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February 2026

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**TKP**   
Monthly international magazine

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# Like ships braving the waves **TKP stands defiant**



# A new lease of life for Neo-Ottomanism: Öcalan

Kemal Okuyan - TKP General Secretary



Developments in Syria have delivered a fresh shock, sharply accelerating the political and ideological realignments we have been witnessing in this country for some time. We are still far from any stabilisation or equilibrium. Yet enough evidence has already accumulated to make clear the axes along which this political and ideological movement is unfolding.

This must be stated plainly. The Kurdish question does not lie at the centre of what is happening today. What we are witnessing is, above all, the product of the sweeping process of transformation and destruction launched by the AKP, a process that has still not been brought to a coherent conclusion from the

standpoint of Turkish capitalism.

## **The pains of imperialism**

Those who explain the attacks on the Republic of 1923 solely through the pressure of imperialist powers or the revanchism of Turkey's reactionary forces persistently ignore the internal dynamics and needs of Turkish capitalism itself. Yet the history of the Republic of Turkey has always been a history of class struggles. As in the past, what is unfolding today is determined primarily by the preferences, needs and internal contradictions of the bourgeois class, and by the weight of the working class that resists them, to one degree or another.

The AKP assumed responsibility for carrying out the operation

aimed at freeing Turkish capitalism from the burdens of 1923<sup>1</sup>. Its own political agenda intensified this operation and increased its chances of success, but also constituted its main weakness. Even so, after twenty-four years it is clear that the AKP has all but eliminated the obstacles posed by mainstream politics. In the internal conflicts now unfolding within bourgeois politics and state institutions, so-called "Republican reflexes" play a negligible role. The AKP's real concern lies elsewhere: in the resistance that continues to make itself felt across broad layers of the society.

The logical outcome of this operation was that Turkey, having

crossed a threshold in its process of imperialisation, would replace the Republic with a Neo-Ottoman project.

What we are witnessing today are the internal and external pressures driving precisely this outcome.

Why, then, has Neo-Ottomanism become the sole viable option from the standpoint of capital?

Because Islamism can be deployed as a “unifying” force. Hence Neo-Ottomanism.

Because it can be integrated into the broader assault on nation-states. Hence Neo-Ottomanism.

Because it fits the image of a “strong state” capable of winning over Republican constituencies. Hence Neo-Ottomanism.

Because it can be aligned with the United States’ regional design. Hence Neo-Ottomanism.

Because it provides the ideological and cultural climate needed to mask poverty and injustice at home. Hence Neo-Ottomanism.

The level of development of the capitalist class, and its concrete needs, corresponded precisely to this project. At the same time, as the project sought to secure a place for itself within the international balance of forces, it had to avoid causing irreparable damage to Turkey’s traditional points of attachment: its relations with the United States, Germany and the United Kingdom.

### **The Israel-Iran-Turkey equation**

In all circumstances, the consolidation of AKP-era Turkey depended on the success of the Neo-Ottoman project. The success of that project, in turn, depended on the “Kurdish” key unlocking the door.

The project could only be realised if Iran’s regional power were broken. While this power was not eliminated outright, it was significantly weakened. This did not merely clear the path for Turkey. Israel, too, rapidly expanded its room for manoeuvre in line with its own strategic objectives.

When Devlet Bahçeli (the leader of the fascist party MHP) speaks of

an “Israeli threat”, he is referring in part to this strengthening of Israel’s hand in regional competition. For Turkey to shift irreversibly onto a Neo-Ottoman trajectory, tensions with Israel had to be rendered manageable.

Bahçeli was articulating a particular form of “state reason” when he recognised the danger that, if the Öcalan card were not played swiftly, Israel would neutralise it and incorporate the PKK into its own alliance system. The United States, for its part, required a regional configuration capable of drawing its mutually competing allies into a single framework in order to counter China’s growing weight.

Trump, together with his property-dealer-turned-envoy Barrack<sup>2</sup>, exerted considerable effort to push the international coalition that brought Colani to power in Syria towards a compromise. The aim was to settle the Kurdish question in a way that would not disturb Israel, while simultaneously injecting new momentum into the AKP’s Neo-Ottoman project.

Turkey assisted Israel by remaining silent on the Gaza plan, contributing to the disciplining of Hamas and opening space for Zionism in Syria. In return, Israel allowed the jihadist Colani to advance eastwards within Syria. Whether this arrangement will endure remains to be seen. What is certain is that the imperialist world cannot exist without conflict.

This, then, is the situation in the Neo-Ottoman project’s so-called “Syrian province”.

What, meanwhile, is happening inside Turkey, where resistance to the AKP still persists?

### **Öcalan steps in**

The so-called Republicans who applaud the AKP’s Syria policy and boast of having “outplayed the imperialist game” display no interest whatsoever in the spiral of inequality and injustice gripping the country. They imagine that a social order which condemns seventeen million pensioners to death at home will somehow stride

onto the international stage singing hymns to independence, justice and prosperity.

Or perhaps they do not believe this at all. Perhaps, in a world governed by the law of the jungle, they simply tell themselves that it is time for “us to be wolves as well”, and seek a share in an expansionist project that flatters their own sense of pride.

They may even fantasise that becoming a regional power will translate into prosperity at home, recalling that imperialist states manage to pass on at least a small portion of their spoils to their own populations.

The Republic of Turkey was founded, in part and of necessity, through a confrontation with imperialism. Today, Öcalan, now positioning himself as the chief ideologue of the Neo-Ottoman project, has added a new claim to the long-standing absurdity repeated by Kurdish nationalists and certain right-wing ideologues alike that “the Turkish Republic was a British project”. His addition is this: that the Republic of Turkey was necessary for the establishment of Israel.

Having recognised that appeals to the “will of the ballot box” have begun to harm the AKP, and that they are now being replaced by claims of “national and local authenticity”, Öcalan makes a move in historiography that even earns Bahçeli’s admiration. This move casts a shadow over the founding of the Republic, separates the War of Independence from the establishment of the Republic, and asserts that “there was an Islamic unity then, and the Republic destroyed it”.

This is not a naïve reading of history. It is a direct contribution to the ideological content of today’s project. Buried within a mass of nonsense are several elements of real significance. Öcalan is careful to stress that he uses the word “commune” in the sense of corporatisation. In other words, we are being told that the Neo-Ottoman project will be accompanied not only by Islamism, but by an



aggressive market logic as well. The “communalisation” presented as the hallmark of his proposed democratic society is thus detached from any notion of equality and anchored instead in tribal structures, the region’s current and deeply reactionary reality.

The “decentralization” that Öcalan claims will also democratise Turkey clearly corresponds to what I have elsewhere described as a liquefied, or gelatinous, state.

Let me repeat this clearly. Those who argue that the Turkish Republic is an anomaly, incapable of taking root in these lands, have now been joined by a new and powerful actor. Unlike similar arguments voiced for years within PKK circles, Öcalan has begun to operate as a component of the ruling ideology itself. He has become the new driving force of Neo-Ottomanism. To dismiss this as mere “Bookchin imitation” would be a serious mistake.

It is also clear that this Öcalan intervention has begun to inspire the project’s true owners as well.

### **Republicanism also needs a new breath, a left one**

We are confronted with a project whose ultimate direction no one can predict. This uncertainty offers no consolation. Unless it is met with an alternative project, we lose under every possible outcome.

That alternative cannot be built on the fantasy of turning Turkish capitalism back thirty, forty or a hundred years. No such Turkey exists. No such capitalism exists.

Nor can it be built by attempting to reposition Turkey within a different geostrategic alignment. There are clear limits to how far a capitalist Turkey can distance itself from the United States, or from the Atlantic axis more broadly. Any real rupture cannot be decreed by the state’s security bureaucracy. It can only emerge from the will of the working people themselves. An awakened people will focus first on bread, on justice and on equality, and will link independence and sovereignty to these material demands.

For the millions of workers struggling with poverty today, there is no meaningful difference between the Atlantic and Eurasian axes.

When they reach the level of political consciousness and organisation required to grasp this fact, they will discard both options and set about building a genuinely free country.

This alternative project cannot be developed by excluding our Kurdish citizens or by handing them over to Neo-Ottomanism. On the contrary, we need the courage to inspire Kurdish working people as well, to bind them to a Republican resurgence with a clear determination to abolish backward social structures and exploitation.

They kept insisting ‘this is not the time’; now there is no time left.

It is no coincidence that we say Republicans stand at a crossroads. The question is whether the Öcalan move within Neo-Ottomanism will finally awaken those who believe that independence and secularism can be preserved while keeping socialism at a safe distance. Or will they continue to rehearse the reflexive chant of “separatist terrorist organisation”, refusing to see that the issue has long since moved far beyond the narrow frame of a “threat of division”?

1- 1923 is the founding date of the Republic of Turkey and the burdens it imposes refer to the idea of republic which is secular and based on national borders.

2- Tom Barrack is an American businessman of Lebanese origin, known for his extensive real-estate investments and close ties with Gulf Arab leaders. He is the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey and Special Envoy for Syria, highlighting his role in Trump’s foreign policy network and his engagement in broader Middle East diplomacy.



# The communist principles of timely and effective publishing

**Ali Ufuk Arıkan,**

*Member of TKP Central Committee*

In conveying communist politics, revolutionary strategies, and tactics to the people in a refined and accessible manner, and in organizing these ideas and perspectives, publications stand out as one of the most important tools.

While daily newspapers and weekly and monthly printed magazines continue to maintain their importance as fundamental tools for direct contact, one-to-one engagement, organisation, and strong publishing on this basis, digital publishing has, in recent years, begun to assume a “flagship” role within the communists’ own media tools in certain aspects.

There are concrete reasons for this.

We are now faced with an intense, real-time flow of data, or more accurately, a constant

bombardment of information.

Giant media monopolies continuously place “things” in front of us through social media platforms such as X, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok, selecting and prioritizing content for us.

Through deliberate and conscious intervention, it is becoming increasingly difficult for people to distinguish truth from falsehood, right from wrong.

For this reason, the struggle waged by communists in the field of digital publishing – and the work they carry out there – is gaining immense importance.

In this respect, the soL News Portal\* represents a strong accumulation of experience and expertise.

This article looks at the prominent issues in publishing through the

lens of soL News’ nearly 20 years of experience in digital journalism, and sets out some of the basic principles drawn from that experience.

**1. Speed:** In the digital sphere, “speed” is placed at the forefront of everything – fast news, fast sharing, fast engagement... It is clear that communists cannot become part of this frenzy by putting speed above all else. At the same time, we must also remember that we possess a unique advantage that few others have: the ability to approach phenomenon through a strong historical filter. We should be aware that every delay, every moment we fall behind, gives the system more time to bend the facts in line with its own interests. If one of our core tasks in journalism is to break through the narratives the system seeks to impose, from the side of the truth, then we must also recognize that underestimating the

importance of speed would also be detrimental. This is precisely why the system rapidly mobilizes its vast resources and media networks in the aftermath of any event or development - to create confusion. Without placing speed above everything else, soL News represents an important experience in demonstrating that it is possible to produce timely and effective responses to developments through the lens of the working class.

**2. Depth:** At the heart of the manipulation practised by the bourgeois media lie speed and its vast resources. Dozens of news channels and their affiliated digital platforms quickly fall into line, producing coverage that moves in the same direction - at great speed, but with great superficiality. Both the news itself and the "prominent" media figures who deliver it suffer from a serious lack of depth, one that ultimately stems from and is shaped by the system they belong to. For this reason, in such a media environment, depth must be identified as one of the communists' most important strengths. Pointing to the context and background of events, and emphasizing what they mean from the standpoint of working people, is both our responsibility and one of our greatest advantages. Political cases such as Ergenekon and Balyoz - what we have described as the liquidation

of the Republic in Turkey - the Arab Spring process that restructured the region through imperialist restoration, the Gezi Uprising (in 2013) in which the people took to the streets, the 15th of July coup attempt (in 2016) triggered from within the system with the involvement of imperialism, or more recently, imperialist aggression against countries such as Venezuela and Iran: when these developments are presented to the public with both speed and a depth that can only be provided from our side, we see a major acceleration in the struggle of communists in the media sphere. Across all these issues, soL became a news outlet read by tens of thousands. Behind this lies an intellectual framework built through years of collective effort - and the trust placed in that framework.

**3. Truth:** Wherever communists struggle, they also represent the truth. This principle becomes especially critical when it comes to journalism. This is precisely why one of soL News's core mottos is "Lying to the people is a crime." Fighting to give voice to the truth against the flood of lies poured out by the bourgeois media - and proving that commitment in practice - constitutes a major gain. For this reason, at turning points like the present, when developments are deliberately rendered confusing, communists must strive to become

one of the main platforms that large sections of the public look to and say, "This is where we can read the truth." It is possible to illustrate this with current examples - most notably the recent U.S. attack on Venezuela. Within minutes of this barbaric assault, the entire establishment media network went into action, spreading claims of U.S. limitless power - that it had suffered no losses, that there was no resistance, and that the people gave no support to Maduro. Yet very quickly, different facts emerged. The story that there had been no resistance was exposed as a blatant lie. We learned that nearly 100 people - 32 of them Cuban communists - had been killed, and that they had resisted the attack heroically. Exposing the bourgeois media for claiming that "no one supported Maduro, everyone welcomed the U.S. attack," while showing only images of Venezuelans living in the United States - and, at the same time, demonstrating that millions pouring into the streets of Venezuela were determined to resist imperialism - this too is our task. We know how the years-long imperialist and reactionary assault on Syria, the U.S. invasion of Iraq, and dozens of other attacks were all constructed on massive lies. For this reason, it is critically important for communists to step forward more forcefully as representatives of the truth. There is

# HALKA YALAN SÖYLEMEK SUÇTUR

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**TÜRKİYE KOMÜNİST PARTİSİ**





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no limit to how far we can advance on this front, which is why we must carry out our responsibilities with constant care and rigour. From this standpoint, without ever succumbing to the illusion of simply being the most read or the most clicked, we must strive for effective and powerful publishing that relentlessly pursues the truth in line with the interests of the working class.

**4. Effective journalism:** We know that it must also be shown that communist publishing cannot be confined merely to producing solid analyses or taking correct positions on current developments. The way to demonstrate this is by practising genuinely strong journalism. It is possible to show that good journalism can be done without aligning with bourgeois actors or becoming dependent on them-by persistently and stubbornly pursuing the truth. The system itself constantly reminds us that journalism cannot be left solely to media monopolies with the most professional equipment, the most famous reporters, or the largest staff. For this reason, we must carry out journalistic work with great care and rigour, always in pursuit of the truth, knowing that every news item is also a site of struggle and confrontation. Moreover, starting from the understanding that every communist can also contribute to publishing as a reporter, we must strive to mobilize this contribution as broadly as possible.

**5. Refreshing memory:** One of the system's greatest skills in its constant assault on the human mind is making people forget. While media networks are among its most powerful tools, one of our most important responses

must be to counter this process on the same terrain. Against a media order focused solely on the daily and the disposable, we need journalism that connects events, that reminds people of the links between the past and present developments. It is clear that no one else will - or can - do this in our place. Keeping the memory of working people alive, and continuously linking today's attacks to the system itself, is vital. For 20 years, soL has mobilized its archive and accumulated resources precisely for journalism that keeps the working people's memory alive.

**6. Polemic:** One of the most powerful weapons communists possess in the field of publishing is, without doubt, polemic. Wherever confusion and mental fog are deliberately produced, there is a clear need for sharp and clarifying polemics that open the way forward. From this standpoint, polemic - when directed both at the bourgeois media and the mainstream bourgeois ideological currents including liberalism under the mask of "left" - can have a revealing and polarizing effect when used effectively and in the right place. In this sense, soL News fills an important gap by also functioning as a strong instrument of polemic

**7. Providing direction, acting together:** One of the fundamental distinctions of communist publishing from all other media lies in its purpose. A publication whose essential function is to contribute to the working class's struggle for liberation from this system - regardless of its format or platform - must strengthen, organize, and unify the side of working people. The part of this work carried out through journalism and publishing is only one

dimension of the task. The other dimension, no less important, is the publication's role in providing direction to the class and enabling collective action. While digital publishing has its limits in this respect, there remains much that can be done and many meaningful channels of engagement that can be built. The "loyal readership" created by a publication also signifies an expansion of the sphere of influence of communist politics. Reader meetings, talks, events, and subscription channels - periodically organized and tested - stand out as organizing tools that deepen interaction and collective movement.

**8. Communist journalists:** One of the defining features of our publishing is bringing the people into the production process both as news writers and as sources of news. At the same time, one of our key responsibilities is to reclaim "journalism" - which the bourgeois media has increasingly corrupted and turned into a mere apparatus - and to strengthen it as an ethical profession genuinely serving the interests of the people. From this standpoint, cultivating cadres and journalists who take the principles outlined above as their guide, and who carry out journalistic work through these filters, is one of our core tasks in the field of publishing. In this sense, soL News functions as an important school for journalism from our perspective, and many individuals committed to practicing journalism in the service of the people have been trained through this experience.

\*The news portal of TKP launched in 2006. The address of the website: [haber.sol.org.tr](http://haber.sol.org.tr)



# Anti-imperialist militancy of socialist Cuba

**Aslı Çakal,**

*Member of TKP Party Council*

The military attack carried out by the United States against Venezuela on January 3, 2026 was not viewed by Cuba as an isolated military operation or a misguided foreign policy choice. Instead, it was assessed as an attempt to reassert imperialism's political and social hegemony over Latin America. What was being targeted was not Venezuela alone, but Latin America as a whole.

Beyond being a clear violation of international law and the UN Charter, the attack was described by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and the President of the Republic of Cuba Díaz-Canel as an act of "state terrorism." In this barbaric assault against "Our America," Cuba lost 32 military and security personnel who had been stationed in Caracas at Venezuela's request. The Cuban people bid farewell

to their martyrs—who sacrificed their lives to defend regional peace and the achievements of the Cuban Revolution—with an anti-imperialist militancy rooted in dedication to socialism, internationalism and working class patriotism. This process makes it necessary to once again reflect on the Cuban people's strong anti-imperialist consciousness and its historical foundations—evident in the clarity of the statements issued by the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) and the President, the politicized nature of the ceremonies honoring the fallen, the Fighting People's Marches held in various cities, and the mass participation in the traditional Torchlight March in Havana.

To understand this, it is first necessary to recall that in socialist Cuba the people's anti-imperialist stance is not merely a political reflex that rises and falls with

circumstances. From the earliest years of the Revolution, U.S. imperialism—responsible for armed attacks, acts of sabotage, and the shortages brought about by the blockade—has also provided the material basis for a lasting anti-imperialism among the Cuban people. In this sense, imperialism is not an abstract concept for the people of Cuba, nor simply a moral position. In Cuba, resistance to imperialism is a constitutive element of social life, carrying a historical continuity shaped by the blockade. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the Party explicitly warns against simplistic approaches that explain every shortcoming in the country solely by the blockade. The cadres are conscious that without their own initiative to defend socialism, no concrete achievements are possible, that subjective effort plays a decisive

role, and that difficulties must—when necessary—be transformed into fuel for struggle.

Returning to the people's militant anti-imperialist stance, it becomes clear that the political and revolutionary leadership of Fidel, as well as the Party's political intervention in society, have been highly decisive in this regard. As seen in the national campaign to secure the return of the Cuban Five from U.S. prisons, and in the process that led to Elián González's return from the United States to Cuba, the revolutionary government succeeded in framing these issues not as individual legal cases or humanitarian tragedies, but as attacks by imperialism on the sovereignty and collective dignity of the Cuban people. Through mass marches involving millions, signature campaigns, and the organization of the youth movement, society was repeatedly mobilized around an anti-imperialist consciousness. In this respect, the ability of the revolutionary leadership to keep society on a political, determined, and resilient path contains important lessons for communists around the world.

The social response observed in Cuba in the aftermath of today's attack on Venezuela stands as a contemporary continuation of these experiences. In Cuba, anti-imperialism does not function as a temporary discourse invoked only in extraordinary moments; it remains a practice of political organization that is continuously reproduced through collective action.

#### Homeland or Death!

Cuban writer Cintio Vitier points out that in Cuba, history, revolution, and the nation are one and the same—because the Cuban nation itself was, in fact, created by the Cuban Revolution. What Martí envisioned was realized under Fidel's leadership, and Cuba became a homeland only through revolution and resistance to imperialism. For this reason, the homeland is nothing other than the very embodiment of the goal of independence and justice. At the rally held on January 16 in Anti-Imperialist Square, the words of Gerardo Hernández Nordelo, National Coordinator of the Committees for the

Defense of the Revolution (CDR)—“The homeland is not to be toyed with, the revolution is not to be toyed with, and Cuba's unity is not to be toyed with.”—expressed the Cuban people's clear and unequivocal response to U.S. imperialism. As crystallized in the slogan “Homeland or Death,” once again raised in the squares, the homeland is either socialist—or it does not exist.

This profound intellectual and political legacy, stretching from José Martí's commitment to independence to Fidel Castro's revolutionary strategy, enabled the Cuban Revolution to ground itself in its own historical and cultural roots. In this way, the Revolution generated its political legitimacy by drawing strength from its own reality. One of the main reasons the Revolution was able to survive—and to ensure not only the continuity of resistance but also of development—even after the dissolution of the USSR, under conditions in which external resources were severely weakened, lies precisely in this foundation.

To be “Cuban” also encompasses the concept of working class patriotism, which occupies a central place in the political language of the Revolution, and for this reason is qualitatively distinct from bourgeois nationalism. Cuban patriotism is anti-imperialist and working class-based, because the homeland is not the property of the capital but a collective achievement of working people. There are no boundaries between the state and the people; they are not separate but identical in essence. And it is internationalist, because the defense of the homeland cannot be conceived apart from the struggles of other peoples, especially those of Latin America.

The dilemmas Cuba faces are part of a socialist society's struggle to exist under harsh conditions and in a hostile international environment. Producing creative and revolutionary solutions to these dilemmas depends both on the capacity to resist imperialist coercion and on openly debating problems while weaving collective efforts through broad popular participation. Today, this is precisely where the strength of the Cuban Revolution lies.

Beginning in January, extraordinary general assemblies of the Party's provincial committees, starting from the westernmost part of the country, have been addressing Cuba's priorities and the responsibilities that its organizations must assume. The guiding principle of these meetings is not merely to diagnose problems, but to focus on creative solutions, strengthen channels of social participation, and develop a revolutionary, disciplined mode of work.

The Cuban Revolution is a living revolution, one with continuity: The revolution lives on in revolutionary cadres, in the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, in the Federation of Cuban Women, in the organization of youth, and in the people's patriotism and anti-imperialist militancy. In a revolution that is ongoing, the role of the revolutionary subject is decisive.

Socialist Cuba - explicitly identified by the U.S. administration as one of the countries targeted after Venezuela - today needs far more than diplomacy or strategic maneuvering. For imperialist aggression can only be stopped by an organized people. As Díaz-Canel stated during the “War of the Entire People” exercises held in various municipalities last month: “The best way to avoid attacks is to make imperialism calculate the cost of carrying them out.” This is the path of the Cuban Revolution, and once again, the Revolution stands as a source of hope for the peoples of the world.

The task facing communists is to deepen solidarity with socialist Cuba - a country that has never surrendered to decades of imperialist siege and stands as a source of hope and dignity for the world's peoples. Imperialism threatens all peoples of the world. As the United States' direct assault on socialism heightens the militancy of the struggle against the blockade and reinforces the centrality of political struggle, identifying concrete forms of solidarity to alleviate the effects of the comprehensive blockade remains one of the key responsibilities of the friends of Cuba.



# The bourgeoisie's unending romance with Nâzım Hikmet

**Murat Akad,**

Member of TKP Party Council

*Nâzım Hikmet is increasingly abstracted from his political identity by various segments of Turkish bourgeois and portrayed as a poet compatible with the political aims of capitalism. Yet Nâzım was a communist - a communist who remained a party member until the end of his life and never once abandoned the struggle.*

Since 1971, Turkey's traditional big capital has been organized under the umbrella of the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD). The conditions that enabled the formation of this organization emerged from the political climate of the 1960s. In this period, the growing political and social influence of trade unions and the left generated profound anxiety within the bourgeoisie. For the first time in Turkey's history, socialism attained such a degree of social penetration and mass support. The working class assumed a level of prominence in national politics unprecedented until then.

As the organized voice of Turkey's most powerful capitalists, TÜSİAD secured a central place in national

politics. It has functioned as a potent instrument for exerting pressure on political actors aligned with its interests and for carrying out targeted political interventions.

Despite the emergence of new forms of competition and power struggles among capitalists since the AKP came to power, TÜSİAD continues to maintain significant influence today. The association held its last general assembly in January 2026, during which its leadership changed. In his farewell speech, outgoing chair Orhan Turan recited Nâzım Hikmet's poem "Invitation" (*Davet*).

The Communist Party of Turkey issued a statement on the matter. The statement noted that, "of course, no one has the right to lay claim to Nâzım Hikmet's poetry." However, it emphasized the need to remind both Turan and the capitalists' club TÜSİAD of a fundamental fact: "Nâzım Hikmet was a communist. His life was devoted to the aim of building a country - and a world - free of classes and exploitation. The poems he wrote were, above all, part of the struggle

he waged against the capitalist class to which you belong. It was for this reason that he spent years in prison. It was for this reason that he was separated from his homeland and died with a longing for it. Think twice when you read his poetry. The power of those poems carries, for the working class, the hope of building an egalitarian, free, and just order - one in which the class you represent no longer exists."

Nâzım Hikmet is widely regarded as the most important poet Turkey has produced to date - a view shared not only within the country but also internationally. The poet, who lived between 1902 and 1963, remains the most widely read poet in Turkey to this day. His poems have been translated into more than 50 languages and are known across much of the world.

## "Traitor"

Within the framework of decades - long anti-communist propaganda, Nâzım Hikmet was branded a traitor to the nation both during his lifetime and after his death. The poet, who spent a total of 17 years in prison at different

periods, saw his works banned for decades or published only in censored form.

He responded to these accusations of treason with the following lines:

**"Nâzım Hikmet is still continuing to be a traitor,**

**We are a half-colony of American imperialism, said Hikmet.**

**Nâzım Hikmet is still continuing to be a traitor."**

**This came out in one of the Ankara newspapers,**

**Over three columns, in a pitch-black screaming streamer.**

**In an Ankara newspaper, beside a photograph of Admiral Williamson,**

**smiling in 66 square centimeters, his mouth in his ears,**

**the American admiral.**

**America gave 120 million lira to our budget, 120 million lira.**

**"We are a half-colony of American imperialism, said Hikmet.**

**Nâzım Hikmet is still continuing to be a traitor."**

**Yes, I am a traitor, if you are a patriot, if you are a defender of our homeland,**

**I am a traitor to my homeland, I am a traitor to my country.**

**If patriotism is your farms,**

**if the valuables in your safes and your bank accounts is patriotism,**

**if patriotism is dying from hunger by the side of the road,**

**if patriotism is trembling in the cold like a cur and shivering from malaria in the summer,**

**if sucking our scarlet blood in your factories is patriotism,**

**if patriotism is the claws of your village lords,**

**if patriotism is the catechism, if patriotism is the police club,**

**if your allocations and your salaries are patriotism,**

**if patriotism is American bases, American bombs, and American missiles,**

**if patriotism is not escaping from our stinking black-minded ignorance, then I am a traitor.**

**Write it over three columns, in a pitch-black screaming streamer,**

**Nâzım Hikmet is continuing to be a traitor, STILL!**

As this poem clearly demonstrates, Nâzım Hikmet was a resolute working-class patriot - just as every communist is. He waged a socialist struggle for the liberation of his country and his people from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism. In the early 1920s, he supported the War of Independence waged against the occupation of the country by various imperialist powers, a struggle that culminated in the founding of the Republic. Despite all the efforts by the capitalist system, the working people of Turkey never disregarded this dimension of Nâzım's identity and continued to stand by him.

### **The right's curious interest in Nâzım's poetry**

In the years that followed, Turkish capitalism could no longer ignore this reality. It therefore moved to "make use" of this aspect of Nâzım for its own purposes. One of the earliest and most notable examples came in 1994, when Alparslan Türkeş, then leader of the fascist Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), recited a poem by Nâzım Hikmet on the War of Independence at a party congress. Up to that point, even the fascists who had launched the most vicious attacks against him did not hesitate to exploit Nâzım under the pretext of reaching out to a so-called "national left."

President Tayyip Erdoğan has also, on various occasions, recited poems by Nâzım Hikmet. One of the most recent examples took place a few months ago at the 5th Turkey-Africa Business Forum. The forum itself functions as one of the instruments through which Turkey seeks to expand its political and economic influence over African countries. On this occasion, Erdoğan read Nâzım's poem

"To the Writers of Asia and Africa...". Nâzım wrote this poem in 1962 on the occasion of the Asian-African Writers' Conference he attended, and it was, of course, entirely unrelated to business people. On the contrary, it addressed the hunger, thirst, and threat of premature death faced by the impoverished peoples of Asia and Africa.

Moreover, the mainstream media and artistic circles do not hesitate to portray Nâzım Hikmet in ways that suit their own purposes. He is frequently emphasized as a melancholic poet of love, while an image is constructed of Nâzım as a writer confined to romantic themes and abstracted from his political identity.

In this regard, a significant turning point occurred during the events organized in 2002 to mark the poet's 100th birthday. Only a short time had passed since the collapse of real socialism, yet almost every article, documentary, and public lecture about Nâzım opened by labeling him "a poet whose ideology ended with communism." Major corporations

rushed to sponsor these events, with some even daring to probe into the





most private aspects of Nâzım's love life.

### **Publication rights in the hands of a major bank**

Another controversial development in the same year concerned the transfer of the publication rights to Nâzım Hikmet's works to one of Turkey's largest banks. These rights were transferred in 2002 as the result of a family decision. Consequently, the publication of a communist poet's works came under the authority of one of the country's major financial institutions.

The Communist Party of Turkey elevated this issue to a major item on its political agenda and declared that it would not recognize this publication monopoly imposed on Nâzım Hikmet. The Party emphasized that this constituted the final stage in an operation aimed at taming Nâzım, and stressed that his works stand against capitalism—and therefore also against the monopoly that had acquired the publication rights. In the same year, the Party gave concrete form to its political stance by publishing a selection of the poet's works without any commercial expectation.

The party also intervened against the censorship imposed by that monopoly. The publishing house owned by this monopoly removed certain passages from Nâzım Hikmet's novel *Life's Good, Brother* (Yaşamak Güzel Şey Be Kardeşim), a work that recounts a segment of his own life, and

released 21 editions in this censored form. Following the intervention of the Communist Party of Turkey, the effort proved effective, and beginning with the 22th edition, the novel was published in its uncensored form.

### **Intervention from the left**

Among those who seek to integrate Nâzım into the system are also individuals who claim to stand on the left. Some self-described leftists claim that Nâzım's political identity has been overstated and unnecessarily emphasized. Yet it was Nâzım himself who consistently emphasized his communist identity at every opportunity. In one of his poems, he places this identity at the very center, declaring, "I am a human, I am the Turkish poet communist Nâzım Hikmet."

This reality is further underscored by the fact that he repeatedly and openly affirmed his loyalty to the Communist Party of Turkey. It is also well known that he served on the party's central bodies.

It is a historical fact that reactionary cultural interventions by the bourgeoisie have often been carried out through the hands of those identifying as "leftists." For instance, while the CIA financed anti-Soviet leftist journals in Western Europe, it was fully aware that the most effective struggle against the left would be carried out by an anti-communist left itself. Whenever the capitalist class has found it necessary

to retreat to a more indirect position, it has implemented its work of erosion through certain segments of the left. The "leftist" manipulations of Nâzım Hikmet's identity must be understood within this same framework.

Although pursued with less intensity than in earlier periods, various interventions by the capitalist system continue to seek the transformation of Nâzım Hikmet—the communist poet and committed party member—into a "tame" figure, one that poses no challenge to the existing order. Yet Nâzım's own words stand in clear opposition to this effort. In a poem written in Bursa Prison in 1947, he proclaims, "Your beloved is a communist," and in another poem written in 1951, he explicitly invokes the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), of which he was a member from the age of 19 until his death:

*I'm thinking of you*

*Communist Party of Turkey,*

*My T.K.P.,*

*I'm thinking of you.*

*You are our yesterday, our today,  
our tomorrow,*

*our greatest mastery,  
our finest skill.*

*You are our mind, our heart, and  
our fist.*

The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) will not surrender this great poet - this resolute communist - to the grasp of capital, and will ensure that his legacy endures.

# Tayyip Erdoğan's black box, the man in the shadows: Hakan Fidan



*Tayyip Erdoğan's undersecretary, security advisor, the person to whom he handed over the MİT [National Intelligence Organization]. He was the person right behind Erdoğan during the Gülenist coup d'état attempt. He coordinated the operations in Iran and Syria. Now he is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and one of Erdoğan's few possible successors.*

He was born in 1968. He began his career at 18 as a non-commissioned officer in the army and became President of the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) at the age of 42. He served as President of the MİT from 2010 to 2023. He has been Minister of Foreign Affairs since 2023. It is a mysterious life marked by continuous advancement.

Fidan joined the military in 1986 and served as an "intelligence non-commissioned officer". He was sent to Germany for a period to serve in

the NATO Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC), where he gained three years of experience. He also continued his education. Upon return, his first task was to prepare his master's thesis titled "Intelligence and foreign policy: A comparison of British, American, and Turkish intelligence systems."

In 2000, he was elected as a member of the General Assembly of the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Association (OYAK), a kind of pension fund established for officers. A year later, he voluntarily retired from the military.

According to his biography, his father was a Kurd from Van and his mother was a Turk from Denizli. His father belonged to the Kurdish "Hesenan tribe." Some news articles written about him claimed that his relatives served in the Hamidiye Regiments, which were formed during the Ottoman Empire by

Sultan Abdulhamid to fight Armenian guerrillas and consisted of members of Kurdish tribes.

He earned a bachelor's degree in management and political science from the University of Maryland. After graduation, he left the military and completed his bachelor's and doctoral degrees at Bilkent University. He was struggling financially. He took over the position vacated by AKP Çankırı Deputy Suat Kınıkoğlu in 2001 and began working as a political and economic advisor at the Australian Embassy in Ankara. Suat Kınıkoğlu was also from the military, having graduated from the Air Force Academy. Like Fidan, he had completed his master's and doctoral degrees at Bilkent. He was also known as a columnist at the Fethullah Gülen-affiliated newspaper "Today's Zaman."

There are several claims surrounding Fidan's educational

background. For example, CHP Deputy Chairman Namık Tan claimed that Fidan had started a master's degree at Bilkent University despite having completed a three-year open education bachelor's degree program. In such cases, equivalence for the diploma had to be obtained from the Higher Education Council (YÖK). Fidan completed his master's degree between 1997 and 1999, but equivalence was granted to him in 1998.

In 2003, he was appointed as the head of the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA). The name of the institution was later changed to the "Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency." During the four years he served there, he focused on development projects in Central Asian and African countries. TIKA was officially an aid organization, but it also engaged in gathering information in the countries where it operated. These two regions within Fidan's area of responsibility were also areas of activity for Gülenists.

During his overseas assignment, he studied at the US-based University of Maryland in Germany. This university is also known for the generous donations made by Fethullah Gülen. The university had organized conferences on Fethullah Gülen.

He was then appointed Deputy Undersecretary to the Prime Ministry and security advisor to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. He served as a board member of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). In 2008, he became a member of the board of trustees of Ahmet Yesevi University, a joint institution of Turkey and Kazakhstan.

The peace process first had begun when Hakan Fidan was Deputy Undersecretary of the Prime Ministry, and secret talks were being held between state officials and PKK representatives. Fidan's involvement in these talks on behalf of the Prime Minister had paved the way for him to become head of the organization. When he was appointed Deputy Undersecretary of the MİT in 2010, it was clear that he would be the next

president of the organization. A month later, he took the MİT presidency seat, replacing Emre Taner. He was ready to lead the MİT in just one month.

He is one of the two people who are parachuted to MİT presidency from outside the organization. This means that he was not an officer from the military or from within the MİT itself. Sönmez Köksal was the first "civilian" appointed to this position. At least, he was a diplomat.

During his tenure, his opponents referred to him as the "National Intelligence Sergeant." This was a reference to the new relationship that MİT had established with the government during his time. MİT was entered directly under the command of Tayyip Erdoğan.

On September 13, 2011, recordings of the negotiations between representatives of the Kurdistan Communities Union (KCK) and Turkish state officials were leaked to the press. The records revealed that then-MİT President Hakan Fidan, acting on the instructions of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and in his capacity as a "special representative," had met with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and PKK representatives.

A secret meeting, held in Oslo, the capital of Norway, the coordinating country, which was attended by MİT President Fidan, MİT Deputy Undersecretary Afet Güneş, Mustafa Karasu from the KCK, and PKK members Sabri Ok and Zübeyir Aydar had been recorded by Gülenists within the state apparatus. When the recordings were leaked to the press, an investigation was launched against him in 2012, and he was summoned for questioning. The conflict between the AKP and the Gülenists took shape when he was summoned. During these investigations, it was also alleged that Fidan was responsible for organizing secret trade with Iran. Gold smuggling was at the centre of this trade.

Tayyip Erdoğan, who did not lift a finger when then-Chief of General Staff İlker Başbuğ was imprisoned, used all the resources of the government for Fidan, in order to prevent him from going to give a statement.

Fidan also coordinated the war against the Bashar al-Assad government in Syria, which involved mercenary jihadist fighters. During the Gülenist coup attempt in 2016, he played a key role in Erdoğan's efforts to suppress the coup.

President Tayyip Erdoğan called him his "soul of discretion". Since his days as undersecretary and security advisor, he had been privy to all of Tayyip Erdoğan's secrets. He was the first and only person by his side during major crises. He was responsible for briefing him on what was happening. Naturally, he was very important to Erdoğan. When summoned for questioning as head of the National Intelligence Organization (MİT), he immediately informed Erdoğan of the situation, and Erdoğan gave the order, "Shoot anyone who approaches the MİT."

Fidan has been one of the key figures shaping Turkey's foreign policy equation over the past decade, from Russia to Hungary, Libya to Cyprus, and the US to Ukraine. During this period, it was commented that Hakan Fidan and former Defense Minister Hulusi Akar were the names behind Turkey's foreign policy, implementing it on the ground when necessary, while the previous Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu remained more of an observer. US officials described his extraordinary position within the state as follows: Turkey's head of the CIA, the FBI, and the National Security Council. In addition, he is Prime Minister Erdoğan's advisor on foreign policy and the Kurdish issue...

As Foreign Minister, he has managed to effectively carry out his previous duties. The consolidation of the HTS-Jolani regime in Syria and the removal of SDF dominance in the Kurdish region were also achieved under his coordination. He is trying to use these successes on the ground as leverage in the power struggle within the AKP.

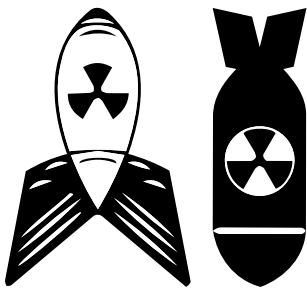
When he became the Foreign Minister, his previous chair was filled by the equally secretive İbrahim Kalın. Now both are being touted as Tayyip Erdoğan's successors. The path to power in Turkey now requires being privy to Tayyip Erdoğan's secrets.

# Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Energy in Turkey



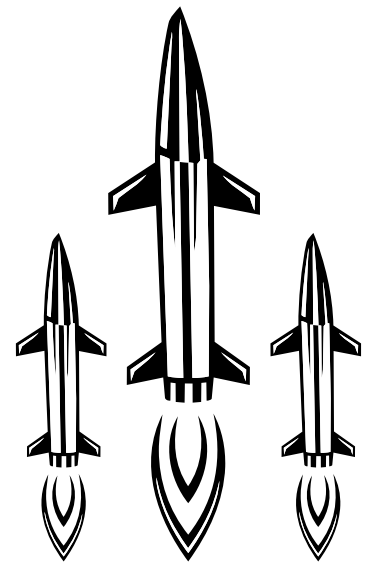
The Nationalist Movement Party's (MHP) recent statement has brought the question "Should Turkey possess nuclear weapons?" back into the public discourse. At the heart of the debate is the claim that nuclear weapons are a powerful deterrent and serve as a military and strategic asset. Thus, possession of nuclear weapons is effectively seen as a guarantee for a country's security and survival. TKP maintains that anything which serves to legitimize nuclear war and the use of nuclear weapons constitutes a grave threat to humanity. It also stresses that the nuclear weapons stationed in our country pose a threat first and foremost to our own people. When imperialist powers perceive their interests to be under threat, these weapons will be turned against our people before anyone else. Let us briefly examine this reality. Let us take a brief look at the data concerning this threat within our country.

## DOZENS OF **B61-TYPE** NUCLEAR BOMBS AT İNCİRLİK BASE



Furthermore, it is known that dozens of B61-type nuclear bombs are located at the Incirlik Air Base in Turkey, which are under the complete technical and political control of the U.S. and over which the Turkish government has no say. These weapons are protected by security mechanisms known as PAL (Permissive Action Links). Incirlik Air Base has been actively used in the past for various air operations in which Turkey was not involved. U.S. attacks against Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria are examples of this. During the Cold War, intelligence flights against the Soviet Union were conducted from Incirlik without Turkey's permission or knowledge.

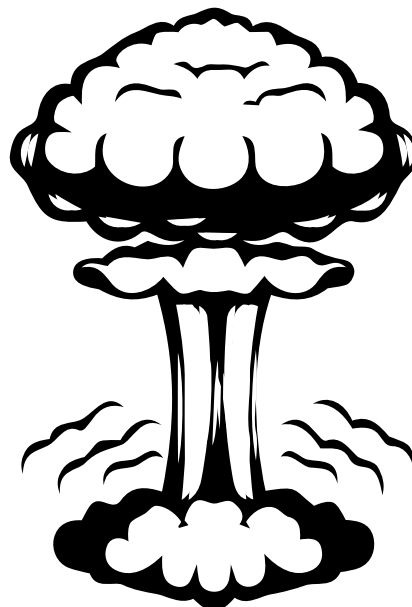
## **B61-12**



The replacement of B61 bombs with B61-12s is currently on the agenda. Although some reports have appeared in the public sphere indicating that this modernization has been completed at many NATO bases in Europe, there has been no official statement regarding the situation in Turkey. The B61-12s are low-yield bombs with adjustable effects, allowing their impact to be reduced. Their ability to be used in a way that affects a smaller surface area makes these weapons more dangerous.

## **JUST 1 EXPLOSION**

It is simulated that if Incirlik Air Base were targeted, a single B61 bomb detonated on the surface would spread over an area affecting 40,827 people within 24 hours, resulting in 9,060 deaths and 11,330 injuries. If the bomb were detonated in the air, the number of people within the affected area would increase threefold.



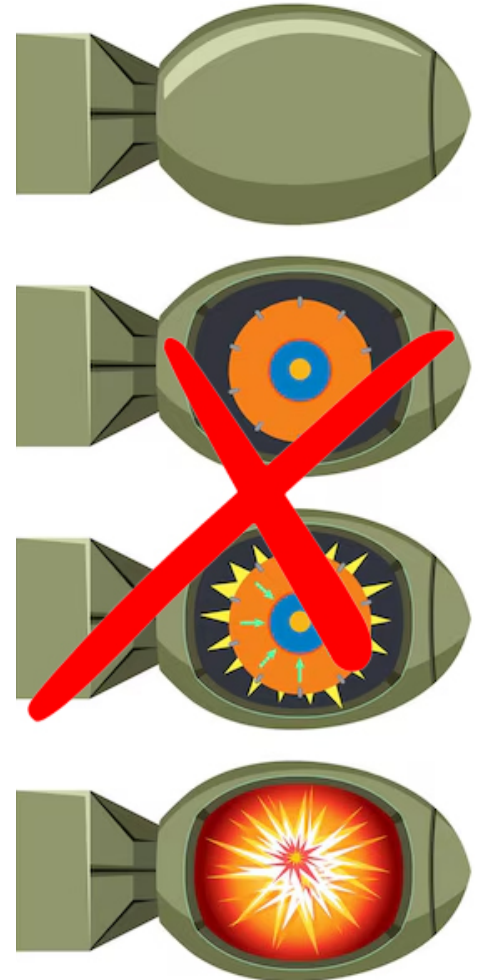
# 1959

1959 was the year when nuclear weapons were first brought to Turkey. At the time, the pro-American, anti-communist Democrat Party was in power. The weapons introduced under an agreement signed between the United States and Turkey were initially aimed primarily at the Soviet Union.



# 1979

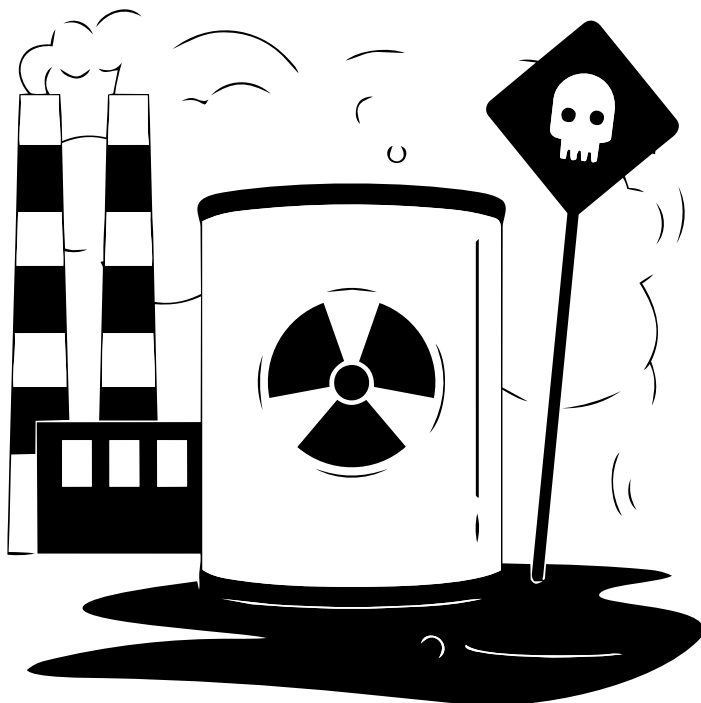
As is well known, the United States is the only country in the world that has actually used these weapons and initiated the era of nuclear weapons. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) was opened for signature in 1968



# 20,000 MW

**20,000 MW INSTALLED  
CAPACITY TARGET BY 2050**

Meanwhile, the bar is being raised for nuclear energy targets. Turkey aims to reach 20,000 megawatts of nuclear installed capacity by 2050. This target means investing in three large-scale nuclear power plants by 2050, as well as a portfolio of 5,000 megawatts of small modular reactors (SMR). Although the realization of the targets



remains controversial, it was announced that the commissioning of Akkuyu, the first power plant project, will take place in 2026 and that Russia has provided \$9 billion in new financing for Akkuyu. There are two more projects planned besides Akkuyu: the Sinop and Thrace projects. There are no answers yet as to what financing and capacity they will be built with. Investments in large reactors can reach up to \$5 billion and above. For example, an investment of \$20 billion is anticipated for the Akkuyu project.

and Turkey became a signatory in 1979. Hence, Turkey is under legally binding obligations not to produce, acquire, or test nuclear weapons as are other countries subject to the treaty; in other words, it is prohibited under international law from possessing nuclear weapons. Additionally, ethical and political considerations aside, Turkey lacks the economic and scientific infrastructure to enter the nuclear arms race.

# Highlights from Turkish Foreign Policy



## **Entrusting the lamb to the wolf: Unity in Syria**

The ever-deteriorating crisis of governance in Syria has taken on a new dimension with the attacks launched by the HTS in Aleppo. The “integration” talks that started with the March 10 agreement were supported by Turkey through diplomatic language at times and threats at others. While Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan dismissed the atrocities as a result of SDF’s stalling strategy, National Defense Minister Yaşar Güler stated that the HTS government, the same government that has committed an unrelenting slaughter of Alawites and the Druze since taking power, treats all ethnic groups in the country equally. Güler described the attacks in Aleppo as a “counter-terrorism operation against terrorist activities carried out by terrorists” and emphasized that they welcomed this operation.

The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not delay its good wishes and hopes following the ceasefire and the agreement on full integration. It wished stability for Syria’s territorial integrity and peace and security for Syria and the neighboring peoples. President Erdoğan once again emphasized

a Turk-Kurd-Arab unity, saying he opens the doors to his hearts to “the Syrian people, brothers and sisters of all communities.” This frequently-mentioned unity is presented as a rejection of racism by the state, yet there is no mention of Sunni Islam being the glue of this unity. The discourse of unity crystallized in the neo-Ottoman policy seeks servitude, not equal citizenship.

### **The price of a seat at the table**

Turkey’s foreign policy maneuverability, gained by playing into the gaps resulting from the crisis of US imperialist hegemony, had been in decline for some time as the US is attempting to construct a new strategic setup in the Middle East. Finding the solution in a complete return to the full pro-American line, the AKP government naturally could not leave the position it was trying to maintain on the ground uncompensated. The fleet of planes chartered for Erdoğan’s meeting with Trump, the delivery of rare-earth elements to the U.S., and the purchase of liquefied natural gas meant that the doors to the White House had been opened with money taken from the people’s wallets.

Financial costs aside, Turkish foreign policy has positioned itself

anew in many areas. Looking at the contributions to the Coalition of the Willing and the increased participation in NATO-led exercises, it can be seen that the neutral position the AKP government had taken since the beginning of the war has shifted towards Ukraine. At the same time, NATO-led attacks and provocations centered on Ukraine are once again opening up the debate on the Montreux Convention through the targeting of commercial ships in the Black Sea, off the coast of Turkey.

The price of the seat at the table is paid by political support for the “luxury resort” plan brought up as a peace plan by the main perpetrators of the genocide in Gaza.

### **Board of Peace or board of reconstruction**

Trump invited President Erdoğan to be a founding member of his Board of Peace. Foreign Minister Fidan attended the signing ceremony of this board on behalf of Erdoğan in Davos, where the discussion was not about peace but about the “luxury resort” construction project of Trump’s real-estate investor son-in-law. The “Gaza Executive Board,” which Turkey is part of despite Israel’s objections, will be responsible for regional coordination



and implementation. Like many other international councils, this “Board of Peace” will not actually have real political authority. The actual decisions will be made by the Executive Board, where Trump, as permanent chairman, has unlimited veto power.

Erdoğan once criticized the UN Security Council with the slogan “The world is bigger than five.” However, although the so-called Peace Committee—touted as an alternative to the UN—appears to be shrinking even beyond five to become narrowed down to the United States, no words have yet been spoken by Erdoğan on this matter.

### **Turkey’s concerns about Iran**

The tension in Iran, rising day by day, is inevitably felt in Turkey as well. Following the recently increasing threats, Tehran stated that if the U.S. attacks Iran, American military facilities in the countries of the region would be targeted. Turkey responded by stepping up the diplomatic efforts.

Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan emphasized in a phone call with the Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Araghci that negotiations are essential to reduce tensions.

Fidan has frequently emphasized that the military escalation in Iran will destabilize the entire region and claimed in a public statement that the protests were “manipulated from

abroad by Iran’s rivals,” pointing to Israeli intelligence.

It is no coincidence that a trilateral defense agreement is announced between Turkey, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, major military powers of the region, as Turkey is holding talks to reduce tensions.

The U.S. administration has stated that it is open to negotiations with Iran through indirect channels. As diplomatic activity intensifies amid Washington’s expanding military buildup in the Gulf, it is reported that Turkey, Egypt, and Qatar are playing a mediating role, with Ankara emerging as a possible venue for the talks.

### **Brother Maduro, friend Trump**

The US entered the new year by committing countless crimes against both its own people and the peoples of the world. Turkey’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs took a passive stance, making a symbolic gesture by issuing a call for restraint in response to the U.S. coercion that led to the abduction of the Venezuelan president of state. The second assessment by the government came in the form of a statement by AKP spokesperson Ömer Çelik, who refrained from condemning the US and did not even mention it by name. He stated that the violation of international law was unacceptable and that President Erdoğan was the greatest defender of this principle, although it is clear that the real aim of the statement was to deflect

reactions to AKP’s pro-American stance.

Vice President Cevdet Yılmaz, on the other hand, denounced those who criticized the AKP and especially Erdoğan’s silence, accusing them of ignorance, saying, “Foreign policy is not governed by the ravings, day-to-day approaches and irresponsible statements of the main opposition. It is a special discipline governed by reason, based on our national interests, synthesizing principles and realities.”

Power balance, strategic thinking, geopolitical calculations... Such grand words are constantly used as excuses for submission to imperialism and becoming its pawn.

Bahçeli, the chairman of the ruling coalition partner MHP (the fascist party), fulfilled Erdoğan’s role of “saying what he cannot say” by stating that American imperialism’s search for oil is worse than a shark smelling blood. It hardly needs to be stated that this rhetoric bears no relation whatsoever to a genuine anti-imperialist position. The fascist party’s Gladio-linked past alone is sufficient proof. In Turkey, the right has always been pro-American. However, beyond appealing to a long-standing anti-American current rooted in Turkish society, it is also interpreted as a new manifestation of the increasingly visible tensions within the ruling class.

## A mass event in Ankara: TKP stands defiant!



TKP organized a mass event in Ankara on February 1, bringing together thousands of friends and members of the Party, including representatives of workers' strikes and the media. Held under the title "Like ships braving the waves, TKP stands defiant!", the event revisited the history of struggle in Turkey through artistic performances such as songs and plays. Through these expressions, TKP conveyed that it embodies the hope and determination for a socialist Turkey—free from exploitation and inequality, and founded on secularism, independence, modernity, and industrial development.

After the TKP's history had been conveyed through songs, folk dances, sketches, and video screenings, TKP General Secretary Kemal Okuyan took the stage. In his speech Okuyan emphasized the TKP's historical commitment to resisting liberalism and capitalism, particularly since the

post-1980 period, stressing that this consistency has defined the party's political line. He described the AKP as a counter-revolutionary, pro-capitalist force hostile to labor, arguing that confronting it remains the TKP's central task. Okuyan criticized the so-called peace process, asserting that the Kurdish issue cannot be resolved within the framework of capitalism and imperialism, and stressed that a real solution can only be achieved through the joint struggle of the working class on the basis of equality and socialism. He strongly opposed NATO and its planned summit in Ankara, calling on the public to resist imperialist military alliances. Concluding, he underlined that capitalism's deepening crisis makes systemic change urgent and reaffirmed the TKP's determination to pursue an independent, socialist course.

The event ended with the crowd singing revolutionary songs. Many

friends of TKP applied to join the party.

**Here below the highlights from Kemal Okuyan's speech:  
Why does TKP insist on an independent line?**

TKP General Secretary Kemal Okuyan referred to the history of TKP which had been reminded throughout the event and stressed that after the 1980 military coup, resisting liberalism was vital, and argued that the Turkish left was not overtaken by liberal currents in the 1980s and 1990s largely because of the cadres, political line, mentality, and program that created and still define the TKP. Okuyan said that after blocking liberal and NGO-oriented politics within the left, the party ended intra-left polemics and made the fight against the AKP its main priority following its rise to power, describing the AKP as counter-revolutionary, hostile to labor and secularism, and aligned with

imperialism. He added that TKP was repeatedly confronted by forces on the left that supported privatization, the EU accession process, and even imperialist interventions, including the invasion of Iraq.

Okuyan said that for years, two social democratic parties—CHP and DEM—had overshadowed the intellectual and revolutionary character of the Turkish left, pushing TKP to distance itself from both. Referring to the party's 2014 split, he said the division stemmed from TKP's refusal to abandon its principles or fall under the shadow of CHP or DEM, despite pressure to do so. Emphasizing that

content from the very beginning. He pointed out that the process brought together AKP and MHP—forces hostile to the Republic—with Öcalan (the leader of the PKK), who is officially recognized as a political actor by the state. Criticizing Öcalan's description of the "commune" as "corporatization," Okuyan called this a direct insult to communism and argued that the project amounts to the decentralization agenda long promoted by the EU: a "liquefied state" that enables capital to expand everywhere under progressive-sounding labels.

He argued that nothing positive will emerge from this process,

process.

According to Okuyan, the Kurdish question cannot be solved within the existing system. A separate Kurdish state would mean war, autonomy or federation would deepen divisions and resource conflicts, and repression and denial are no longer viable. The only real solution, he said, is a socialist system that equally distributes resources among all citizens. Under socialism, solidarity between Turkish and Kurdish working people can be achieved. In these lands, brotherhood is stronger than racism.

**On the NATO summit in Ankara this year**



many wanted an "average" TKP, Okuyan rejected this approach, stating that TKP could not resemble any other party and that its responsibility was to mobilize the working class of Turkey and change the existing system.

#### **On the "peace process"**

Okuyan said it is now clear that Turkey's so-called peace process was tied to developments in Syria, stressing that TKP focused on the

especially for poor Kurds. Framed with rhetoric such as "Islamic brotherhood," the project serves tribal interests, capitalists, and imperialist powers rather than the working people. Its foreign-policy outlook, he said, is neo-Ottomanist, representing an agreement between two anti-Republican forces. TKP's opposition, Okuyan stressed, is not to dialogue itself but to the reactionary direction and class content of the

Referring to the NATO summit scheduled to take place in Ankara in 2026, TKP General Secretary Kemal Okuyan said that the city would host what he described as "the world's most powerful terrorist organization." He stated that they would not welcome NATO representatives, adding that their welcome would be reserved for "friends," not for NATO.

**Struggle against capitalism cannot be postponed**



Referring to the release of the Epstein files in the US, Okuyan said the documents revealed the extreme corruption, decay, and moral collapse of the ruling classes, arguing that this reality is a direct product of capitalism itself. He emphasized that the fundamental contradiction between labor and capital generates such corruption and that, for this reason, “liberating ourselves from capitalism is not a task that can be postponed.” Okuyan strongly rejected claims that “now is not the time,” asking instead when such a time would ever come, given that the destructive consequences of the system are visible everywhere. He recalled that the same argument had been used repeatedly for decades, including within the left, to justify postpon-

ing independent political struggle. Okuyan said TKP has consistently refused to delay this task, insisting that all political activity must be shaped by the necessity of systemic change. He added that as long as the current system continues, even genuinely good municipal governance cannot be achieved, or only with extreme difficulty, since capitalism inevitably operates through tenders, favoritism, and the transfer of public resources to private interests rather than the public good.

#### **TKP's electoral position**

Okuyan also outlined TKP's electoral stance, referring to the parliamentary and presidential elections that is expected to be held in 2028 latest, saying the party would not en-

ter alliances or nominate candidates from other political forces and would remain aligned with its program. Criticizing the presidential system in principle, he said TKP would nonetheless maintain a consistent position under current conditions. Addressing the difficulty of nominating a presidential candidate due to Turkey's restrictive electoral rules, including the requirement to collect 100,000 signatures, he said TKP would not support “the lesser evil” because of institutional obstacles. Instead, he called for confronting these barriers directly, stating that even failure would be preferable to compromising principles, and emphasized that TKP would continue to pursue its political path with determination.



## TKP breaths down the bosses' neck

Elsa Textile workers producing for Tommy Hilfiger won their unpaid wages after a 23-day struggle, supported by the Breathe Down the Bosses' Communication, Struggle and Solidarity Network, and are now sharing their experience in their neighborhoods to inspire other workers. The network has also backed warehouse workers, establishing solidarity committees and organizing thousands of Migros warehouse workers around demands such as higher wages, fair taxation, uninterrupted bonuses, and an end to arbitrary practices. In Van, where private school teachers faced months of unpaid salaries and job losses due to management disputes, Breathe Down the Bosses' Neck network stood with teachers throughout their struggle.

## The greeting message from TKP to KKE for its 22nd congress



TKP Central Committee sent a greeting message to the sister party Communist Party of Greece (KKE) Leadership for the 22nd Congress of the KKE. The message highlights the vitality of strengthening the KKE, not only for the Greek working class, but also for the struggles of working people throughout the World; while addressing the long-lasting comradeship between both parties across the both sides of the Aegean, grounded in a shared class perspective against imperialism, nationalism, and the rule of capital. Following the congress, TKP CC also sent a message of congratulations to

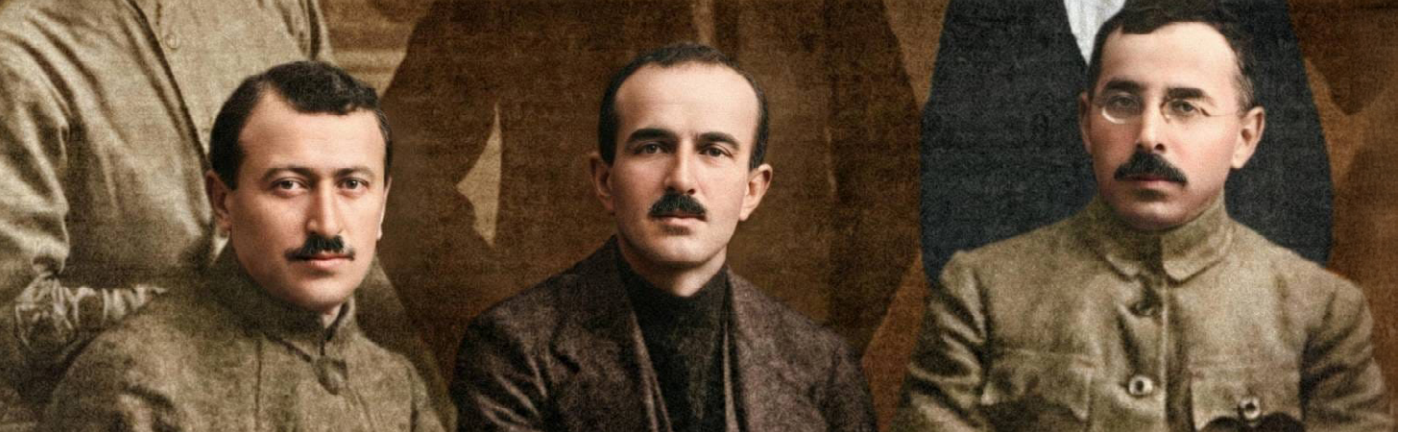
the party's newly elected Central Committee and General Secretary, and expressed its confidence that fraternal ties between the parties would continue to deepen in the period ahead.

To read the whole message click [here](#).

## TKP commemorates the Fifteen

The founding leaders of the Communist Party of Turkey were murdered on the night of January 28-29, 1921. In an event also known as the Massacre of the Fifteen, Mustafa Suphi and his 14 comrades had set out from Baku to intensify the struggle against imperialism in Anatolia, but were killed upon their arrival to Anatolia, in the Black Sea.

TKP Central Committee issued a [statement](#) on the anniversary of the murder of the TKP founders. The statement emphasized how important it was for the party to return to Turkey to participate in the War of Independence. The statement adds: "Now, in the face of this reality, there is no way forward except to carry the struggle — entrusted to us by Mustafa Suphi and the Fifteen — through to victory; no alternative but to free our country from all capitalist plunderers, occupiers, and their collaborators.



The party they founded – our party, the TKP – exists precisely for this purpose.

On the 1st of February, in Ankara, we will commemorate our comrades on the 105th anniversary of their murder by intensifying the struggle, in a manner worthy of them, as thousands come together side by side, “like ships standing against the waves.

We will keep our promise – to the Fifteen and to the working people of our country. Together, we will lift our country out of this darkness.”

## On the developments in Syria

The Communist Party of Turkey issued a [statement](#) on recent developments in Syria. In the statement titled “Our Country Is Not Safer Now”. In an eleven-point statement, TKP argues against the imperialist plans being imposed on our region.

In addition, TKP General Secretary Kemal Okuyan shared his [analysis](#) on X: “Syria’s future was not determined by Syrians but by a power-sharing struggle in which the AKP aligned with the United States and Israel and helped install a compliant Jolani/HTS order. The result exposes the dead end of identity politics and the wreckage of pro-American positions”

## The great poet of our struggle turns 124



The Communist Youth of Turkey (TKG) marked the 124th birthday of Nâzım Hikmet, the communist poet of Turkey and a member of the Communist Party of Turkey, with events held in Ankara, Eskişehir, and İstanbul. Young communists commemorated Nâzım through choirs, music ensembles, theatrical performances, folk dances, and art exhibitions, carrying forward his voice and struggle. In messages shared during the events, TKG reaffirmed its commitment to Nâzım Hikmet’s legacy and reiterated its promise: “We will build a socialist Turkey.”