The laborer is becoming more and more a collective labourer. The collective laborer is a clear indicator and result of the increasing social character

of production. In this context; Those working in the service sector are part of the working class, the workers who are put in the title of civil servants to prevent them from striking for political purposes.

4. The process of monopolization developed with dependence on imperialism. Today, within the framework of the creation of sub-imperialist centers within the colonial strategy, the TR's being a regional superpower is developing within this same dependency process. This is important in two respects.

a. In this framework, the capitalist crisis is deepening with the multifaceted effects of the international capitalist system.

b. Secondly; When talking about Turkey's dependence on imperialism, it is necessary to talk about the monopoly bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie. The opposite is also true. Therefore, in Turkey there can be no talk of an anti-imperialist struggle other than the struggle for destroying capitalism. Without fighting against the bourgeoisie, against capitalism, the anti-imperialist struggle can only be talk. For many years, the Turkish left's talk of the army's tradition of anti-imperialism is, in fact, nothing more than a reflection of the Kemalist influence on the left. National independence cannot be achieved by staying within the borders of capitalism. If so, anti-imperialism only makes sense when combined with anti-capitalism. In that case, it is not possible to get out of the imperialist exploitation system without inflicting a radical blow to the bourgeois domination and the bourgeois state, and without realizing the revolution.

5. The State of The Republic of Turkey is a monopolistic police state. The monopolistic police state has “become competent” by incorporating earlier forms of the state. Monopoly sovereignty also left its mark on political power. Governments have been an executive committee of monopolies. The state has created ways of “secret organization” by developing oppression devices. The monopoly police state has created apparatuses that are ready to use all forms of terrorism. The state intervenes in economic processes on behalf of monopolies. The smallest pursuit of economic rights finds the monopolistic police state in front of it. The economic struggle and the political struggle are intertwined.

All these are also proofs of the insolubility of capitalism in the monopoly stage. The goal of the war; the disintegration of the state has darkened as its seizure.

Without understanding this nature of the state, the struggle of the working class is only made indecisive with the distinction of “good state, bad state”. “Fascism” is not a separate state, but a counter-revolutionary offensive. Attributing evils to fascism and justifying bourgeois “democracy” is not a revolutionary, but a conciliatory attitude.

To fight with the choice of “bourgeois democracy against fascism” is to deceive oneself, to seek alliances with a section of the bourgeoisie, to follow its tail. The sharpening of the goal of seizing state power means that there are no intermediate steps to prevent the state from being taken over by another class at this very point. Power will be seized by the working class. In that case, putting stages in front of the power struggle

means locking oneself to backward targets, reconnecting to the order.

The place of state monopoly capital in finance-capital combines the struggle for democracy with the struggle for revolution. Without the aim of revolution, the struggle for democracy loses its meaning. In this context, talking about the anti-monopoly struggle without talking about the anti-capitalist struggle is based on the illusion of seeing monopoly as a deviation from capitalism, a tumor of capitalism.

The rule of monopolies is not proof that non-monopoly bourgeois can undertake an action that will be the end of their existence. The rule of the monopolies is above all the rule of the entire bourgeois class. To seek alliances with non-monopoly bourgeois sections, to base the conflict between the bourgeoisie means treating the class struggle as an internal conflict of the bourgeoisie. This is inconfidence to the working class, to oneself.

6. The segment of the bourgeoisie, which is between the petty bourgeoisie and the monopolies, is one of the main pillars of the order. They can never have a political identity separate from monopolies. Their interests depend on the existence of monopolies.

Proposing an anti-monopoly front based on the contradiction between these factions and monopolies is no different than proposing a front against the biggest monopolies, taking into account the divisions within the monopoly bourgeoisie. Revolutionary Socialists accept this tactic as the product of a reformist understanding that harms the cause of the working class.

7. The working class is the class whose interest is in the complete overthrow of the system and the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, and will achieve this under its own leadership by ensuring the alliance of the working people laborers. It is the vanguard of the revolution. The working class is increasing in numbers every day. The disintegration and proletarianization of the peasantry, the destruction of the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the gradually joining the ranks of the educated workforce have this effect. The working class today makes up the overwhelming majority of the population.

The city laborers and the poor peasantry are the allies of the proletariat in the struggle for revolution and socialism.

The Anatolian revolution is a socialist revolution. What gives the revolution its character is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the laborers under the leadership of the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, the Anatolian revolution will not be a “purely proletarian” revolution. History has misled those who expect pure revolutions. No class in society is separated from each other with thick lines. The alliances of the working class in the socialist revolution are the city laborers and the semi-proletarian poor peasantry. 3/4 of the active population consists of these segments. Without the unifying and educative leadership and hegemony of the working class, the city laborers and the poor peasantry cannot walk resolutely on the path of revolution. The revolution will triumph

with the formation of a united labor front led by the proletariat. A united labor front also presupposes the struggle for the unity of the working class.

The united labor front will first begin with the rise and unification of the working class on a revolutionary basis. A non-revolutionary working class, of course, cannot gather its allies under the banner of revolution.

At this point, let's take a closer look at the situation of the forces that will fight for socialism.

Here is the situation of the forces that will fight for socialism:

1. Proletariat: Not only is the proletariat the largest segment of society, the proletariat has to be taken into account in every social process. The proletariat is the most determined force in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, in the struggle for socialism. This determination of the proletariat derives, of course, from its objective position as a class. The emancipation of the proletariat depends on establishing socialism in order to reach the communist society where classes have disappeared, and seizing power for this purpose. That is, its salvation is the way to the salvation of the whole society.

The agricultural proletariat is an integral part of the proletariat. The working class suffered the most from the gradual development of capitalism and the fact that feudalism has not been radically liquidated. The separation of the peasantry took place in a gradual process without a radical land reform. Today, many workers continue to be "semi-peasant".

2. Semi-Proletarian Poor Peasantry and City Workers: The separation of the peasantry, the domi-

nance of capitalist relations in agriculture brought together the semi-proletarianization of the poor peasantry. The poor peasantry located around the large capitalist land holdings earn their living by working in these large capitalist enterprises during certain seasons. Working in one's own small land and for a capitalist, in fact, not only makes the situation of the poor peasantry intolerable, but also combines its emancipation with the emancipation of the working class.

It is petty-bourgeois traits that characterize the poor peasantry. But their future is in the ranks of the proletariat. Even though the city laborers carry the petty-bourgeois indecision, they see that their future is combined with the future of the working class with the increasing monopoly exploitation. It is clear that the poor peasantry and city laborers will make the revolution regress, even though they are in alliance with the working class in the revolution. Considering the fact that the struggle tradition of the poor peasantry is almost non-existent, this will be a better understandable phenomenon. Despite the indecision of the city laborers, the tradition of their struggle cannot be ignored.

The poor peasantry and city laborers are allies of the proletariat in the developing revolution. Their future is in socialism. Capitalism has nothing to offer the poor peasantry and city laborers. This is where the multicoloredness of the developing revolution comes from.

An important feature of our country, like many similar countries, is migration to the city. This migration conditions the formation of laborer-living spaces

around cities. The slums are one of the important positions in the struggle against the system as a whole.

3. On the other hand, the relationship between the Kurdish Liberation Movement and the Anatolian Revolution is much more special. First, until now, the Kurdish Liberation Movement has been considered as a strategic ally of the revolutionary movement of Turkey. Turkey's left, which could not leave the borders of the Misak-ı Milli (National Pact), argued that the victory of the Kurdish liberation struggle would come under the leadership of the Turkish working class. But practice surpassed this process. The term "strategic ally" is still being pronounced now.

To be strategically allies is to say that there is no salvation outside of such a path. In other words, you are talking about the forced dependence of the Kurdish people on our revolution. This is not true. At this point, being an alliance and being a strategic alliance are two different things. Of course, there is a very serious relationship between the Kurdish liberation struggle and the Anatolian revolution. The victory of both struggles lies in fighting against the same power, the TC. However, the existence of the difference of contradictions in objective terms differentiates development paths and possibilities objectively. Not seeing this is sacrificing the revolutionary alliance that will be established between the two movements to the understanding of the "Borders of the National Pact".

In summary, the Kurdistan revolution is an important ally of the Anatolian revolution, but the alliance between them should not be considered as a "strategic"

alliance. We find the role of the “older brother” of the Kurdistan revolution both practically surpassed and wrong in terms of international morality. On the other hand, as long as the Kurdistan revolution turns towards social liberation and socialism, the relationship between the two revolutions will be of greater importance.

On the other hand, when viewed on the basis of the regional revolution; the development of the Kurdistan revolution is a great opportunity. In this respect, the relationship of both revolutions is strategic in terms of igniting the entire region. The international relations that will develop in our region also conditions the development of the relations between the revolutionary forces in our region and the world revolution on a healthy basis.

From this point of view, the revolutionary forces of our region and the international revolutionary movement are the important alliance of our revolution.

The working class’ educational and unifying role in its alliances can only be fulfilled through its revolutionary vanguard party.

The revolution will be victorious with the armed struggle of the working class, poor peasantry and city laborers. The working class, through its revolutionary party, will weave this armed struggle in continuity and the revolution will triumph through an uprising and a civil war.

Revolutionary force is the basic method of struggle. But revolutionary impetus alone does not equal armed struggle. Revolutionary impetus is a combination of political, ideological and military struggle.

Armed struggle is the intensified form of political struggle. It is not correct to talk about armed struggle without political struggle.

The revolution will triumph on three main points. First point; leadership of the revolutionary party. Without the leadership of the Revolutionary Socialists, it is not enough to rant about the hegemony and leadership of the working class.

The second point is guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare is the concrete expression of the way and leadership of the Revolutionary Socialists' struggle to weave the revolution. Guerrilla warfare is a form of struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie that developed especially during the 20th century. But guerrilla warfare is only one aspect of warfare. Just because it's basic doesn't mean it's the only method.

Revolutionary Socialists, on the one hand, do not reject any form of struggle, on the other hand, they do not absolutize any form of struggle.

Guerrilla warfare is the way to prepare an insurrection, the most advanced form of civil war. Insurrection and coming to power will be realized only in this way. Guerrilla warfare is the vanguard's way of educating the masses, reversing the bourgeois bombardment, and enabling it to bring the people's power to the revolution by demonstrating this power to the people themselves.

Third, mass support. The revolution is driven by a narrow party. But the revolution will rise on the hands of the masses. A revolution, which cannot gather the working class, poor peasantry and city laborers (civil

servants, all working classes, students) in a united labor front under the flag of socialism, cannot achieve victory. This will also be of great importance for the stage of the establishment of socialism.

If the determining point of this triple chain is the party and its leadership, it is the guerrilla warfare that connects this leadership and the mass ties.

The Anatolian revolution will be very colorful. Within this framework, various revolutionary groups will be able to take part in a united labor front. The Party, which will be the vanguard of the revolution, approaches its relations with these forces with the fact of fraternity and being an element of the same front. It takes criticism and war friendship together as a whole. In this framework, the Party does not include in its ranks those who, with narrow organizational interests, see martyrs of the revolution as the martyrs of others. Every revolutionary who is martyred in the revolutionary war is engraved in the common treasure of the common cause. This spirit is essential when looking at history as well.

The leadership of the revolutionary party has a political and ideological content. Leadership cannot be handled with a one-to-one command mechanism. This means severing vanguardism from its historical and social dimensions and reducing it to a mechanical relation.

The first precursor of the social revolution is the dimension of the struggle against the dominant ideology. The dominant ideology in a society is the ideology of the ruling class. As this ideology disintegrates, the

way of revolution will be opened. As the revolution progresses, the ideological dominance of the bourgeoisie will crumble faster.

The struggle against the dominant ideology is an organized struggle. The party, which will be the vanguard of the revolution, does not distinguish between ideological, political and military struggles, and considers them all on the basis of organization.

The ideology of the Turkish state is Kemalism, which is highlighted on the basis of the indivisibility of the borders of the Misak-I Milli (National Pact). Kemalism has never had a meaning other than counter-revolution in any period of its history, it can't. The revolutionary subject wages a constant ideological war against Kemalism, against every form of bourgeois ideology. It treats all areas of social life, from science to art, as a field of struggle against bourgeois ideology and the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary Socialists wage an open, materialist, scientifically minded and level-headed struggle against religious ideology. A level struggle against all manifestations and traces of religious thought is an integral part of the struggle for revolution and socialism. However, Revolutionary Socialists do not despise anyone because of their religious belief, and consider religious belief as a personal right.

It supports the fight against order, albeit on a religious basis. The main thing here is the struggle against this order. Revolutionaries consider and separate religious movements in terms of positioning against the order and being the reserve force of the order.

VII. Nations and peoples

Home to many civilizations, Anatolia has witnessed the rise and fall of magnificent civilizations.

The arrival of the Turks in Anatolia took place in the midst of relentless wars with settled civilizations. Turkish history has always been a name of barbarism and plunder in these lands. This destruction, which started with Manzikert, passed on to the Seljuks, the Ottomans, and then to the Turkish Republic as a tradition. During this entire period, mainly Turkmens were destroyed. Ottoman history is a history in which those who opposed Sunni Islam, the state religion, were humiliated, especially the Turkmens.

Many public rebellions took place throughout this history. However, except for a few, in all of them, the helm of the rebellion was taken by local feudals or those who were influential within the state administration. And this team sold out the uprisings when they were given a new seigniory. For this reason, the history of peoples is also the history of leaderlessness.

The dominant bourgeoisie in the country in the early 1900s were the Armenian and Rum bourgeoisie, who developed as the merchant bourgeoisie. The tradition that waged war against more advanced civilizations for plunder and thus lived throughout history, then began the destruction of these bourgeoisie for “capital accumulation”. Unprecedented examples of massacres appeared. Under this shame, the peoples of Anatolia feel the need to forget even their very recent history. This is how the bourgeoisie needed for these lands, which would be called Turkey in the 1920s, was born as the Turkish bourgeoisie.

The Turkish bourgeoisie’s struggle to rise to power is, on one side, the destruction and denial of other peoples and nations in the name of Turkish nationalism. The Armenian massacre at the beginning of the century, followed by the massacres of Rums, Pontians, Laz and Kurds, and forced assimilation practices have turned these lands, where many nations and peoples live together, into a hell for the peoples.

Bourgeois domination in these lands does not only mean the oppression and coercive rule, humiliation and exploitation of all peoples, workers and laborers, bourgeois domination in these lands also means colonization. Bourgeois rule in these lands is the burial of thousands of years of Anatolia’s history. Bourgeois sovereignty in these lands means covering up history and writing a history based on denial. Bourgeois rule in these lands means that people do not think, that they are stripped of all their own characteristics and become artificial human beings, and that they are dehumanised.

Bourgeois sovereignty in these lands means the denial of all identity elements, including class identity. It means degeneration, rootlessness, turning into a herd.

The task of the revolution is; to reveal in all its dimensions this destruction and denial that the Turkish bourgeoisie has implemented against peoples and still considers as one of the foundations of its existence, to reveal the richness destroyed in Anatolia again, to create the conditions and institutions in which the people living in these lands can freely develop their own political and cultural identities, to make respect and brotherhood between peoples dominant and prevent the land from being a hell for nations and peoples. The Anatolian socialist revolution means making peace with the thousands of years of history of Anatolia and dusting off pages important for human culture.

Revolutionary Socialists see the establishment of this siblinghood in their own ranks and struggle as a condition of victory.

Revolutionary Socialists thoroughly absent themselves from the views that simply and belittle the peoples' issue. Revolutionary struggle is also a struggle against all remnants and habits of class society throughout history. In this respect, the identity problem is within the class war.

The freedom of the people also necessitates the victory of socialism. On the other hand, turning this land, which is a prison of peoples, into a mosaic of peoples, means a strong basis for the socialist revolution in the region.

VIII. The Kurdish liberation struggle

Kurdistan is an international colony divided into four parts. It is an internal colony within the borders of the Misak-ı Milli (National Pact). The Kurdish Liberation Movement found its revolutionary leadership in the most developed region of Kurdistan.

Today, the Kurdish revolution is experiencing national liberation and social liberation, the struggle for independence and socialism together. Although the objectivity of the struggle is based on national liberation, the vanguard of the Kurdistan revolution underlines the struggle for social liberation and socialism. Of course, the predominant presence and support of poor peasantry in Northern Kurdistan, where this vanguard operates, constitute the objective basis of the relationship between these two goals.

If every workers' movement in four separate parts attributed the development and victory of the Kurdish revolution to their own revolution; which they mostly do; this situation will be a blow to the Kurdish revolution in the name of socialism.

Revolutionary Socialists, on the one hand, take into account the impact of the Kurdish revolution on the Anatolian revolution and the revolution in the region, and on the other hand, reject the mortgages such as “the salvation of Kurdistan depends on the revolution in Turkey”. In this sense, the concept of one country-one revolution is beyond obsolete and is a Kemalist view. A single revolution is only possible with an open and sincere acceptance of the single country logic or the formation of a new objectivity in the Kurdistan revolution.

Revolutionary Socialists consider every success of the Kurdish revolution as the success of their own revolution, a step that brings the victory of the Anatolian working class closer. They acknowledge Kurdistan from today. They see the Kurdish Revolutionary Movement, together or as separate countries, as an ally on the path to socialism and the regional revolution.

On the other hand, Kurdistan is a unique colony. Developments in Kurdistan may create completely different conditions. But when talking about a programmatic approach, of course, it is necessary to take into account deeper dynamics.

A more concrete evaluation of the current stage of the Kurdistan revolution is presented in the appendix (See Appendix–I).

IX. Mass organization

The revolution is organized under the guiding action of the revolutionary party. However, the revolution will also be the work of the masses. The revolution itself will awaken the masses and improve the governing ability of the so-called “rabble” classes. Being governed has penetrated into our DNAs for centuries. The thing that will put an end to this is the revolution itself. For this reason, the approach to the mass has a meaning beyond self-improvement and organization. Therefore, it requires a programmatic perspective. No doubt this perspective will be a general overview.

The mass policy of the Revolutionary Socialists can be summarized in two basic points. Firstly; Revolutionary Socialists aim to revolutionize the mass. They see sitting on the tail of the masses in the name of the work among the masses and the ties with the masses as adulation and reformism. Bonds with the masses is not the name for the dissolution of the vanguard among the masses. Revolutionizing the masses requires being one step ahead of them. In this way, the mass can learn

within its own struggle and join the ranks of the revolution. We must fight by being in and in front of the masses, knowing that they learn from their own actions and experience. This is how the masses become revolutionary.

Secondly; Revolutionary Socialists do not impose organizational models on the masses. On the contrary, instead of dilapidated and obsolete models, they highlight the revolutionary models among the organizational forms the masses themselves have found and more or less developed. Revolutionary Socialists guide the masses with the right strategies and tactics, paving the way for their energy to flow into the revolution.

There are forms of action and organization that mass organization creates in the course of the development of the struggle. These are not the organizational models of a revolutionary party. These are organizational models that pave the way for the mass itself. The duty of revolutionaries is to develop the organizational forms created by this struggle and to highlight the revolutionary ones.

Mass organization is also extremely important for the establishment of socialism. Both the commune and the Soviet experiments have shown that the organs of power can emerge from the organization of the class. The revolutionary party pays attention to this.

a. Trade Union Struggle: The monopolistic police state has tended to block all pores of society. In fact, unions, which are the most developed organization of the economic struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, have now become an extension

of the state. While the labor aristocracy found its full expression in the union bureaucracy, under monopolistic relations the union bureaucracy took the form of the union mafia.

In our country, the union bureaucracy, which is one of the organizations that the USA controls by hand, could not be completely destroyed in the 1970s, but after the 1980s it turned into a complete mafia organization. Due to the low-intensity civil war, the union mafia prevented the labor movement from stepping out of the established order by organizing actions that released its accumulated anger.

In fact the strike has ceased to be the weapon of the workers and has become the weapon of the bourgeoisie.

As the working class avoids political organization and hesitates in relations with revolutionary organizations, it comes under the control of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the bourgeois attack is essentially based on preventing the working class from becoming revolutionary. In this respect, this is the duty of the union mafia. Never in the history of the Anatolian revolutionary movement has the workers' movement and the revolutionary movement been integrated or flowed in the same channel. Bourgeois control has a very important role here.

The economic and political forms of the struggle of the working class are increasingly intertwined. When the political struggle is pushed aside, the economic struggle becomes nonexecutable. At this point, ensuring the unity of the working class and, secondly, breaking the distance of the class from revolutionary

politics are extremely important steps. These steps are the steps to organize the class as a leading force in the struggle for revolution and socialism.

In conditions where unions are an extension of the state and under the control of the union mafia, of course, the attitude that “unions are none of our business” cannot be assumed. At this point, Revolutionary Socialists have to carefully monitor the new forms of organization developed by the class, while at the same time leading an effective fight against the union mafia.

It is necessary to approach with the same method to the mass organizations that the poor peasantry and city laborers will develop within the framework of their daily problems. Poor peasantry organizations are not developed in our country. The experiments put forward on this subject have not been expressed in organizational forms to date. For this reason, the approach to organizations that will emerge in the course of developments, with the same essence, is of special importance.

The poor peasantry has a very critical place in terms of guerrilla warfare. This is the group that is most exploited in our country, but also the one that unwinds the quickest in the face of the slightest concession. The poor peasantry also shows significant differences on a regional basis.

b. Youth: Youth is an important area of our country’s revolutionary struggle with its features such as excitement, energy, openness to learning and assertiveness. Revolutionary Socialists see this area as important for two reasons.

First reason is in terms of youth organisation. Revolutionary Socialists are aware that a broad youth organization developed by the youth and open to revolutionary influence will play an important role in the revolutionary struggle. However, at this point, the pioneer of the revolution does not impose organizational models on the youth. It highlights the revolutionary model among the organizational models developed by the youth. It strives to make such models permanent. This organization is a candidate to deliver effective results as of today. With its aggressive actions, youth increases the receptivity of the whole society, and at the same time, it increases the society's openness to new actions with the advanced forms of action it develops.

Latter; Youth is the cadre source and nursery of the Revolutionary Socialists. His excitement, assertiveness, openness to learning and courage are extremely important in this respect. Revolutionary Socialists pay special attention to worker youth.

With the increasing quantitative weight of workers and laborers in society, the number of children of workers and laborers among the youth is also increasing. This increases the importance that should be given to youth. We reject the reformist logic that sees youth as a group to be feared under all circumstances.

Our country is a country with a large population of young people. In our country, the age of participating in production and taking responsibility is gradually decreasing. In this respect, it can be seen that a 12-year-old young person undertakes to provide for his family. In this respect, we must underline the need to draw a

thick line between us and those who see the youth as distant from the working class and especially from its struggle.

The organizing of the youth also means gaining personality in the revolutionary struggle. In this respect, in youth organization, we should see understanding all its problems as correctly understanding the dynamics of the society.

Youth is the Future, the Future is Socialism!

X. The liberation of women

Thousands of years of class society history have carried women's oppression and her perception as a second-class gender to this day, as an inseparable consequence of humans' exploitation of humans. This history hasn't just carried these but intensified them. This means that class societies are a single society, and the most developed of them is capitalism.

The first great giant step towards the liberation of women is when the proletariat takes power and puts an end to exploitation. But this is a start. Socialism is the society of transition from capitalism to communism, from the past to the future. In this society, some extensions of capitalism, as the last of thousands of years of class society history, continue to exist. The war against these remnants will continue. Therefore, real salvation will occur in communism.

However, Revolutionary Socialists wage a constant struggle against all kinds of discrimination between men and women, against the family institution and double-standard morality, and sexual oppression.

This war is a theoretical and practical struggle. It denies children's dependence on parents. This rejection is framed in the war against the family institution.

The revolutionary vanguard party begins the work of changing the existing social consciousness from its own ranks. It rejects approaches that impose the "strength" of men and the "weakness" of women. While considering the ideological struggle to be waged within this framework as part of the struggle against bourgeois ideology, it sees the practical struggle to be waged as a part of the revolutionary struggle.

Revolutionary Socialists also fight against the concepts that understand women's liberation as women's opposition and struggle against men, and seek the solution in women's imitation of men or in men's "granting their rights" to women.

Revolutionary Socialists take steps towards socializing such works as housework, child care, etc. in socialism. They take the necessary precautions for this. They see the problem between men and women as the formation of the human being under class society. Otherwise, one turns a blind eye to the fact that when a man makes a woman fall, he also makes himself fall. Private property, family and women being reduced to second-class citizens are the shortest summary of this entire history. Therefore, the war against these institutions and this view is in the war against the dominant bourgeois ideology.

XI. Socialism: Further forward

The ultimate goal of Revolutionary Socialists is communism.

Communism is a society built on love, brotherhood and freedom. Communism is the society that puts an end to pre-human history, the age we live in today, and truly begins human history. Today, on the one hand, we live in a society that has long been surpassed: capitalism. We live in a system that ended a century ago and continues its life by turning into an extra and misshapen monster. But more importantly, the real history of humanity cannot begin in any society where humans are exploited by humans.

Communism is a society of brotherhood and freedom, built on common ownership of the means of production, where classes, and of course exploitation, are buried in history, and where the state disappears along with the classes. Communism is the society in which labor is no longer a necessity to earn a daily living, to live, to be fed, where the work itself is a vital need, where all forms of human subordination to humans

disappear with their consequences, where humans can develop all their abilities freely, and where the rebirth and the social birth of humans come true. Communism is a society in which class antagonisms come to an end with all the consequences of classes, the contradiction between human and nature comes to the fore, new horizons open up for humanity, and the “conquest of dead stars”¹ begins. It is a society where the contradiction between mental and manual labour, city and countryside has disappeared and the old division of labor has come to an end.

Revolutionary Socialists consider every step to be taken to establish socialism in connection with the above goal. In socialism, every step is taken with the goal of communism in mind from the very beginning. As socialism spreads around the world, it is clear that the socialist period will shorten under current technical conditions. Socialism describes the war against all remnants of capitalism as well as the stepwise conquest of the world for world revolution. In this respect, the continuity of the socialist revolution, internally and externally, is of great importance.

Socialism is a transition society to communism, in which private ownership of the means of production and exploitation has been put an end to, but classes still exist, therefore the class struggle continues, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is in the hands of the proletariat in this class struggle. The transition from capi-

1 Translator note: The author makes a reference to Nazım Hikmet’s poem “Stronsium 90”.

talism to communism, that is, the short duration of the socialism phase, depends only on the speed at which the proletariat's revolution spreads over the world.

By taking power, the proletariat dismantles the capitalist state machine and establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the organization of the proletariat as the ruling class. The dictatorship of the proletariat rises on the organisms such as communes, soviets, etc., which express the bottom-up organization of the masses. It. The proletariat establishes its own state instead of the state machine it destroyed. Their own representatives and civil servants are people who come to power through election without exception, who can be dismissed without exception, and who receive a salary that does not exceed the average worker's wage. State affairs should be simplified to the point that everyone can perform them, and should get beyond "specialization". In this mechanism, election is a part of the direct organization of the class and working masses. In other words, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be associated with bourgeois parliamentarism consisting of political parties and parliament. In the dictatorship of the proletariat, the parliament consists of representatives directly elected and revoked by the organized masses.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the means of suppressing the bourgeoisie, which has been overthrown from power and has lost its "paradise". The dictatorship of the proletariat is the means of establishing the socialist economy and ending its own ex-

istence along with the classes. The bourgeoisie continues its struggle against the revolution internally as a petty bourgeoisie and externally as a part of the world bourgeoisie. For this reason, the proletariat continues to fight against the counter-revolutionary attacks of the bourgeoisie, all remnants of capitalism and the world bourgeoisie under the conditions of socialism, with the aim of world revolution.

This is the essence of proletarian internationalism. At this point, the proletariat sacrifices its victorious revolution only for the sake of the world revolution, and sees its own revolution as a part of the world revolution.

Having taken power, the proletariat immediately puts an end to private ownership of the means of production. It tends to break the technical backwardness in sectors where expropriation is not yet possible due to technical backwardness. It organizes technology in a way that eliminates the contradiction between mental and manual labor, urban and rural, in line with the aims of socialism and communism. While organizing the technique, it considers the goals of increasing free time and increasing social surplus. In this context, Revolutionary Socialists see central planning as an integral part of the socialist economy and a tool for the development of communist consciousness.

In socialism, which is the first stage of communism, we do not accept the mechanical application of the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." This principle expresses the distinction between socialism and communism and

finds greater application in the first days of the revolution. However, if socialism is a march towards communism, this principle gets closer day by day to the principle “from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs”. Thus, in areas where money becomes unnecessary, a worker who spends money before and whose wage level is determined with this in mind gradually needs less money. But this is true for all workers. Thus, while the living standards of all workers increase, wage levels decrease. The principle “from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor” becomes meaningless except when comparing the work of one laborer with another. This principle is still valid in every advance of socialism, but it is not as important as before.

Socialism is a society in which money is just a simple medium of exchange and its scope of validity is restricted day by day. In this context, revolutionary socialism proposes to eliminate trade between socialist enterprises. It is necessary to invalidate money in every field where the needs for goods and services are met by the state. Revolutionary Socialists see the views which use wages as the measure of prosperity, profitability as the measure of efficiency, etc. as remnants of capitalism and implement an intense war against them.

Revolutionary Socialists accept that the new society will be established with new people. Therefore, it is based on the formation of communist consciousness. Unpaid work and volunteer work for the society is a school in this respect. Revolutionaries wage war against capitalism and the remnants of thousands of

years of class society history. They wage both an ideological and practical war for the liberation of women. They advocate that the work that is seen as women's work should be undertaken by society. They protect humanity's thousands of years of riches, that is why they refuse to recognize copyrights. It fights against the appropriation of knowledge. They aim to exceed the commodity horizon.

Revolutionary Socialists wage the struggle for the organization of socialism even in the back of beyond and the development of communist consciousness. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most developed democracy known in history. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a state, a semi-state, which will itself put an end to its existence. The proletariat must take part in the state organization directly. For this reason, the perspective of organizing socialism even in the back of beyond is indispensable.

In every society, the state tends to protect the existing order. What will save the dictatorship of the proletariat from such a tendency, as well as its being a semi-state, is the existence of the party that is not identified with the state. This requires socialism to be an organized society down to its back of beyond. The party is also a guide under these conditions. The proletariat, which attempted to "conquer the sky" in 1917, shook the whole world and came to power with the October Revolution. The October Revolution closed in on itself as a result of its failure to spread throughout the world, its failure to be completed with new revolutions, and the imperialist siege. The bourgeoisie attempted

to strangle the October Revolution dozens of times. While the October Revolution was advancing by being reborn in its own ashes, introversion transformed into turning its back on the world revolution and degrading socialism to an economic development model. Instead of an intense war against the remnants of capitalism, the values of capitalism (such as measuring well-being by the amount of means of consumption, wages, etc.) were transferred to socialism. The arguments such as “state of the whole people”, establishing communism, etc. was fallaciously mentioned. The October Revolution skipped the perspective of making the revolution permanent internally, turned its back on the world revolution externally and settled on a status quoist policy. Eventually, the October Revolution surrendered and was defeated as a result of the crisis it fell into due to the combination of many objective and subjective factors. No objectivity can justify this surrender. Today the counter-revolution has turned into a crusade against all the values of socialism.

The Paris Commune demonstrated the importance of seizing power and destroying the old state machinery. The October Revolution showed the importance of making the revolution permanent. The revolution that will build on the experiences of the October Revolution and the Paris Commune will offer more advanced examples of socialism. Today, this is possible not only in terms of experience and knowledge, but also in terms of the technical level that capitalism has reached.

Socialism cannot be transformed into communism by the victorious proletariat in one country, by remain-

ing in one country. However, even in a single country, the future socialism will be a more advanced socialism. For this reason, Revolutionary Socialists already consider the Anatolian revolution as a part of the world revolution. It is not possible to follow the revolutionary path at home and make the revolution permanent, while forgetting the perspective of the world revolution. A dictatorship of the proletariat without the spirit of proletarian internationalism will open the doors to petty bourgeois nationalism. This is the door through which the world bourgeoisie is welcomed to fight against socialism.

Advanced socialism is the socialism in which the horizon of communism is seen more clearly with the influence of historical heritage.

Long live the Anatolian Revolution!

Long live the World Revolution!

Long live Proletarian Internationalism!

Forward for Revolution: Either Socialism or Death!

Appendix-I

Kurdistan revolution and Anatolian revolution

Understanding the richness of the concrete

The Kurdistan revolution is developing while shaking the whole region, affecting first and foremost our country. It exposes the entire face of the Turkish state. The footsteps of the Kurdish Revolution are telling us what hundreds of books, tens of thousands of leaflets, etc. could not achieve. What Kemalism is, the remnants of Kemalism in the Turkish left are exposed. This uprising gives hope to humanity in a world where socialism is dissolving, in a land where the redness of revolution is rising.

At this point, trying to fit the Kurdish Revolution into “theory” leads to a dogmatic understanding that ignores the richness of the concrete.

The Kurdish Revolution is not a classical national question. First, we have an international colony divided into four parts. Secondly, the countries that occupy Kurdish lands are colony countries. Thirdly, the Kurdish Revolution is rising in the 1990s. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze it in this concrete situation.

In Northern Kurdistan, which is the most developed part of Kurdistan, the PKK leadership emerged on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Its development to our day is the product of its concrete grasp of the reality of Kurdistan. The opposite view leads either to coincidence or to the conclusion that it is an arm of imperialism, which in reality nothing more than throwing mud at others as a product of one's own lack of self-confidence.

1. The Anatolian revolution lags behind the Kurdish revolution. This is the uneven development. In a situation where the Anatolian revolution is behind, to maintain the discourse of "one country, one revolution" is in reality a social-chauvinist attitude, the attitude of "seniority" and "big brother" of the oppressor nation.

What is the emphasis on one country if not the acceptance of the borders of Misak-ı Milli and the "indivisible integrity" of The Republic of Turkey?

2. At this point, there are those who say that a Kurdistan separated from Turkey would be a patch for imperialism. Perhaps this is a possibility. But in this case, shouldn't Cuba had surrendered, saying that we cannot break this siege anyway? We would like to ask such people: Where is the difference between the line of surrender and the line of the revolution?

National liberation cannot be achieved by remaining in the capitalist system with a national state. On the contrary, national liberation is impossible without socialism. But it is precisely the struggle of the Kurdistan revolution so far that proves this truth.

3. Furthermore, the Kurdish Revolution is today under an imperialist siege. Since 1917, imperialism employed a policy of siege against every revolution that developed. Isn't the Cold War a unique form, an advanced form of this siege policy?

In the complex of contradictions that is the Middle East, while imperialists impose their own demands on the other hand, they also act as partners in strangling the Kurdish Revolution. We can look at the environment created by the Kurdish Revolution on three levels. The first and decisive one is the struggle of the Kurdish people for national liberation and through this path for socialism. The basic dynamism of this struggle is national liberation. However, especially in Northern Kurdistan, what is national and what is class-based are intertwined. In Northern Kurdistan, the working class and mainly the poor peasantry are the main pillars of the revolution. In addition to political development, it is this class coherence that makes these lands stand out. This is what the emphasis on socialism is based on.

If this is the case, stifling the revolution in Kurdistan means turning the poor peasantry, the leadership and the backbone of the revolution, away from the revolution.

In this framework, the Kurdish Revolution is in contradiction with four countries, especially The Republic of Turkey. However, especially in Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan, the activity of the branches connected to imperialism is known. This point is also the source of the conflict between the revolutionary line in the Kurdish Revolution, based on the poor peasant-

ry and the working class, and the collaborationist line, based on the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie. The so-called “communists” who are eager to label the PKK as nationalist cannot in reality comprehend the conflict and difference between these two lines. After all, they adopt a position that explains everything in terms of conspiracies and glorifies the power of imperialism, which they also see as a paper tiger.

Therefore, at the first decisive level, the Kurdistan revolution is fighting against both the Kurdish collaborators and four countries, especially The Republic of Turkey. This is the objective situation. In this struggle, since 1992, the conciliatory and imperialist front has taken important steps.

4. The Kurdistan revolution, in connection with the fact that it is a unique colony, has today “solved” the national issue in a unique way. It has solved it because there is now a people and it is standing up with all its strength. From this point onwards, the dual character of the revolution will and is gaining more importance. So much so that there are now two poles emerging: an officialization that has fallen far behind the successes achieved in Kurdistan and the turn towards socialism. This, beyond subjective choices, is the clear expression of the objective situation, the new situation of the revolution.

The national question in Kurdistan, as described above, reached a new stage in 1992. It can be clearly said that after this stage, there was a hesitation to formulate newer tactics and policies.

In the history of the world revolutionary movement, the examples of El Salvador, Nicaragua and

more recently Palestine are well known. If so, the danger that emerges in the new phase of the Kurdistan revolution is the siege from within and without. From the inside, there are policies aiming to break away from the poor peasantry to link up with the neo-Kurdish rulers, and from the outside, there is the imperialist siege.

Secondly, these four countries are on some level in conflict with the imperialist centers they are connected. For example, while the US can say yes to a reformed Kurdish revolution and thereby block the path of Germany, the Turkish Republic, one of its regional arms, can only say yes in a partial way and only if it adds new territories to itself. While Germany says yes to a Kurdistan under its control, Iran, its arm, wants a Kurdistan that does not fragment its territory. In this situation, Germany can see a political solution within the Turkish Republic as appropriate, but thinks that it will have difficulties in controlling its impact on the other parts. This is because the Talabani and Barzani groups have close relations with the US.

As can be seen from what has been said, the second level cannot be separated from the third level, the struggle between the imperialists for the division of the region. In other words, as the Kurdistan revolution becomes more internationalized, not only does it find itself confronted by the centers that are its real addressees, but also the crossroads of the new stage mentioned above becomes clear again from an international point of view. The revolution in Kurdistan is at the crossroads of either dreaming of socialism and becoming a lever for the revolution in the region or becoming

a tool in the imperialist war of division of the region. This is the international expression of the line of revolution and reconciliation.

However, anyone who does not place the first point at the center of their perspective here will eventually join the anti-PKK camp with a social-chauvinist attitude.

Now, let's explain the current concrete situation in more detail

1. Kurdish Revolution, unless it suffers an internal betrayal, is marching towards socialism by igniting other revolutions in the region, first and foremost the revolution in Anatolia. As long as the PKK leadership is not defeated, one should not doubt the development of the situation in this direction. However, in the same way, if the Anatolian and regional revolutions are defeated, it will become very possible to crush the Kurdish Revolution's march towards socialism. However, even if this last possibility comes true, it is not possible to label the Kurdish Revolution as nationalist today, nor to condemn it to defeat today.

Instead of considering the Kurdish Revolution as a part of the regional revolution and seeing the regional revolution, to lean on the obsession of one country-one revolution is to think from a bird-brained perspective.

At this point, the Kurdish Revolution has knocked on the door. The Anatolian revolution, on the other hand, is still in the take-off stage. Nevertheless, it is desirable for the two revolutions to break out together. But that would mean telling the Kurdish Revolution

today to wait. Who can think one has this right? Can this be demanded with the right of the elder brother, which stems from the family structures of the eastern culture? While the Kurdish Revolution is destroying feudal heads, are feudal heads “flourishing” in Anatolian lands?

If so, shouldn't we recognize the Kurdish Revolution, an independent Kurdistan, before the Turkish Republic? We recognize this newborn Kurdistan.

2. Secondly, the Kurdish Revolution, whether it turns towards socialism or has to be content with national liberation, will in any case contribute to the world revolutionary movement in a way that many so-called socialists cannot imagine.

Anatolian revolutionaries should feel this the most. The Anatolian revolution is just setting towards its path, having shaken off the psychology of defeat and renewed itself. The Kurdish revolution is accelerating the development of our revolution, even in the worst conceivable possibility.

In the Kurdistan revolution, today, the lines of defeat and victory coexist. Or socialism and a conciliation that cannot move beyond the “formalization” of the present stage are intertwined. Therefore, at this point, the real battle is within the Kurdistan revolution. Thus, the clashes in the South between the Kurdish reconciliation organizations, which have risen on the basis of cooperation with the imperialist centers, and the revolutionaries are a phenomenon to be approached within this framework.

The Kurdish Revolution is dissolving The Republic of Turkey today. The Republic of Turkey has seen this dissolution and this is the reason for the “restructuring” (second republic etc.) perspective of its chief cadres. Therefore, it is clear that this dissolution must be assessed now. In any case, The Republic of Turkey will take a step back in the political and ideological plan. To prevent Anatolian revolutionaries from taking advantage of this new situation, it turns to street executions and violently attacks the smallest protest that seeks rights.

In order to avoid this solution, The Republic of Turkey is increasing violence with all its means. This, of course, goes hand in hand with the complete degeneration of the Anatolian people. Before every solution, violence escalates to the maximum point. Today we are in this period. In order to finance the war, the TR is increasing tax rates, giving up some of its international goals (from the Adriatic to the China Sea), extending the duration of military service. It is already preparing for the solution process that will begin if all this is not enough. But when all this is blocked, the next step is like an inclined plane. The discussions on a political solution are nothing more than the calculations of where to stop on this inclined plane.

At this point, the joint development of the Kurdish and Anatolian revolutions does not mean that the Kurdish revolution should wait for the Anatolian revolution. On the contrary, it is necessary to see that the Anatolian revolution will increase its speed while the Kurdish revolution moves forward on its correct

course. The precondition for this is to recognize that there are two separate countries and two separate revolutions. However, the fate of these two revolutions gradually converges depending on the state of the Kurdistan revolution's orientation towards socialism and the "official" solutions that will be put forward. Even in the event of a possible defeat of the Kurdistan revolution, the people's demand for freedom, which found expression in the actions of the Zeyneps,¹ will not end. In this respect, clues to the tactics of the new phase are also emerging. On the one hand, the policy of taming the PKK in Kurdistan, of turning it into a PLO,² and on the other hand, of detaching it from the people, is on the agenda. The imperialist siege launched from the outside is, in reality, the strengthening and support of the middle classes of Kurdistan to achieve this aim.

Today, the world communist movement lacks an internationalist organization. The perspective of the regional revolution allows for the formation of a solid alliance between the revolutionary organizations of our region, which can be a stepping stone for the development of such an internationalist relationship in this region. This should be the agenda of the revolutionaries of Kurdistan and Anatolia first and foremost.

Long Live the Siblinghood of Peoples!

1 Translator note: One of the martyrs of the Kurdish Revolution.

2 PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization.

The path of the Anatolian revolution

