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Communist Party of Turkey at 105

Marking its 105th anniversary in the midst of new struggles that will shape Turkey's future



Photo by: Gökçe Çobanoğlu

The Shockwaves of a Declaration

Kemal Okuyan - *TKP General Secretary*



On August 1, 2025, the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) released a short declaration to the public and opened it for signatures. Within days, countless politicians, trade unionists, intellectuals, artists, and academics declared their support. The media, which usually prefers to ignore the TKP, this time could not conceal the shock it produced. That people from such divergent political tendencies were saying "I think the same way" only magnified the shockwaves.

The single-paragraph text concerned the new "peace process" launched by the government with Abdullah Öcalan, leader of PKK read as follows:



“We want peace and brotherhood.

We reject the questioning of the Republic of Turkey and the outcomes of the Treaty of Lausanne, questioning of existing borders, the neo-Ottoman fantasies, illegitimate designations such as “Turkish Empire,” panislamism, or political structures and institutions based on ethnic and religious identities.

We want peace and brotherhood, and also an independent and secular country, an egalitarian society, and a planned economy.

We will not allow our country to tumble into the abyss.”

How could such a brief text cause such an uproar? The answer was plain. Beyond the contradictions and inconsistencies of the new process -presented as “solving the Kurdish question” by the PKK, or “eliminating terror” by the government- the real intentions of the parties were being laid bare. With the exception of one nationalist party, every party in the parliament had in some form endorsed the process. The so-called “Turkish left,” just like always, had lined behind CHP (the social-democratic party) and DEM (the

Kurdish nationalist party) in supporting the AKP and Öcalan's so-called "democratization," ambitions. At precisely this juncture, the TKP put forward a stance that was simple, brief, yet persuasive for a broad audience - by doing so, it positioned itself differently.

Contrary to the government's claims, we knew the process had been launched under the guidance of the United States and the United Kingdom, closely bound up with developments in Syria. Of course, there are real and sometimes deepening contradictions between Turkey and these powers. But since Turkish capitalism cannot break from NATO or detach itself economically from the Western alliance, those contradictions cannot ripen into open confrontation.

The role assigned to Turkey by the US and the UK during the operation which was completed upon entry of jihadists to Damascus amounted to both incentive and blackmail. The Shara government (if it can even be called a government), was selected by the imperialist countries and Israel to enable intervention at will in Syria. Because the Turkish government failed to grasp this, it continued to back Shara unconditionally, seeking to secure Syria's territorial integrity

and unity through the authority of a jihadist faction in Damascus. Yet this was plainly impossible. Massacres against Alawites and Druze opened the door for Israeli intervention, while Syria's Kurdish region, backed politically and militarily by the United States, was consolidating its de facto autonomy.

The PKK leader's message to Turkey - "if you come to terms with us, you will become a regional power; otherwise, Turkey will remain under threat" - was directly linked to this process. This line appealed to the AKP's neo-Ottoman ambitions, while also carrying the threat that Kurds in Syria could, if necessary, fall entirely into the orbit of the United States and Israel. Everyone knew that such a development would once again fuel separatist tendencies among Kurds in Turkey.

In short, Turkey was being told: "either expand, or shrink."

This was the core point of the TKP's statement: the very ground on which Turkish nationalism and Kurdish nationalism converged was itself rotten. The true interests of the country's working class and of the region's laboring peoples lay in a

revolutionary transformation within Turkey's existing borders.

Support for the statement came from different quarters, each for different reasons. Some of those who signed were people the TKP would never otherwise stand beside. But the text bore no signatures; it was authored and released to the public by the Party.

For the communists -whose social base had long been stifled by bans, lies, and slanders- the wide reception of such a sharp intervention on such a decisive issue was a source of encouragement. The statement's intent was clear; that was precisely why it drew fire from the government, from the PKK, and from the "left."

The TKP insisted that the initiatives for "peace" and "fraternity" led by imperialist powers and the capitalist class would bring nothing but new hostilities and new wars, for the entire debate rested on utterly false premises. Otherwise, of course, an end to the decades-long conflict would be most welcome.

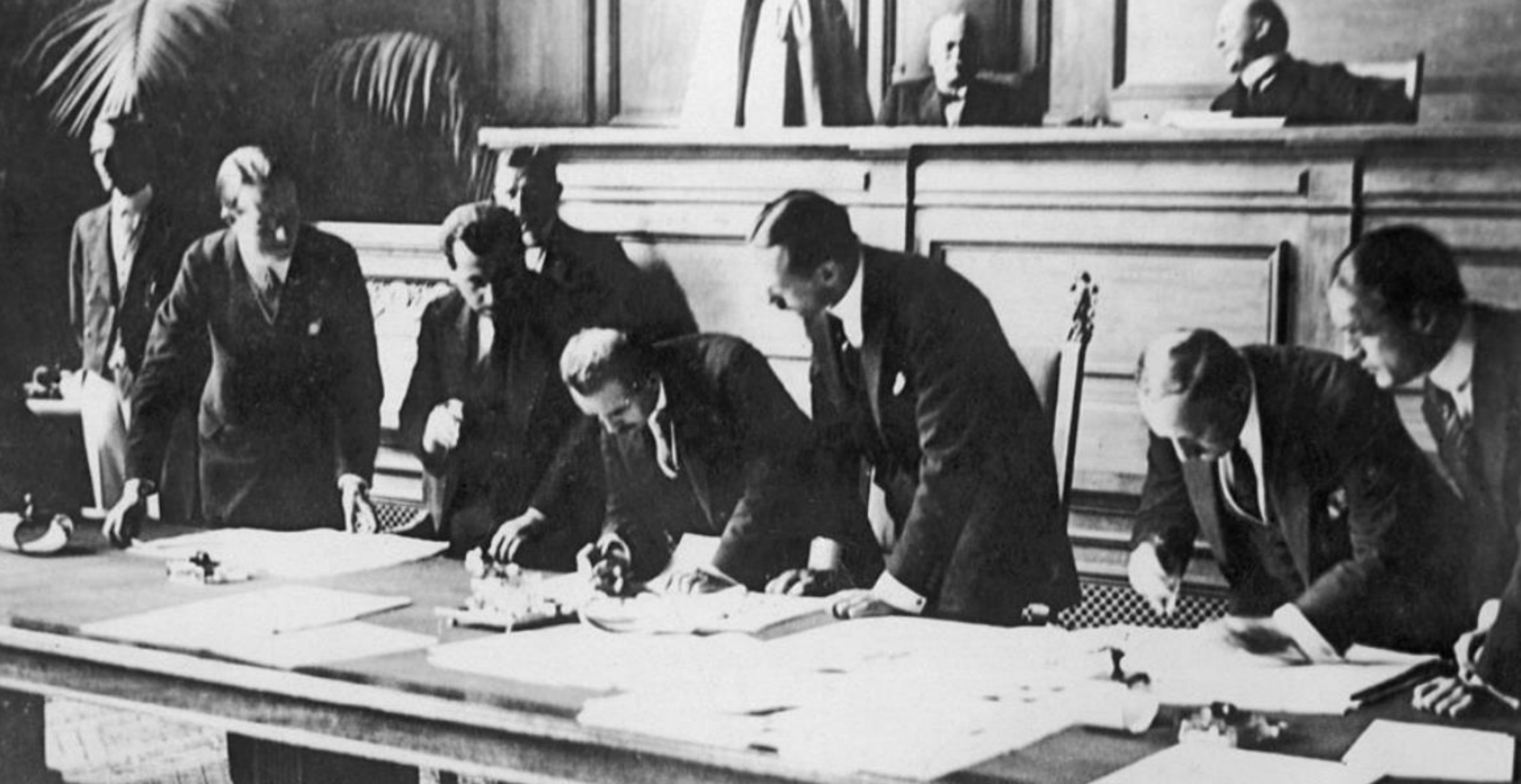
But as the example of one of Turkey's biggest football clubs naming its stadium after a

Kurdish tycoon showed, the talks between the AKP, the fascist party, and the PKK could not resolve the Kurdish question - nor, for that matter, the problems of Kurdish workers, nor, ultimately, the problems of entire working class of the country.

We know that a broad current of the international left -those who for years described the PKK as a Marxist and revolutionary organization, who dismissed its military, economic, and political collaboration with the United States in Syria, who remained ignorant of Öcalan's aphorisms on the Soviet experience and on Marxism- were taken aback by the rapprochement between the AKP and the PKK though it may soon enough devolve into fresh conflict.

Let us leave the reader here with an old Turkish proverb instead of a bafflement:

the Ottoman never runs out of tricks!



The Struggle Against Border Changes and the Treaty of Lausanne

Cansu Oba,

Member of TKP Central Committee

As communists committed to the struggle for a classless and borderless society, we nevertheless find ourselves today compelled to defend the permanence of borders and to fight against their alteration.

But since when has defending borders become the task of communists?

The question may sound provocative—even apolitical—yet it is a reasonable one. To grasp the communist stance on this issue, it must be understood within the dynamism of revolutionary struggle.

For a principle to truly deserve the name, it must withstand the test of time, geography, and the new challenges and contradictions that arise. The history of the world communist movement is full of diverse revolutionary positions, demonstrating that communists' approach to border changes has never been fixed or permanent.

During the October Revolution, for instance, no communist party could have plausibly defended the immutability of borders. This was not simply a matter of the Revolution's immediate interests. The October Revolution was part of a broader decolonization process, in which national independence struggles across wide regions acquired a historically progressive role. This perspective prevailed at least until the early 1920s, when it became evident that the train of world revolution in Europe had been missed. After World War II—when socialism succeeded in halting imperialist aggression and fascism—the issue largely faded from the agenda. Yet, faced with renewed aggression and lawlessness, communists increasingly came to view the defense of stable borders as a priority.

Today, border changes—whether through expansion or contraction—are once again a global issue, appearing on national, regional, and international agendas. These are not only advanced through regional conflicts, wars, or separatist programmes, but also openly voiced in other ways, such as Trump’s proposal to purchase Greenland. Whether through money or force, the reality remains: in the war between Ukraine and Russia, Putin’s claim that “Ukraine is not a real country” set a dangerous precedent for imperialist actors eager to legitimize border changes. This also marked the near-total dismantling of the principles inherited from the Soviet era—principles that had at least partly restrained unbridled imperialist aggression.

It is clear that no contemporary development or conflict can be evaluated without reference to the rivalries and balances within the imperialist system. Thus, when faced with agendas involving potential border changes, it is legitimate to pose the following questions:

- Do border changes strengthen or weaken the capitalist classes on both sides of the border?
- Do they render class conflict more visible, or

do they reinforce ideological narratives that obscure it?

- Do they facilitate the unity of the working class—essential for revolutionary energy—or do they fragment it along ideological and political lines?
- What will be the class character of any new administrative and political unit created by a border change?
- Will border changes weaken imperialist actors, or will they expand their influence?

These questions are essential for adopting the correct stance in Turkey as well, particularly in debates shaped by developments in Syria and the “peace process.” For both mainstream political actors and communists, the issue of border changes has for some time been among the most pressing. The main reason, as we have regularly noted in this publication, lies in the expansionist ambitions of the Turkish capital, reinforced by the government’s imperial and neo-Ottoman vision.

To legitimize this Neo-Ottomanist vision socially, however, requires a historical

reckoning—one that inevitably casts Turkey’s present borders into question.

The Treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1923, defined Turkey’s current borders (with the exceptions of Mosul and the regime of the Straits). The treaty can be seen as a rejection of the Treaty of Sèvres, imposed on the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I. The War of Independence in Anatolia against occupying forces rendered Sèvres void in practice.

While the Treaty of Sèvres was formally an agreement between the Entente powers and the Ottoman Empire, it was also, in a broader sense, an extension of the Versailles system. For the Comintern, Sèvres—like Versailles—was an imperialist “peace” treaty: not genuine peace, but the groundwork for new wars and conflicts. Indeed, in the Theses on the Eastern Question discussed at the Comintern’s 4th Congress in 1922, the collapse of Sèvres was cited as evidence of imperialism’s deepening postwar crisis and the erosion of the Versailles order. It was emphasized that the destruction of Sèvres created the possibility for Turkey to reclaim full national and political independence.

Today, there are essentially two political currents in Turkey that challenge the Treaty of

Lausanne. One is the anti-republican, political Islamist line embodied by the AKP government, supported as well by certain Turkish nationalist circles. This camp blames Mustafa Kemal's "timid and unambitious" leadership for confining the country's borders to Anatolia and, by challenging Lausanne and the Republic, dreams of reviving a wider dominion—what we call neo-Ottomanism. The other is the Kurdish nationalist movement, which views Lausanne as illegitimate because it nullified the Treaty of Sèvres, which had envisioned a Kurdish state in part of Anatolia. From this perspective, Lausanne represented the denial of Kurdish rights...

But once border changes are legitimized on the basis of ethnically justified historical claims, who decides where such debates end? Such an approach opens an endless path—one that could spark disputes not only over Turkey's eastern and southeastern borders, but also in the Aegean, the Balkans, and the Caucasus. Far from delivering justice to peoples, it would bring only new suffering and massacres.

Especially since the Syrian conflict and the "peace process," the TKP has increasingly invoked the Treaty of Lausanne in its

political analyses and statements. For the TKP, defending Lausanne is not only about its progressive character as a document of victory against imperialism, but also about the fact that reopening the border question would inevitably mean wider wars across the region and undermine the unity of the working class, which has been forged over the years within defined boundaries by a shared history of struggle and class culture.

To return to the starting point: today's world places on the shoulders of communists the responsibility of struggling against the border changes. And there is nothing in this stance that contradicts the horizon of a classless, exploitation-free society. On the contrary, it reflects not a passive acceptance of a reactionary status quo, but a tactical approach intrinsic to our socialist revolutionary strategy. Yes, this is directly tied to the fact that we are not living in a period of a rising world revolutionary process, yet no one can look at the world today and claim that such a development is entirely beyond reach. Thus, this responsibility does not imply merely clinging to the status quo. Quite the opposite: our compass requires a dynamic process of evaluation—one guided, above all, by the interests of revolution.



Socialism in One Country and the Founding of TKP

Mehmet Kuzulugil,

Member of TKP Party Council

Between the 1923 Turkish Revolution and the Great October Revolution, there is a striking temporal, geographical, and historical overlap.

Anatolia-centered national struggle against the occupation lasted roughly from 1919 to 1922. In a sense, 1923 marks the date when the century-long modernization process and the prolonged bourgeois revolution were consolidated with the Republic.

This overlap is connected to the outbreak of the proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, which at times came close to Anatolia.

This can be addressed in another detailed analysis—the struggle against the occupation, an extension of the imperialist war of redivision, coincided with the proletarian revolution that brought about the end of a neighboring empire.

What is striking can also be seen in the historical relations between these two arenas. The crumbling feudal Ottoman Empire was both an enemy and a rival of the Russian Tsardom, which was marked by uneven development.

While the Tsarist regime was taking steps to strengthen its imperialist ambitions, the feudal Ottoman Empire — partly due to its geographical constraints — became the prey rather than the predator in the imperialist redivision. Meanwhile, history had delivered its verdict: as the Russian Empire exited the stage, a proletarian power emerged in the same geography.

These two former rivals, former enemies, were now drawing closer through historical steps taken forward.

The whole story offers a remarkable illustration of uneven development.

The Soviet Revolution took advantage of this overlap with a strategy shaped both by historical-theoretical assessments and by clear geopolitical necessities.

The remnant of the Ottoman Empire and the prey targeted by the imperialist bloc which is the Soviet Revolution's current (and soon clearly historical) enemy, Turkey found itself backed by the Soviets as a result of this strategy.

The historical, class-based, and theoretical rationale for the Soviet support of the Turkish Revolution is clear.

While it is certainly possible to link the two processes as revolutionary steps forward in two very close geographies, this link remains limited as a result of the difference between class character of the actors of both revolutions. With the consolidation of different systems in both countries, this theoretical connection almost completely disappeared.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Revolution continued to influence the Turkish Revolution for a long time — if not as a social revolution, then as a model of progress. After more than a decade of speculation about “how long they would last,” these two revolutionary countries entered the 1930s with a newfound confidence in their permanence on the historical stage, and their interaction continued with a different character.

Soviet industrialization and the consolidation of

revolutionary government, interestingly enough, contain elements that proved inspiring for the bourgeois government in Turkey.

Before turning to our main topic – the TKP's relationship with the idea and practice of socialism in one country – let us further develop the groundwork we have been building.

We have already offered a relatively structural description of the interaction between the two revolutionary processes. But there is also a dimension tied to class dynamics.

The Turkish Revolution, which can be defined as the period from 1919 to 1923, unfolded in a context of a social chaos period. The historical birth of the communist party in Turkey took place within this chaos and, in a sense, coincided with the disappearance of the very background that had made that birth possible.

By the early 1920s, the driving force behind the Turkish communist movement was no longer the working classes of the former Ottoman lands, but rather the vanguard dynamics shaped by the influence of the Soviet Revolution: Ottoman army prisoners of war who were first liberated and then organized in Russia under the Bolshevik revolution, and the intellectuals of an

empire whose collapse had freed them not only physically but also intellectually from monarchy.

We can go into the TKP and the concept of “socialism in one country” from this perspective.

First, as was the case worldwide, communists in Turkey attached great importance to the internationalist character of the Soviet Revolution, seeing it not merely as an “exemplary revolution in an exemplary country,” but as a spark that could serve as a stepping stone for their own revolutionary liberation.

Within this perspective, “socialism in one country” was understood as the consolidation of the revolution, that is, the fortification of this crucial outpost of the world revolution.

At this point, it is worth highlighting the relationship established by the revolutionary bourgeoisie, which had built a highly repressive and authoritarian political regime at home, with the country of the Soviet Revolution and the contribution the Soviets made to the axes of progress in the Turkish Revolution.

Of course, these relations did not create a real space for action for Turkish communists. On the contrary, the kind of fluctuating influence seen in cases such as the Baath Party was

experienced in Turkey only as a decline, and relations with the Soviet Union were developed on an axis that almost completely ignored the communist movement in Turkey.

Even so, this distinctive “Soviet influence” was embraced with enthusiasm by Turkish communists. Despite the political monopoly of the bourgeois power, this influence still provided the communist movement with at least a sphere of resonance among young people and intellectuals.

The Communist Party of Turkey regarded the consolidation of Soviet socialism as a priority not only because of its loyalty to the Comintern, but also due to the historical conditions and internal dynamics of the period. It showed no interest in approaches that pits “world revolution” against socialism in one country.

Here it is worth opening a parenthesis on Nâzım Hikmet.

Nâzım Hikmet was a prominent figure within the faction that emerged in TKP in the late 1920s, and was even one of its most active and passionate members. Because this period coincided with the suppression of the Trotskyist opposition in the Soviet Union and Trotsky

retained prestige among Turkish communists until the mid-1920s, some have assumed that this opposition paralleled the debates within the Comintern. This is a misconception entirely unrelated to the facts.

The continuous pressures on TKP, together with the conditions that prevented it from gaining a significant position in the political arena, caused the party to lose influence. Nâzım Hikmet and a couple of other communists believed that this decline could be reversed through a more dynamic, more organized, and more active party and they worked to restructure the party leadership accordingly.

The crucial point is that this opposition never questioned the authority of the Comintern. It first tried to present its position to the Comintern and explicitly recognized the authority of the “world party” within the internal debates of the TKP.

Indeed, during the years he spent largely in prison, Nâzım Hikmet maintained his loyalty and support for the Soviet Union, the center of gravity of the world revolution, as one of the unchanging pillars of his communist identity.

The picture can be summarized as follows:
with the influence of the overlap between the

Soviet Proletarian Revolution and 1923 Turkish Revolution, the ideological formation and historical background of the Turkish communists, and finally the fact that Turkey – unlike Germany, Hungary, or Poland – after debated both among the Bolsheviks and the Turkish communists, was not seen as a natural sphere of expansion for the Soviet Revolution, the Communist Party of Turkey committed to the idea of consolidating and defending the Soviet Revolution and turning it into a strong socialist state on its own social foundations. fuelled the idea that Turkey could benefit from Azerbaijan's expanding influence into Iranian territory. Recent steps taken to include Armenia in this cooperation should also be understood in this same framework.



On Revolution...

Nevzat Evrim Önal,

Member of TKP Party Council

For quite some time, we have been living in a world that is very difficult to accept for those who want the well-being of humanity. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, there has been no successful revolution and humanity was unable to significantly debilitate the authority of the exploiting rulers anywhere in the world. On the contrary, that exploitative domination has penetrated every aspect of life; with all its decay and cruelty, it has become more reckless with each passing day in its attack on all the values that give meaning to human existence, and on concrete, physical human lives.

I started the article by mentioning “those

who want the well-being of humanity," and I am well aware that this definition, which certainly describes the majority of humanity, encompasses a far larger population than those who can be described as "revolutionaries" or even "those who desire revolution." However, since the Great October Revolution of 1917, the countries established through socialist revolutions have been the concrete proof that humanity has turned its face towards something better, something more beautiful, to a future in which it can live in equality and freedom. Therefore, for people who are not revolutionaries, even for those who thought revolutions were unnecessary and bloody adventures or attempts at social engineering, a bust of Lenin was usually an object that evoked positive rather than negative emotions, a reason for a hopeful smile.

Now, only a handful of countries are left, shining like candles in pitch darkness.

For quite some time, humanity has not been able to organize struggles that will yield meaningful results in the material realm. In our fight against exploitative domination, we have been pushed back and confined to the realm of meaning.

We try to fight our battles with the weapons of thought, but here too we often waste our energy, engaging in arguments that miss the essence of

the problem or even actively skirt it. Moreover, humanity is in fact stronger in the realm of matter and weaker in the realm of meaning: the working people are much more numerous than the exploiters, but schools, universities, newspapers, television channels, films, TV series, computer games, the internet, social media platforms, all of these are essentially ideological apparatuses in the hands of the exploiters.

At the beginning of his intellectual journey, Marx says, "The weapon of criticism cannot replace criticism of the weapon, material force must be overthrown by material force," but then he adds: "but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."

For quite some time, in Turkey and across the world, those who define themselves as leftists or revolutionaries have been acting as if this dialectic between matter and meaning, action and thought, does not exist.

This is because the great defeat has caused many to lose faith in the revolution. Many of those who call themselves "leftists" live as if there will never be a revolution. This is why they act like lackeys of social democratic parties. This is why

they advocate for notions that no revolutionary would ever advocate, notions that benefit the ruling class and harm the people.

Kemal Okuyan's latest book, ***Revolution***, with all its richness of content, challenges this "disbelief in humanity."

I've always believed that those who want to play a role in the emancipation of humanity must, above all else, be honest with each other. I'm not just talking about not lying or distorting the truth. Revolutionaries must also be honest in the theoretical discussions among themselves.

Okuyan's book deals with the concept of Revolution very honestly, both on an abstract level and with concrete examples.

Let me elaborate, because I think this is the most valuable aspect of the book.

We are going through a period of social decay and dissolution. In such periods, ideologies and psychologies that detach individuals from society, such as nihilism, hedonism, and narcissism, become prevalent among relatively enlightened segments of society, while the "messianic expectation" mentality spreads among the poor. Furthermore, these two

interact, and the society becomes overcrowded with saviours, prophets, and their followers.

There is a substantial pitfall in this environment for revolutionaries; because in their political pursuits, deifying the revolution, the revolutionary organization, or even worse, themselves—in other words, exaggerating the role of the subject as objective conditions appear desperate—is a very inviting cul-de-sac. Thus, revolution ceases to be an act of the people rising up, emancipating themselves by sundering their own chains, and revolutionaries become saviours.

I am sure you realize that this also means giving up hope on humanity, on the historical, revolutionary role of the proletariat.

Still, since many people cannot see the concrete conditions clearly in the pitch darkness of such periods and are desperate to cling to even the slightest positive development; a skilled demagogue can easily convince others that small sparks are actually conflagrations and thus drag along clusters of people who want to be revolutionaries in their messianic journeys.

Okuyan confronts all this by emphasizing a fundamental truth: "Revolutions are not 'made

to happen.' They develop, rise, and emerge." This is one of the most important issues covered in the book: the principles on which revolutionaries should organize in reactionary times, in revolutionary episodes, and during actual revolutions; what is the dialectic that should exist between them and the masses; and what must be done by the revolutionary subject to ensure that this dialectic works as much to the benefit of the revolution as possible.

Without exaggerating the importance of the revolutionary vanguard party, but without underestimating the indispensable role it will play in the revolution.

Honestly...

Another crucial point in Okuyan's book is that it emphatically reminds us of a crucial, repeatedly proven fact: We, as humanity, are on a historical journey, and because the vast majority of society is exploited by a small minority, we accumulate contradictions. Periods of upheaval that could culminate in revolutions are moments of eruption for these contradictions, and such periods never result in a return to the old status quo. In these periods, the oppressed masses either consummate their uprisings in revolution

(or at least in gaining lasting political ground), thereby progressing humanity; or the system of exploitation is reestablished more severely than before. In other words, revolution imposes itself as an imperative for the progress of humanity. For the working masses, revolution becomes the only solution to prevent further deterioration of the conditions they already do not want to live in, and therefore are revolting against.

Revolutions are not inevitable. However, the coming of such periods that are pregnant with revolution is.

And in such periods, revolutionaries are faced with both an opportunity and a responsibility to fulfil a number of tasks; from making the masses realize that revolution is the only solution to their grievances, to facilitating that they actually carry it out.

In each paragraph, Okuyan's book invites and encourages the reader to display revolutionary audacity, to take on this responsibility, to stand on the right side of history and be ready to shoulder these tasks. Moreover, it does not do this by just inciting the reader or by presenting the facts rosy instead of as they are – by being dishonest. It does so by refuting the lies about

revolution, by reminding us of humanity's historical experiences, and by engaging in discussions with the readers without belittling their intellect.

A revolutionary person becomes recommitted to the revolutionary struggle every day. Some days erode your revolutionary spirit a bit, sapping away some of your dedication and hope; others strengthen that hope and reinforce your faith in humanity. During the two days in which I read Okuyan's book, I recommitted myself to the revolutionary struggle far more strongly.

The ***Revolution*** will be published in English soon. I invite you to read, and experience this yourself.





Where is Azerbaijan heading?

Ogün Eratalay,

Member of TKP Party Council

Recently, the Azerbaijani government has taken significant steps in foreign policy, moving to consolidate its presence in the region. While this process is aligned in some ways with imperialist agendas, it also contains numerous complications.

Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev recently attended a Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) meeting in China. The SCO, founded in 2001 by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, maintains dialogue with numerous countries across the region.

Within this framework, Azerbaijan participates in those meetings. In his speech, Aliyev emphasized the advanced level of development in China-Azerbaijan relations and highlighted Azerbaijan's participation in the China-led Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

Active Period in Azerbaijani Foreign Policy

Recent developments in Azerbaijan's foreign policy have drawn particular attention. Following the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War, which lasted from September 27 to November 10, 2020, Nagorno-Karabakh came fully under Azerbaijani control on September 19, 2023, representing not only a military but also a diplomatic triumph for the country. However, difficulties in implementing the ceasefire terms signed during the process were overcome with the intervention of U.S. President Donald Trump. According to a peace agreement signed at the White House on August 8, 2025, the Zengezur corridor - a contentious area between the two countries - will be operated by the United States for 99 years. Infrastructure works will be completed, and the corridor will be integrated into the regional economy. Although the project, carried out through U.S. imperialist involvement, facilitates contact between Azerbaijan's Nakhchivan region and Turkey,

it holds significance far beyond that. Under the agreement, areas previously considered under Russian and Iranian influence will see a consolidated U.S. military and economic presence, enabling connectivity with Central Asia without passing through Russia or Iran.v

Imperialism-Israel and Azerbaijan

Although Azerbaijan's close relations with the United States began shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992, the ongoing conflict with Armenia made it one of the few former Soviet countries that did not receive direct U.S. aid. Despite this cold stance, Azerbaijan made unilateral gestures, supporting the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan following the September 11, 2001 attacks. Concerned about the reactions from neighboring Russia, Azerbaijan has never intended to be a member of NATO, but in 2004 it became involved in NATO operations under the "Individual Partnership Action Plan," a framework "invented" for countries in similar positions. Within this context, Azerbaijani forces have participated in missions in Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

The ongoing struggle with Armenia, a matter of existential importance for Azerbaijan, remains the most significant factor determining the

country's diplomacy. During and prior to the 2020 war, despite the strong Armenian diaspora lobby in the U.S. and Western Europe, Israel's siding with Azerbaijan, providing weapons, support, and intelligence assistance has been decisive in shaping bilateral relations. Since October 7, 2023, in response to the genocide in Gaza, the Azerbaijani government has refrained from criticizing Israel, while Israel has used Azerbaijani territory as a logistical and intelligence base for recent attacks against Iran, Azerbaijan's long-standing adversary. There is also extensive cooperation in the energy sector, well-known to the public: Israel imports a significant portion of its crude oil and natural gas from Azerbaijan, while approximately 70% of the weapons and ammunition Azerbaijan imports come from Israel.

The Iran Factor

Azerbaijan's logistical and intelligence support for Israel's covert and direct operations against Iran stems from the underlying tensions between the two countries. Although both countries have significant Shiite populations and ethnically related communities, Iran views Azerbaijan as "Israel's proxy in the region." Azerbaijanis living within Iran's borders have

been targeted as an audience by various international media outlets covering the region, including TRT World broadcasting from Turkey, and the large-scale public protests that took place in Iran in recent years have been treated as an “opportunity.”

Investments in Turkey

Recently, Azerbaijani capital has become a major player in Turkey through large-scale investments. Leading this group is SOCAR, an Azerbaijani firm that owns 51% of PETKİM, a major petrochemical enterprise. SOCAR also owns Turkey’s STAR Refinery. The company, which holds the majority stake in the TANAP natural gas pipeline, maintains close ties with the state-owned gas distributor BOTAŞ through various subsidiaries. With approximately \$20 billion invested in Turkey, the company stands as a symbol of the strong capital links between the two countries.

Beyond these relations, the cooperation between Turkish arms companies and Azerbaijan, particularly following the 2020 war, is noteworthy. Numerous arms companies, both large and small – including Aselsan and Baykar – engage in joint production with Azerbaijan and are planning shared technology

centers. Considering that the Azerbaijani military was trained for a period by the Turkish Armed Forces according to NATO standards, the military cooperation between the two countries is particularly significant.

A State Seeking Hegemony Through Energy

In addition to the developments outlined above, Azerbaijani capital is taking steps to establish economic hegemony over the former Soviet republics through its strongest sector: energy. In this context, the state-owned company Azenco stands out. Involved not only in energy transmission lines but also in infrastructure, oil, natural gas, mining, banking, and railway projects, the company operates in countries such as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Russia, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia. Its partnerships with international giants like Germany's Siemens, Japan's Mitsubishi, the U.S.'s General Electric, Switzerland's ABB, and China's Harbin Group demonstrate how Azerbaijan leverages its ties with Western capital in this sector.

On the Anniversary of World Peace Day: **A Brief History of the Peace Movement in Turkey**



Murat Akad,

President of Peace Committee of Turkey

The peace movement in Turkey has a long, though interrupted, history. The idea of peace and the movements built around it were primarily promoted by socialist and communist circles, as well as intellectuals. They were the ones who founded and led the movement. As a result, its ideological foundation has always

been class-oriented, with anti-imperialism as its defining characteristic.

The origins of the movement can be traced back to the early 1950s. The first peace organization in Turkey was the Turkish Association of Peace-Lovers, founded on July 14, 1950.

Its first political action was a protest against sending Turkish troops to fight in the Korean War. On July 28, the Association issued a declaration denouncing the decision, with members distributing leaflets in the streets of İstanbul. They also sent telegrams to the presidency of parliament, stressing that the decision was illegal since the government could not act without parliamentary approval. The declaration argued that the move had been made under U.S. pressure and did not serve Turkey's national interests.

The very next day, all members of the Association, along with the printer of the leaflets, were arrested and charged with "undermining national resistance." Tried before a military court, they were sentenced to three years and nine months in prison. Upon appeal, the sentence was reduced to 15 months, but the Association was banned.

Following this short-lived initiative, no peace-

oriented organization emerged in Turkey for decades. Notably, the poet Nâzım Hikmet -forced into exile- took part in the international peace movement of the 1950s and was elected to the presidency of the World Peace Council. While imprisoned in Turkey, his release became the subject of an international campaign supported by the Council. In the years that followed, he actively joined international peace conferences and wrote many poems about peace.

In Turkey, a new effort began in May 1976, when representatives from various democratic mass organizations formed a Provisional Committee to celebrate World Peace Day on September 1. That same year, the Turkish Writers' Union organized a large gathering at the İstanbul Open-Air Theatre, sparking momentum for the founding of the Peace Association.

On April 3, 1977, during the National Conference on "The Unity of the Peace Movement in Our Country," a declaration titled A Call to Our Peace-Loving People was issued, and the establishment of the Peace Association was formally announced. Retired diplomat Mahmut Dikerdem was elected as its president, becoming the second person from Turkey (after Nâzım Hikmet) to serve on the Presidential

Council of the World Peace Council.

The Association quickly became active, organizing campaigns such as the “Week of Action Against the Neutron Bomb” (1977), a national conference on the Helsinki Final Act (1977), events for the UN’s “World Disarmament Week” (1978), a Human Rights Symposium with UNESCO and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1979), and numerous conferences and marches throughout the late 1970s. It also promoted Turkish-Greek and Turkish-Soviet friendship, published brochures, and engaged in World Peace Day celebrations across the country.

The fascist military coup of September 12, 1980, marked a turning point. Like all other democratic organizations, the Peace Association was banned, and its leaders were imprisoned. On November 14, 1983, the Peace Association was officially dissolved by court ruling. However, with the repeal of certain articles of the Penal Code in 1991, the case was dropped and all members were acquitted.

The Peace Association Trial represents a significant mark in the history of the left in Turkey. Despite operating under harsh conditions, the legal defenses of its members became a kind of intellectual manifesto, transforming the trial into a moment of

resistance centered on peace. It remains one of the rare examples worldwide where the peace movement itself was put on trial.

The third major milestone came in 2003, when the Peace Association of Turkey was reestablished, just before the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. Its founding principle was: "to contribute to the creation of a world where humanity can live in peace, in an egalitarian and free society." The Association argued that genuine peace required an anti-imperialist stance and could only be achieved by overcoming capitalism. It defended sovereignty, disarmament, and opposition to foreign military bases and nuclear proliferation.

Its first activities were protests against the Iraq invasion. Over the years, it organized demonstrations, seminars, panels, exhibitions, and performances, with special focus on Iraq, Palestine, and later Syria.



It also published a monthly magazine, *Peace Agenda*, and another titled *Palestine is Resisting*, along with several books.

NATO, viewed as the main imperialist war machine, was a recurring focus. Before the NATO Summit in Istanbul in 2004, the Association organized protests and joined the large-scale anti-NATO demonstrations in the city.

The outbreak of war in Syria in 2011 shifted the Association's focus again. In 2013, in cooperation with a lawyers' organization, it issued the first report in Turkey documenting government actions that could constitute war crimes. Updated in 2016, this report became a key reference point. That same year, the Association organized mass demonstrations in Hatay (a city at the Syria border) and an international peace conference.

The Peace Association was shut down during the state of emergency declared after the 2016 coup attempt. The association's leadership strongly condemned the decision, issuing the following reminder:

"In the 1950s, we drew the wrath of pro-war NATO supporters; in the 1970s, of the September 12 coup plotters. Even the

September 12 junta chose to put the Peace Association on trial, while the AKP under the state of emergency simply declared: 'I did it, so it is done.' We are not surprised to face our third closure in 2016. For peace advocates, being shut down by reactionaries is a badge of honor. Our task is simply to once again prove wrong those who think they can outlaw the struggle for peace with decrees—those who believe they can ban humanity's most legitimate cause under a state of emergency."

In practice, the work continued without interruption under the name of the Turkey Peace Committee, and in the end, the Peace Association itself was legally re-established.

As in the 1970s, the Association maintained strong international ties, joining the World Peace Council soon after its reestablishment and serving on its executive committee from 2004 onward.

Today, as the crisis in the Middle East deepens, the peace movement in Turkey continues to face new and pressing responsibilities.



New Deals with Syria while Tension Escalates

The new “governor of the Levant”, Tom Barrack, officially the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey and Special Envoy for Syria, has been claiming that Turkey is under-appreciated as an important actor in the region and a NATO ally. It seems like the interests of the U.S. and Turkey are aligned for the moment. Barrack is trying to convince Syrian Kurdish forces to join the unstable jihadist state they have established in Syria, saying that the only way forward is to become part of the Damascus government, while Israel’s presence is indisputable, whether Syria is unified or divided. Turkey has been making moves on this subject as well, starting with

reopening the “peace process” inside Turkey, trying to bind the Kurds to itself, but we can no longer talk about Turkey as a single unit as it is tied to the United States.

While it appears that both Turkey and the U.S. are supporting a unified Syria with a central government in discourse level, statements from Tom Barrack, such as “Syria’s centralized system needs alternatives short of federalism...,” muddle the water, showing that these interests will not align for too long—not to mention the impossibility of Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham creating a stable system in Syria.

In fact, imperialist forces in the region are counting on this incapability for stabilization. And for all the efforts from Turkey to achieve a united Syria, the AKP government’s act will always fall short and be insincere since they were the ones declaring war on the Baath Party and supporting all the Radical Islamists factions in the country. Since the beginning of the imperialist intervention and the outbreak of the civil war in Syria, the AKP government has shown little concern for the country’s territorial integrity. However, the status of the Kurdish region in Syria is of direct interest to the AKP in terms of Turkey’s domestic political balance. Yet, as a member of the Western alliance, Turkey is responsible for destabilizing its neighbors.

Nothing can replace the fact that Turkey's regional security is directly tied to the stability of its neighbors. The actor capable of ensuring the Syrian unity Ankara currently expects is the jihadist group Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham, which is under the influence of Israel, the UK, the US, and Turkey—and it is widely recognized that this group lacks the capacity to govern as a central authority. Furthermore, the Western imperialist powers mentioned, along with Israel, deliberately supported this group's rise to power to facilitate regime change in Syria. This, in turn, would have provided the justification for foreign intervention in the country.

After a meeting with Asaad Hassan Al-Shaibani, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham government; Murhaf Abu Kasra, Minister of Defense; and Hussein Salama, Head of General Intelligence Service, Hakan Fidan held a joint press conference where he warned the Syrian Democratic Forces for not honoring the deal they made with HTS, saying, "Turkey does not seek to occupy or dominate the region. However, in an environment where Turkey's security demands are not met, we cannot afford to sit back and relax."

Turkish Minister of Defense Yaşar Güler has also met with Al-Shaibani, Abu Kasra, and Salama for the modernization of the Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham

army - Minister Yaşar Güler and Syrian Defense Minister Marhaf Abu Qasra signed a "Joint Memorandum of Understanding for Training and Consultation." The timing of this memorandum raised some attention as it coincided with escalating tensions between the SDF and HTS, the shootings in Deir ez-Zor. Initial training for HTS forces has already begun in Turkey. Soldiers receiving commando and infantry training will undergo additional training in their home countries provided by the Turkish Armed Forces. Turkey plans to establish a military academy and a non-commissioned officer school in Syria similar to those in Somalia and Libya.

The AKP government, staying true to their role as the party that opened the plunder regime it implemented, along with the associated capital accumulation, to foreign adventures, is already extending its agreements with HTS beyond military support. There are talks of plans to build an industrial zone in Syria. TOBB (The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey) president Hisarcıklioğlu says it's possible, while Turkey's Trade Minister Ömer Bolat announced that trade between Turkey and Syria reached \$1.9 billion in the first seven months of 2025. He added that, at this rate, last year's trade volume of \$2.6 billion would be surpassed.

The financing for the industrial zone is said to come from the Gulf, while the gas comes from Azerbaijan. Abdullah el-Halidi, a Syrian official who works at UNTES Climate Control Systems in Ankara, referred to these rumors, saying, “We don’t want to miss this business opportunity.” Hakan Fidan also made some remarks on the subject during the meeting of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, saying that it is a new era in Syria and Turkey has a big responsibility. He underlined the said responsibilities, saying, “There is a need for serious investment, an increase in public capacity, and improvement of substructures.” In the consideration of these developments, it is imperative to recognize that Turkish capital and the AKP government are not merely instruments of Western imperialism. The Turkish ruling class exports capital abroad and attempts to bind every region to which it exports to itself through various means. Of course, this does not negate the fact that neither Turkey nor the region can achieve peace and stability without breaking free from the US, Israel, and NATO.

Solidarity as a Mask to Conflict of Interest

The gathering in Colombia to protest Israel’s occupation of Gaza adopted a statement condemning Israel. However, Turkey did not sign the six-point concrete action plan, which

included preventing the supply or transfer of all military equipment; preventing the transit, docking, and maintenance of ships in any port; and preventing the supply of military fuel, related military equipment, and dual-use products, etc., to Israel in cases where there is a clear risk that they will be used to transport weapons, ammunition, and other military supplies. The government defended its abstention, saying, "Decisions far beyond the recommendations are being implemented by our country." Apart from the sanctions imposed a whole year after October 7, which remained on paper to an extent, the recent steps taken by the AKP government in the subject of the Palestinian struggle include the arrest of five individuals planning to demonstrate supporting Palestine in front of the Presidential Complex, as well as the delivery of a message to senior Hamas officials, urging them to hand over their weapons and relinquish control of the region.

While the AKP government's main concern with Israel is clearly related to its attempts at regional domination, particularly in Syria, Israel is being used as an excuse to justify "security" policies. The ruling coalition partner, the fascist Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), has been discussing the Israeli threat for some time. This began with MHP Chairman Devlet Bahçeli's

statement that “Israel’s attacks are a veiled message not only to Iran, but also to Turkey.”

The National Intelligence Academy recently released a report warning about the need for shelters. Some people, particularly pro-government media, interpreted the construction of shelters as “preparations for war against Israel.” Some said that “the state is preparing for the worst-case scenario.” Conversely, some assessments claimed that “Turkey is increasing its precautions against regional tensions and potential crises.” However, there is also concrete data supporting the possibility that the real preparations are being made against Iran.

Peace and Conflict in East Mediterranean

The Ministry of Defense of Libya announced that it signed a new cooperation agreement with Turkey to strengthen the Libyan army’s capabilities as part of the development program. It was noted that the Turkish side reiterated its commitment to supporting Libya in developing its defense capabilities, reflecting the strength of the partnership between the two countries. It was reported that the House of Representatives in eastern Libya is preparing to approve the Turkey-Libya energy agreement, which would grant Turkey the right to explore for energy in Libya’s maritime territory.

This policy change in Libya is the result of the gradual “normalization” between Turkey and Haftar recently. The two parties, who were on opposite sides in the war for Tripoli from 2019 to 2020, have increased their contact recently. Previously, Ankara provided military support to the Tripoli government, while Haftar received support from the UAE, Egypt, and Russia. Following the normalization of relations with Egypt, Turkey has also taken steps to improve relations with Haftar. Last year, Ankara and Cairo cooperated to resolve the authority crisis surrounding the Central Bank of Libya.

Turkish officials reported that Ankara was considering sending military advisors and trainers to the region. In April, Haftar’s son, Saddam, met with the Turkish Defense Minister and Chief of Staff in Ankara. Turkey’s motivation to search for energy in the Eastern Mediterranean is strong; however, another goal is to revive billions of dollars worth of business contracts that have been suspended due to the post-Gaddafi civil war. However, the dispute deepened in May when Greece announced an energy exploration tender in waters south of Crete that Libya claims as its own. The European Union supports Greece, arguing that a potential Libya-Turkey agreement would violate the sovereign rights of third countries and

contravene the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

Playing Both Sides with Russia and Ukraine

Neriman Celal, Turkey's ambassador to Ukraine, reported that Turkey is ready to send troops to a peacekeeping mission in Ukraine following the signing of a peace agreement, alongside France and the United Kingdom. Celal said added Ankara, Paris, and London are in a "significant position" regarding security guarantees.

Ambassador Celal argued that Russia is not ready for this process and said that a solution is only possible if the US imposes tough sanctions.

The so-called "peacekeeping force" is not a representative of peace but a guarantee of the next war. The war between Russia and Ukraine has been going on for more than three years and is clearly a military and economic showdown between Russia and NATO members. Talking about a peacekeeping force in this context is an attempt to fool the whole world. The AKP-MHP regime will be eager to contribute to such a NATO military force. The ruling class will not be able to resist. There are talks of a plan where Turkey will carry out a maritime mission in the Black Sea to ensure the security of commercial shipping routes entering and exiting Ukraine.

Meanwhile, President Erdoğan noted that bilateral relations in trade, tourism, investment, and energy would continue to develop following his recent meeting with Putin. At the “coalition of volunteers” summit, Turkish Vice President Cevdet Yılmaz stated that Turkey is prepared to do whatever it takes to play a leading role in diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict.

Zangezur Corridor

Yerevan, Baku, and Washington have agreed to Armenia’s transfer of its corridor to the U.S.



for 99 years, which was also referred to as the “Trump International Peace and Prosperity Path.” This means a critical piece of Armenian territory will be handed over to U.S. private military companies, which will give Azerbaijan unimpeded access to Nakhchivan and Turkey. Last month, Armenia rejected a proposal by U.S. Ambassador Tom Barrack to lease the corridor to a U.S. company. Armenia’s rejection of the proposal attracted attention because it borders Nakhchivan to the north. It is said that Turkey initially proposed the idea of a private company approved by both Armenia and Azerbaijan managing the corridor.

Turkey, on the other hand, is not bothered by the US overtaking despite marketing Zangezur as the “Turan Corridor” internally, nor by the increased regional influence of the US and Israel, nor by the weakening of Russia and Iran. Beyond all the heroic rhetoric, Turkish capitalism is deeply dependent on the West. It is impossible for the government to shift its axis. The government recognizes the general trend of a deepening crisis among imperialist powers and is clearly redefining its allegiance to Western imperialism. To do so, they are marketing neo-Ottomanism, along with a security-oriented paradigm and an emphasis on a strong state and wise leader(s) domestically.

Youth with Figures



7 Million Students, 1 Million Bed Capacity

The number of students enrolled in higher education institutions in Turkey is approximately 7 million. However, according to the latest data from the Ministry, the total bed capacity in 862 public dormitories does not even reach 1 million. On the other hand, it is known that just a few years ago, the number of private dormitories exceeded 4,000. A significant portion of these private dormitories belong to religious orders and sects.

Striking NEET Rate Despite a Large Youth Population

Approximately 15% of Turkey's population consists of young people aged 15–24. This is the

highest rate among European Union member countries. However, according to 2024 data, the number of young people who are neither in education nor employment or training (NEET) is 4 million. This corresponds to one-third of the youth population.

One of the Biggest Barriers to Education: Poverty

16% of young people aged 15-24 have never started high school or have not completed their education. Research on the reasons behind this situation reveals that 31% of these young people were unable to start or continue school due to economic reasons. According to last year's data, one in five people under the age of 25 lives below the poverty line. Given the current trend, this rate is likely to rise to much higher levels in the near future.

Young Workers Are Also Non-Unionized, Uninsured and at Risk

It has been reported that 43% of young people are employed. Within this percentage, more than half work full-time, but 9 out of every 10 young workers are not unionized. The rate of insured employment among young people working for wages is below 50%. Furthermore, research

shows that 35 of the 68 motorcycle courier deaths in 2023 were among young people aged 19-28.

The Reality of Graduate Unemployment and Employment Outside One's Field

In Turkey, one in four university graduate young people is unemployed, while nearly half are unable to practise their profession, instead working outside their fields. Factors such as difficulty finding a job, low wages or prolonged job searches drive young people toward insecure, unregistered work outside their fields of expertise.

65% of Young People in Turkey Are Anxious About the Future



Recent studies show that, as is the case worldwide, anxiety levels among young people are rising rapidly in Turkey. 65% of young people aged 15-24 experience anxiety about the future, while 50% report feeling inadequate in their social relationships.

Drug Abuse in Turkey: Average Starting Age is 21, Most Deaths Under 35

According to 2021 data, the average age at which people in Turkey begin using drugs is 21. Over 80% of drug users are between the ages of 20 and 35, while 90% of those who die due to drug use are under the age of 35. Furthermore, the latest Ministry report reveals that methamphetamine use and related deaths are on the rise.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND FIGURES FROM TURKEY

Ali Koç: The 'Opposition' Capitalist Hand in Glove with the Government

Ali Koç, once one of the brightest stars of the Koç family - which has seized remarkable amount of Turkey's wealth and amassed an enormous fortune - suddenly drew attention with his G20 speech that "criticized" globalization and highlighted the "growing North-South divide." Yet, through the relationships he built and his many "adventures," he remains one of the most ambitious members of the capitalist class.

As social resistance to the AKP government's plans to transform Turkey under Erdoğan's leadership has grown, one of the directions

broad segments of the population have turned toward is the search for a “savior.” In this context, institutions of the system such as the military and judiciary, as well as various bourgeois politicians, have occasionally come to the fore.



Although the addresses the unorganized public has placed its hopes in have changed over time, the expectations directed at the Koç family have never faded. Unlike the type of businesspeople clustered around the ruling AKP, the Koç family has been the most frequently cast in the role of “the guarantor of the Republic,” seen as “secular and refined bourgeois.”

Yet the relationships of both the family as a whole and its prominent figure, Ali Koç, tell quite the opposite story: they dismantled the Republic together with the AKP.

Secularism and the Republic Are Now Just Advertising Slogans

In Turkey, many holdings air commercials on television featuring Mustafa Kemal Atatürk or significant dates from the founding period of the Turkish Republic, projecting an image of a stance committed to republican values and secularism. Among them, the Koç Group produces the most striking examples of this emotional exploitation, and Ali Koç - with his personal performance - creates the perception that he is one of the defenders of secular Turkey. Yet, even a cursory look at his ties with the AKP and religious sects is enough to shatter this illusion.

Despite the commercials exploiting nostalgia for Atatürk (the leader of the War of Independence, the founder of the Republic of Turkey and the First President), in reality, Turkish capital - and Ali Koç as well - is concerned with nothing beyond their profits, and have no genuine interest in secularism. On the contrary, in line with his and his family's

interests, his ties with President Erdoğan of the AKP and Devlet Bahçeli, leader of the ultra-nationalist MHP, the ruling coalition partner, are no secret.”

Further still, Ali Koç has attended the iftar* dinners of İlim Yayma Cemiyeti (Society for the Dissemination of Knowledge) – a reactionary religious association – several times, alongside the managers and players of the football club he presides over, continuing the effort to maintain good relations with religious sects that his grandfather began in the 1960s.

There have also been significant reports claiming that the Koç family once developed close ties with the Gülen Movement and even sought its help to purchase an oil refinery in Uganda. The Koç Group’s role as a Platinum Sponsor of the Turkish Language Olympiads organized by the Gülen Movement has further strengthened these allegations.

The Brief ‘Atatürk’ Display and Cooperation with the Saudis

Beyond the enormous wealth of the family he represents, Ali Koç is constantly at the center of debate due to his position as president of Fenerbahçe Sports Club. Whether he

will continue in this role after the elections scheduled for September 21 remains uncertain. What is clear, however, is that Ali Koç has never shied away from making Fenerbahçe itself a focal point of controversy.

In 2023, it was decided that the Turkish Super Cup final between Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe would be played in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The deal, reportedly worth millions of dollars, sparked backlash in Turkey and was criticized as part of the AKP government's policy of deepening ties with Islamist states.

At first, both clubs publicly stated that they were open to playing the match in Saudi Arabia. But as fan protests continued, the situation escalated. When both teams insisted on taking the field wearing t-shirts bearing Atatürk's image and carrying a banner with the slogan "Peace at home, peace in the world,"** Saudi officials refused to allow it. The resulting uproar in Turkey forced the match to be postponed.

This incident gave club officials - especially Ali Koç - an opportunity to stage a dramatic display, declaring that "Atatürk is our red line." We call it a "display" because, contrary to public perception in Turkey, Ali Koç and his family also maintain very good relations with the Saudi regime.

Indeed, during the very same period, Otokar – the defense company chaired by Ali Koç – was finalizing a \$500 million deal to sell armored vehicles to Saudi Arabia.

The “Visible” Hand of the State

We already touched upon Ali Koç’s political visits above. His frequent meetings with MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli – and the fact that he is often described as “close to the MHP” in his circles – can easily be read as political support. Yet in most cases, Ali Koç’s visits are connected to securing new business ventures.



A striking example is his visit to President Erdoğan on April 17, 2024. Although no details of the meeting were disclosed, what happened the following day made things clearer: Turkish Competition Authority, which had rejected

Turkey's Koç-owned leading automotive company TOFAŞ's acquisition of Dutch-based multinational automotive company Stellantis six months earlier, suddenly approved the deal.

An even more telling case came in relation to Egypt. Shortly after President Erdoğan and Egyptian leader el-Sisi shook hands and "thawed relations" in December 2022, Koç family's home appliance company Arçelik announced a \$100 million factory investment in Egypt. Once all the bureaucratic hurdles surrounding the investment were resolved, Ali Koç and his father Rahmi Koç paid a visit to Erdoğan and the Minister of Industry to personally express their gratitude.

Koç's Strong Footprint in the Arms Industry

While the Bayraktar family often dominates discussions about recent developments in Turkey's arms industry, the Koç family also holds a significant share that cannot be overlooked. The family owns four companies active in the "defense" sector, and Ali Koç serves as the chairman of the board in two of them.

Otokar, which maintains close ties with Turkey's Presidency of Defense Industries, produced the prototype of the ALTAY main battle tank. It later

developed the COBRA, COBRA II, and ARMA armored vehicles, signing sales agreements with numerous countries in Africa, the Caucasus, and the Middle East, and producing NATO-compatible equipment.

Through Koç Information and Defense Technologies, the family also focused on technological production in line with NATO standards, including participation in the MILGEM (National Ship) project.

With RMK Marine, the Koç Group works on coast guard ships and systems, and in collaboration with the Presidency of Defense Industries, has made major sales to the domestic market as well.

Baklava Indulgence in the UAE

Trying to capture Ali Koç and his family as a bourgeois clan who grow ever richer by dancing between power, religious sects, and football would take more pages than our magazine could possibly host.

In that sense, one of the clearest contributions to understanding Ali Koç came from none other than Ali Koç himself. While in Abu Dhabi for

Fenerbahçe's EuroLeague Final Four basketball games, he was photographed eating baklava offered by Mustafa Varank - one of the most notorious reactionaries and Erdoğan loyalists in the country, and a sitting AKP MP.

The images reignited debates about just how "oppositional" Ali Koç really is. It later emerged that the event was not spontaneous at all but carefully staged, with the press photos requiring three or four takes to get "just right."

Shoulder to Shoulder with the Government

Ali Koç's latest "initiative" was related to Turkey's "resolution process" discussions. As part of a process initiated by MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli, Ali Koç contributed by signing a sponsorship deal with Chobani - a brand owned by a Kurdish businessman with no prior investments in Turkey - to secure naming rights for Fenerbahçe Stadium.

Despite backlash from Fenerbahçe fans, Ali Koç refused to back down, once again showing his willingness to align himself with the expansionist agenda led by the AKP-MHP coalition.

**: A meal ceremony in Ramadan in Islam religion.*

*** : A slogan by Atatürk*



TKP turns 105!

Marking its 105th anniversary on September 10, the Communist Party of Turkey issued a statement calling on its friends to organize and to take their place on the right side of history. Throughout the country, TKP organizations in different cities, brought the anniversary to the streets, distributing the statement widely in the city centers and the neighborhoods, and inviting the working people to join the party.

[Click here](#) for the full text of the statement.

New Book From TKP General Secretary

TKP General Secretary Kemal Okuyan's latest book, Devrim (Revolution), has just been released. Captivating readers across the country, the book impressively reached its fifth edition just in a few weeks.

During September, a series of book talks titled "How Will

We Lead the Country to Revolution?" have been realised in three major cities, with participation of Okuyan.



The book will soon be available in English as well. Please stay connected with the TKP to access it. A detailed feature on the book can be found on page 8 of this issue."

TKP Statement on World Peace Day: Our Path to Peace and Brotherhood

TKP Central Committee issued a comprehensive statement on World Peace Day, including important and timely insights into the ongoing "peace process" in Turkey. The statement argued that peace cannot be built on joint exploitation of workers by the Kurdish and Turkish capital under the name of "domestic peace" and "brotherhood". TKP also pointed out that the claims of the government to "breaking the grand game of the USA and Israel" is in fact an imperialist collaboration without principals, plans and programs.

"Today's process—designed around the needs of the capitalist class, shaped in interaction with regional maneuvers driven by the US, the UK, and Israel, and guided by a fundamentally reactionary outlook—cannot produce a healthy outcome, no matter its course."

[Click here](#) for the full text of the statement.



Important Declaration on “Peace Process”

The declaration “We will not allow our country to fall into the abyss” that was initiated by TKP and open to signatures, made a big impact in Turkish politics and received the



support of many Republican intellectuals. This statement, opened for signature on August 1, marked the first time a discussion was initiated on the political aspects of the “peace process”. For more detailed information on the declaration, see the article by the TKP General Secretary Kemal Okuyan on page 2.

Solidarity with the Palestinian People



TKP Ankara Organization gathered in front of the Israeli Embassy Residence to protest the Israeli genocide in Gaza with the slogans of “The Palestinian people are not alone! And occupiers always lose - and we will continue our struggle against their hypocritical collaborators!”

The protest was carried out, despite the police’s attempts to obstruct it.



The MECYO Working Group Meeting

MECYO Working Group Meeting was held in İstanbul. The working group of the 19th Meeting of European Communist Youth Organizations (MECYO), which will take place this year, convened in İstanbul. Hosted by the Communist Youth of Turkey (TKG), the meeting finalised the slogan, agenda and participants of the 19th MECYO.

Working Group also issued a statement titled "Strengthen the Fight Against Imperialism!" The statement emphasized solidarity with the Palestinian People and the peoples of the Middle East, while calling upon the youth and the people to unite against imperialism and NATO.