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# TKP prepares for NATO Summit: "NATO means dishonor and death"



# The CHP crisis in 17 points

Kemal Okuyan - TKP General Secretary



*E.n.: The “CHP crisis” discussed in this article refers to the ongoing leadership struggle within the Republican People’s Party (CHP), the founding party of the Turkish Republic and the country’s main social-democratic opposition party. Following legal challenges to the party congress that elected Özgür Özel as chairperson in 2023, Turkish courts declared the congress subject to mutlak butlan (absolute nullity), effectively annulling its results and restoring former chairperson Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, who led the party between 2010 and 2023.*

*Kılıçdaroğlu originally assumed the party leadership in 2010 after the resignation of long-time CHP chairperson Deniz Baykal. Baykal stepped down following the circulation of secretly recorded intimate footage, an incident widely described in Turkey as a political scandal and one whose origins and circumstances remain disputed. Kılıçdaroğlu subsequently led the party for thirteen years before being replaced by Özel at the 2023 congress.*

*The decision has deepened divisions within the CHP and intensified a broader conflict over the party's future direction. The crisis is also linked to Ekrem İmamoğlu, the mayor of Istanbul and a leading opposition figure widely regarded as a potential presidential candidate. İmamoğlu is currently imprisoned pending trial on charges related to investigations into the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Regardless of the merits of these allegations, his imprisonment is widely regarded as a political move by the government of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), Turkey's ruling conservative-Islamist party, against a major rival.*

**1)** The AKP government is not a malfunction or a temporary deviation within the existing system; rather, it represents a comprehensive

attempt to respond to that system's needs. Without understanding this, it is impossible to make sense of the developments unfolding in the political sphere today. From the end of 2002 to the present, the system has shaped the AKP, and the AKP has carried out the interventions envisaged by that system. The claim that the AKP rose to power and consolidated its dominance independently of—or against—the other mechanisms of capitalist rule is entirely without foundation.

**2)** In this regard, claims that the current regime constitutes a form of “fascism” are not only analytically weak but also marked by a fundamental inconsistency. Those who depict the AKP—and particularly the “one-man regime”—as an actor operating largely independently of capital, yet go on to characterize the regime as fascist, lose sight of the fact that fascism is itself a form of bourgeois rule: a political movement and state form historically mobilized to resolve crises within the capitalist system and to secure the interests of dominant monopoly capital. Although such characterizations may seem effective in channelling opposition to the AKP, they give rise to serious difficulties both strategically and in relation to contemporary political alignments.

**3)** Behind the support given to the AKP in the early 2000s by multinational monopolies, the United States, the European Union, NATO, regional reactionary forces, and the Turkish bourgeoisie in all its factions stood a particular vision for Turkey. It is only natural that the AKP's actual policies did not always fully match that vision, but this does not change the broader picture. Nor did these forces simply support the AKP once and then leave everything to Erdoğan and his circle. The project extended beyond the AKP itself and included plans for the wider political system and its institutions. As key institutions—from the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) to the judiciary—were reshaped in line with this vision, the CHP, as the main opposition party, was also restructured. This process began during Deniz Baykal's leadership, before his removal through the well-known "tape scandal". As a politician shaped by an earlier era, Baykal ultimately proved inadequate despite his willingness to cooperate, leading to the installation of Kılıçdaroğlu.

**4)** Those who today claim that Kılıçdaroğlu was, from the very beginning, simply an AKP operative once again demonstrate their failure to grasp the nature of the issue. The relationships that establishment parties

maintain with international power centers, big capital, and the state are never mediated through a single channel. Over decades, complex and multi-layered mechanisms have been developed to ensure that these relationships function smoothly and effectively. These mechanisms do not operate through directives handed down by some omnipotent mastermind; rather, they work through processes of strategic orientation, encouragement, promotion, public relations management, gate-keeping, and, when necessary, coercion, blackmail, or political elimination. It should also be recognized that bourgeois parties frequently include figures who act as direct representatives of international actors, major capital interests, or specific institutions of the state. If Kılıçdaroğlu is to be regarded as anyone's representative, it would be more accurate to view him not as a representative of the AKP itself, but of the forces that stand behind it.

**5)** To underestimate the system's capacity to manage and shape the political sphere in today's world can be explained either by ignorance or by a conscious willingness to serve the interests of capital. The same judgement applies to those who refuse to acknowledge the crucial role that the CHP

plays within the existing capitalist system. The Turkey fashioned under AKP rule required a CHP that was both functional and compatible with the broader needs of the system—and such a party was duly produced. All actors within the CHP, as well as those who act as its advocates from outside the party, are part of this project, whether consciously or not.

**6)** The claim that, in the CHP's current crisis, one side is resisting the AKP-era project while the other represents it is absurd from start to finish. Özgür Özel and Ekrem İmamoğlu are no less shaped by that project than Kılıçdaroğlu himself. After all, both rose to prominence within a CHP that had already been adapted to the political order established under AKP rule. Until very recently, neither offered a fundamental critique of either Kılıçdaroğlu or the broader vision of Turkey that emerged under the AKP.

**7)** On the contrary, Ekrem İmamoğlu is being targeted by the AKP today not because he deviates from the model of AKP-era Turkey, but because he fits it too well. Here, admittedly, the preferences of the AKP—and Erdoğan in particular—do come into play. In his determination to retain exclusive

control over that project, Erdoğan has shown himself willing to take considerable risks. His abandonment of the “bargaining-oriented” and “hard-nosed pragmatist that served him well for many years and provided him with significant room for maneuver is also a message to the United States, the European Union, and the major business interests represented by TÜSİAD (the Turkish Industry and Business Association, the country's leading big-business organization): “you cannot simply use me and discard me”. By now, the AKP has moved beyond the status of a disposable instrument. It has assumed a more enduring role, and there is little indication that any of the major actors involved are prepared to dispense with it lightly.

**8)** Nevertheless, the architects of the system possessed enough experience to understand the costs of allowing the AKP and Erdoğan to remain without rivals or alternatives. After a number of unsuccessful attempts, they ultimately made a major investment in Ekrem İmamoğlu. Some continue to deny this reality, arguing that İmamoğlu emerged as the result of a series of coincidences or merely of the CHP's internal dynamics. Unfortunately, they have failed to grasp the issue. They have

failed to grasp anything at all. İmamoğlu's personal story and certain of his individual "talents" are not insignificant, but they do nothing to explain either his political rise or the process through which he was elevated into a national political figure.

**9)** The İmamoğlu project succeeded, and one of its objectives was achieved beyond expectation. If the 2024 local elections prompted the government to conclude that it was time to "leave the Russian game at that" and return swiftly to the Atlantic axis, this was due in part to İmamoğlu setting his sights on what the AKP had long regarded as its "exclusive political territory". As the AKP simultaneously executed a sharp turn toward the UK–US line in both economic and foreign policy while deploying every available instrument against the alternative that had been cultivated, it was effectively sending a message: "you do not need anyone else, and I am determined to make sure that you never do". In that sense, the objective had indeed been accomplished.

**10)** The question that must now be posed is whether this is the Turkey that the United States, the European Union, and Turkey's dominant capitalist class sought to create in the early 2000s. The answer is both yes and

no. After all, each of these actors is marked by its own internal divisions, while tensions among them never disappear. In broad terms, however, AKP-era Turkey produced a “convergence” of interests and strategic direction, and there is little evidence that any of these power centers fundamentally regrets the outcome. The Turkish bourgeoisie, above all, has little reason for dissatisfaction: it amassed immense wealth during the AKP period. Society was disciplined, depoliticized, and disorganized, while virtually every significant restriction on the movement of capital was dismantled. From the standpoint of capital, these were highly favorable developments. Yet capitalism is a system driven by crisis, competition, and conflict. For that reason, no alignment remains permanent; objectives are continuously reformulated and strategic priorities repeatedly reconfigured.

**11)** At the same time, the AKP, as a movement endowed with a strong ideological identity, has left its own imprint on this broader project, and that imprint has generated autonomous energies and political dynamics of its own. The strategic searches that have characterized the period from the outset, their consolidation in the form of neo-Ottomanist experiments in the early

2010s, and the subsequent re-emergence of neo-Ottomanism as a almost foundational strategy of the contemporary capitalist system should not be understood as the implementation of a predetermined blueprint. Rather, they emerged from the intersection of the structural needs of Turkish capitalism with developments at the regional and international levels. What the AKP contributed to this process was an additional ideological and political force that helped shape and sustain the strategy.

**12)** The effort to bring the AKP's neo-Ottomanism into closer alignment with the strategic requirements of the United States and the European Union remains ongoing. The upcoming NATO summit is likely to serve as an important venue for this process. From the standpoint of the Turkish bourgeoisie, there is no viable alternative left: neither economic inwardness nor a return to a cautious foreign policy is considered a realistic option. The prevailing logic is clear: Expand as far as possible under the umbrella of the Atlantic alliance! In pursuit of approval for this course, substantial costs are being incurred and major actors within the imperialist system are being accommodated. In return, the expectation is that there will be no objection to the pruning of forces that

threaten the AKP's political monopoly, among them İmamoğlu. Neither the United States nor Europe has any compelling reason or inclination to reject this request.

**13)** The argument that “if Trump goes, the AKP will be left isolated” is overly reductionist. Although Democrats in the United States currently view the AKP with greater suspicion, the new position and role that Turkey is seeking to assume within the Atlantic framework in some respects aligns more closely with the Democrats' increasingly interventionist and security-oriented outlook. It should also be remembered that Turkey has been cultivating allies within this bloc beyond Trump himself. The United Kingdom, Spain, and Italy appear committed to assigning Turkey new strategic roles, and there are growing indications that Germany is moving in the same direction.

**14)** Those expecting a CHP abandoned by the system to break with the broader political design are likely to be disappointed. As the reception marking Koç Holding's (Turkey's largest monopoly capitalist group) centennial made clear, the CHP will continue to enjoy a privileged position within the existing order so long as it remains outside government. Kılıçdaroğlu, a politician long

driven by grievance and resentment, appears to have understood this years ago and ultimately accepted that the CHP would not be entrusted with power for the foreseeable future. Özgür Özel will either be brought to the same conclusion or be set aside alongside İmamoğlu. For the time being, the system's need is not for a CHP in power but for a CHP in opposition. For the time being.

**15)** At a later stage... İmamoğlu—or someone else—may once again emerge as a central political actor. It is exceedingly difficult at present to predict how the political field will be reconfigured during the transition to a post-Erdoğan era. It is worth noting that İmamoğlu has not been permanently or definitively written off. Equally unconvincing is the argument, repeatedly advanced by some observers, that İmamoğlu is regarded as unreliable by the state because he is supposedly unmanageable or unpredictable. The frequently repeated claim that İmamoğlu is viewed as unreliable because he is somehow unmanageable or unpredictable is not particularly convincing. On the contrary, İmamoğlu's social and ideological roots make him highly amenable to "being managed", and if there is such a thing as a "reason of state", it knows this better than anyone.

**16)** Within the CHP, Kılıçdaroğlu has been persuaded to abandon both the opposition and İmamoğlu. On top of that, he has grown resentful and chosen to assist the AKP. Özgür Özel, meanwhile, is being pressured to follow the same path. For a period of time, this agenda is likely to paralyze the main opposition party. The AKP is compelled to prolong this paralysis because it has largely lost its capacity to set the political agenda in the face of deepening social impoverishment. Nor is there any political momentum capable of encouraging the government to take decisive steps on issues such as the peace process or a new constitution. Under these conditions, the government has no alternative but to deepen the dysfunction within the CHP and wait for the most opportune moment to make its move.

**17)** The CHP, meanwhile, is paying the price for crippling, with its own hands, the very social base that could have provided it with political dynamism. After 2013, the party leadership devoted enormous effort to disciplining those segments of society most hostile to the AKP, gradually bringing them into line with the political order established under AKP rule. Their opposition to the AKP may not have subsided, but their

willingness to struggle has been significantly weakened. Moreover, class consciousness, anti-imperialist perspectives, and secular sensitivities have all been substantially eroded over the past decade. The inevitable result of this transformation has been political exhaustion. The vitality witnessed during the events of 19 March last year was due largely to forces operating beyond the CHP's own social base. Those forces have chosen not to enter the field during the current crisis, while the CHP's supporters have remained even more passive than they were a year ago. No segment of the self-described "left", however eagerly it may have assumed the task of providing the Özel-İmamoğlu camp with "militancy" and "political color", can compensate for the absence of these forces.



## **The working class demands immediate nationalization**

**Savaş Sarı,**

*Member of TKP Central Committee*

For nearly half a century, capitalism has been waging a ruthless assault on the working class and its hard-won gains. These years, during which living and working conditions have grown increasingly difficult for the working class, also saw severe onslaughts targeting socialism and working-class organization. It wouldn't be wrong to state that the imperialist conflict over division has intensified during this period, with imperialist aggression and wars taking on an eternal character. The capitalist world defines this era through concepts such as free-

marketism, privatization, and the free world. For the working class, however, the concept that best encapsulates what is taking place is barbarism.

It would be accurate to trace the beginning of this era in Turkey back to the 1980s. Of course, prior to that, throughout the 1970s, intense attacks were already underway to roll back the power and legitimacy achieved by the revolutionary and communist movement, as well as the organized power of the working class. 12 September military-fascist coup was a direct component and continuation of these attacks. The decade that followed, in Turkey as in the rest of the world, became the years in which free-marketism and privatization policies were unquestioningly accepted and implemented at a breakneck pace. At the point we have reached today, the working class has been stripped, step by step, of everything, including its organization, its historical gains and humane working conditions.

One of the critical mechanisms defining this era is privatization. The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) considers the fight against privatization and the defense of a statist economy to be fundamental elements of the struggle for socialism. The TKP insists that implementing

statist policies is an absolute necessity both for solving the acute, burning problems of the working class and for defending an egalitarian social order.

## **They have taken all we had**

The development of Turkey, economic advancement, the acceleration of growth and productivity in key sectors such as agriculture, industry, energy and mining... These definitions and attributes were multiplied and even extended to the claim that Turkey would transform into a “democratic country.” All these descriptions were—and continue to be—utilized to justify why privatization practices were necessary and inevitable. As stated, for half a century, privatizations and the sale of every enterprise and facility of critical importance to Turkey’s core sectors have been carried out by leaning on these lies. The country’s subterranean and surface resources, rivers, and forests continue to be auctioned off. Education, healthcare, and even citizenship itself have been transformed into commodities.

It is glaringly obvious that all these practices have yielded vast opportunities for the capitalist class, opening profitable and lucrative new avenues for conglomerates and multinational

monopolies. They have already multiplied their fortunes, pushing their commercial ambitions and presence to extremes. However, this path traversed by the capitalist class makes life increasingly unbearable for the millions who rely solely on their labor to survive. Because, for the working class, privatization translates to heavier exploitation, the rapid surge of precarity and unemployment, the confiscation of rights, and absolute immiseration. It means total freedom of plunder for conglomerates and multinational monopolies, and conditions akin to slavery for workers.

Many services that were once under state responsibility and defined as basic human needs and rights have been snatched from the hands of the working class through privatization policies. Education, healthcare, housing, transportation, childcare, elderly care, and a host of other basic services have effectively ceased to be rights. They have become pay-to-access commodities. The state transfers the resources it should allocate for providing these services directly to the conglomerates, turning them into major fields of investment to extract profits from.

The abandonment of sectors and enterprises of critical importance to Turkey's economy

and industry to the hands of conglomerates and multinational monopolies means that production and investment strategies are dictated entirely by the needs of the capitalist class. We are faced with a picture in which the interests of the people and national sovereignty have been completely disregarded.

The damage of privatization policies extends far beyond the walls of the privatized enterprises. They have led to significant erosion of the working class' organizational strength, job security, and working conditions, with the accompanying subcontracting system, flexible labor conditions, and similar practices. It wouldn't be wrong to say that privatization policies have meant the imposition of disorganization, insecurity, and unregulated work upon the working class.

Through all these negative outcomes listed under privatization policies, a heavy assault has been—and continues to be—waged against our people and the working class. The struggle against privatization, and beyond that, the defense of nationalization policies, is of paramount importance to break this assault and enable the working class to reclaim its gains.

## **A burning necessity for nationalization in the mining industry**

One of the sectors where this urgency is felt most acutely is mining, a vital sector for national sovereignty and independence. Vital also for eliminating Turkey's relations of dependency, enabling the country to become self-sufficient, mobilizing its resources and wealth for the benefit of the people, and ensuring a livable country today and in the future. Leaving this sector at the mercy of private capital is a recipe for absolute catastrophe—the catastrophe that Turkey is living through today. Turkey boasts immense natural wealth and mineral diversity. The extraction and processing of subterranean resources hold massive importance for many fields, ranging from industry to construction, and from agriculture to energy and healthcare. Unfortunately, almost every stage of mining, from exploration to extraction and processing, is largely carried out by private enterprises. They hold licenses covering more than half of the country's territory. Mining activity in Turkey has been abandoned to greedy conglomerates, multinational monopolies and their unchecked, sweatshop subcontractors, all of whom have no regard for human life. Mining policies serve them exclusively.

The situation is just as dire for workers employed by private mining companies. They are forced to work under grueling, unhealthy conditions devoid of basic safety measures, while their rights are systematically violated and precarity is imposed on them. It is possible to describe the overall situation, both for the country and the people, and for the hundreds of thousands of workers in the mines, as the reign of irrationality and unscrupulousness. In the face of this recklessness and lack of conscience, the TKP issued a decisive statement calling on our people to put an end to this insolence and to stand up for our natural resources, our mines, and our miners. The statement called for the immediate nationalization of mines without compensation for the sake of Turkey's economic independence, development, and the welfare of our people, claiming that all mining activities should be carried out exclusively by the state.

Alongside this declaration, the TKP has launched a targeted campaign to expose the sheer scale of the pillage and plunder executed by these conglomerates and multinational monopolies operating across different regions of Turkey, the staggering wealth they have usurped, and the brutal conditions they impose on workers. It has initiated work to organize the struggle against these conglomerates hand-in-hand with the

mine workers and the working people living in mining regions.

The address of this campaign is crystal clear: nationalization. It refers to the implementation of mining activities carried out by the state based on central planning, prioritizing the interests of the people and the country's sovereignty and independence. Only through such an approach can the efficient use of natural resources in harmony with public health and the environment be taken as a basis; only thus can the effective undertaking of mining activities based on scientific data be secured. It is only in this manner that the guarantee of miners' rights to work and to organize into unions, as well as the creation and protection of healthy and safe working conditions befitting human dignity, can be possible.



## **NATO cannot shape Turkey's future**

**Aşkın Süzük,**

*Member of TKP Party Council*

*The system of domination established by NATO in Turkey over many decades aimed both to prevent the emergence of an egalitarian alternative and to consolidate the integration of the capitalist system that has developed in these lands into the structures of imperialist hierarchy. Reclaiming our country's future and bringing relations of exploitation to an end will only be possible by dismantling this system of domination. Turkey must withdraw from NATO, and NATO must be uprooted from the country in all its institutions and forms.*

The decision to designate Ankara as the host city for NATO's 2026 summit carries significance

that extends well beyond the fact that Turkey is the alliance member located closest to a region where tensions generated by imperialist rivalry continue to intensify. It also reflects NATO's ongoing efforts to deepen its institutional penetration of the Middle East—an objective it has pursued with increasing determination since the early 2000s. As the operation to contain Russia is reinforced from the southern shores of the Black Sea, as Syria has been brought down, and as Iran comes under attack, there could scarcely be a more suitable venue for imperialism than Ankara.

The decision to hold the summit in Ankara, coupled with the government's choice of the Presidential Complex in Beştepe as the venue, represents yet another example of the periodic endorsements and gestures of approval that Western centers of power have extended to the AKP. The police raid against the main opposition party drew confidence, at least in part, from this borrowed legitimacy. NATO describes itself in its own documents as a unique community of values committed to individual liberty, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Yet its history is filled with examples in which those principles have either been ignored or instrumentalized whenever circumstances required. NATO and its member states have supported coups when necessary and intervened to remove

governments when it suited their interests.

That the same period witnessed the suspended leader of the main opposition party, Özgür Özel, publishing an article in Newsweek effectively appealing to NATO's most loyal adherents over the heads of NATO itself reveals the extent of the political encirclement under which the country now operates.

For Turkey's ruling class, accession to NATO in 1952 represented far more than a response to security concerns. Beyond serving as the military arm of imperialism and a political, economic, and ideological barrier against communism, NATO provided the "safe" environment within which the capitalist class could consolidate its power and expand capitalist accumulation

Even if debates persist today about the alliance's relative decline, NATO continues to perform an important legitimizing function for Turkey's capitalist class and its political representatives. There is, however, a crucial difference from the past. As a military alliance, NATO does more than confer legitimacy. In an era marked by intensifying imperialist rivalry, unprecedented levels of militarization, and the maturation of conditions for wider war, it encourages expansionist ambitions. It implicates its

members in bloody conflicts and crimes against humanity. In this sense, the regional aspirations of Turkey's capitalist order have grown under AKP rule, emboldened by the support it continues to receive from NATO and the United States.

At the same time, the growing need to redesign Europe's security architecture appears likely to provide a significant lever for Turkey–EU relations through the intertwined frameworks of NATO, the arms industry, and “security cooperation.” The AKP government seems intent on exploiting this opportunity to the fullest, transforming it into an updated NATO–EU anchor serving the interests of the capitalist class.

## **Once again, converging agendas in the Middle East**

NATO's 2004 Istanbul Summit was convened alongside the most extensive enlargement in the alliance's history. Seven new members—Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia—participated in the meeting for the first time as full members. While keeping its relations with Russia at close range through the NATO–Russia Council established in 2002, NATO would be unable to combine its eastward expansion with the political loosening it sought in

Russia's domestic political sphere.

The defining development behind the 2004 Istanbul Summit, however, was the invasion of Iraq by the United States and its allies just one year earlier. That invasion, which effectively led to the fragmentation of Iraq, opened a new phase for U.S.-led imperialism in the Middle East and North Africa. Turkey, possessing NATO's second-largest army, was well positioned to assume important responsibilities on behalf of imperialism in the region. The U.S.-backed "Greater Middle East Project" was introduced during this period, while NATO simultaneously moved to deepen its institutional engagement with Middle Eastern and Gulf countries at the Istanbul Summit. Through the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative announced at the summit, NATO launched a new phase of regional encirclement under the banner of promoting security and stability in the Middle East. Regime change in Iran was among the long-term objectives of this strategy, while the groundwork was being laid for the process that would eventually culminate in the Arab Spring.

The summit declaration outlined a framework that directly activated NATO's and imperialism's broader strategy for the Middle East. This framework, which in many respects explained why Turkey had been selected as the host

country, was effectively reinforced one month later when Erdoğan famously declared that he was a “co-chair” of the Greater Middle East Project.

Twenty-two years later, another NATO summit is scheduled to take place in Turkey. First, a change of government was engineered in Syria on the Atlantic alliance’s “eastern frontier”; then Iran was subjected to a major military assault. At a moment when a new version of the geopolitical environment that surrounded the invasion and wars of 2004 is once again taking shape, Turkey has once again been chosen as the summit host. This suggests not only that new and special roles are being envisaged for Turkey, but also that the AKP government is expected to pursue bolder policies aligned with imperialist powers in defense of the interests of capital throughout the region.

This is a striking convergence. In two distinct periods marked by the rise of the AKP’s neo-Ottoman ambitions, the imperialist military alliance has chosen Turkey as the venue in which to discuss its regional strategic priorities. At a moment when the ground is shifting across the Middle East and borders are becoming increasingly fluid, it is hardly accidental that new maps of regional influence and partition are

once again being examined in Ankara. Growing regional ambitions and rivalries on all sides may be driven by different dynamics, but, as in 2004, they are opening a distinctive space for Turkey within NATO.

There is, however, an important difference—and an important danger for Turkey’s “survival”. The restraining influence once exerted by the founding principles of the Republic on foreign policy has largely been dismantled. Competition among different factions within the state and the capitalist class has likewise been brought under far greater control in matters of foreign policy. Since 2004, the Republic has been progressively sold off, while the state apparatus has been consolidated for new regional ventures. Erdoğan himself summarized this trajectory in 2016, only months before facing yet another coup attempt widely associated with U.S. involvement:

“I supported the 1 March Motion (the parliamentary vote of 1 March 2003 that would have allowed U.S. troops to invade Iraq through Turkish territory), but those who opposed it never said so openly. Others worked behind the scenes. You can investigate and find out who those people were. Had the 1 March Memorandum been approved and Turkey

entered Iraq, Iraq would not be in its current condition. If the motion had passed, Turkey would have had a seat at the table. At the time, Bush personally made this request to me. Unfortunately, we were left dealing with the mistakes of our own colleagues.”

Ultimately, the new political order was designed to ensure that surprises such as the rejection of the 1 March 2003 Memorandum could never occur again. Its objective was to create an “internal front” permanently ready for deployment with parliament, the judiciary, the military, political parties, and the bureaucracy all aligned and prepared. Considerable progress has been made toward that goal.

## **From ground-zero to the present**

NATO was an imperialist terrorist organization established to contain the victorious Soviet Union that emerged from the Second World War and to prevent the growing prestige of communism in the world of that era. It is well known that, before ensuring the security of its member states, the organization acted to prevent more egalitarian alternatives to capitalism from gaining strength within those countries. For that reason, it is clear that NATO’s institutional organization and entrenchment in its member states cannot be considered separately from the anti-

communist processes through which capitalism was strengthened and capital accumulation accelerated in those countries.

To date, every turning point and restructuring process in capital accumulation in Turkey—that is, every major advance in the development of capitalism—has coincided with moments when Turkey's relations with NATO and the Western Alliance became stronger and deeper. This reveals more than the externally dependent economic structure of Turkish capitalism. It also reflects the political framework within which an order centered on safeguarding the needs of capital and the conditions of exploitation became firmly established as a whole.

Since the 1950s, this order has drawn strength from the alliance system and has based its survival upon it. For the capitalist class, establishing relations of dependency with the countries led by the United States within the imperialist camp and creating a common market constituted an objective condition for capitalist development. The Marshall Plan and aid programs implemented by the United States between 1948 and 1950, together with the founding of NATO, were laying this foundation. All of Turkey's traditional capital groups shaped their investments and activities upon this foundation established by the Atlantic Alliance and within a

framework of cooperation with Western capital.

However, the world is no longer the world of the Cold War era. The conditions of imperialist competition have changed, and the place of hegemonic powers within the system has become a matter of debate. This alone demonstrates that Turkey's established order can no longer maintain its relations with NATO and the Western Alliance in the same way as before. It is impossible for the current needs of a capitalist class that has prospered for more than a century to avoid friction with the role assigned to Turkey and the framework drawn for it by NATO and imperialism. From the policy practices of recent years, in which pro-American and pro-NATO tendencies have predominated, we can see that both sides are willing to minimize this friction and reach a new balance in their relations. This orientation is pushing the country toward disaster within the framework of a regional vision repeatedly emphasized by U.S. Ambassador to Turkey Tom Barrack. To avoid this disaster, NATO must be stopped and pro-NATO politics must be brought to an end.

In Turkey, opposition to NATO has constituted one of the main pillars of the anti-imperialist struggle. Today, however, reducing this opposition solely to "global" demands such as the dissolution of NATO risks rendering it ineffective and weakening its

connection to the anti-imperialist struggle. Yes, NATO should be dissolved, but what will facilitate the dissolution of this bloody organization is the emergence of breaks and departures from NATO. The domination established by NATO in Turkey over decades has aimed to prevent the emergence of an alternative egalitarian order and to reinforce the integration of the capitalist system that has grown and developed on these lands into the imperialist hierarchy. Winning our country's future and ending relations of exploitation will only be possible by putting an end to this domination. Turkey should leave NATO, and NATO—with all its institutions and presence—should be uprooted and removed from the country.

## **Does NATO membership protect Turkey?**

The answer to this question is no. However, as the imperialist attack against Iran continues, the argument that NATO membership protects Turkey from potential attacks has found new ground. Some have even argued—even among opponents of NATO—that this is not the right time to question Turkey's membership in the alliance. At a time when the functioning of international institutions and established rules are being dismantled in line with the needs of imperialism, it would be naïve to assume that NATO is somehow exempt from this process.

Moreover, these debates are not new in Turkey. It became apparent as early as the 1960s that NATO did not even provide an automatic protection mechanism against the alleged and exaggerated “Soviet threat” to Turkey. In a letter sent in 1964 by U.S. President Lyndon Johnson to Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, it was stated, among other things, that NATO might not provide defensive support in the event of a Soviet military intervention against Turkey. The issue at hand was Cyprus, and the letter effectively advised Turkey not to act outside the framework of imperialist interests in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. The debates triggered by this letter, which contained various threats, demonstrated that NATO in fact constituted a framework of dependency in foreign policy and that this reality was not related to the formal obligations of alliance membership.

Turning to the present day, attempts to transfer the dangerous consequences of the Russia–Ukraine war in the Black Sea to Turkey through NATO reveal the current threat posed to our country by this organization.

Provocations bearing NATO’s signature and attacks—apparently orchestrated by NATO—against ships sailing in the territorial waters of NATO-member Turkey demonstrate that this organization, far from protecting our country, represents a direct threat to it.

## Mining in Turkey



**\$673** MILLION IN THE FIRST QUARTER

Turkey is a country rich in a variety of mineral resources. The top exports include metallic ores such as boron, chromium, and copper; processed natural stones such as marble; and industrial minerals such as feldspar. Data for the first quarter of the year show that metallic ores accounted for the largest share of exports, at \$673 million. The largest market for mineral exports has been China, with \$487 million.



## **PRIVATE SECTOR AT**

# **98%**

Nearly 90% of the privatizations undertaken in the history of Turkey have taken place in the AKP era. The mining sector has been one of the most heavily privatized sectors during this era. Not only production facilities but also mineral deposit sites have been subject to privatizations. 98% of the companies operating in Turkey's mining sector are private firms, while 2% are public entities.

# 1267 WORKERS DEAD IN MINES

The worst mining disaster in the modern history of Turkey took place in Soma in 2014, claiming the lives of 301 workers. That same year, a total of 386 workers in the mining industry were killed in work-murders, reported as “workplace fatalities.”. The data show that at least 1,267 workers lost their lives to such workplace fatalities between 2013 and 2025. About 70% of deaths were caused by mine collapses, toxic gases and asphyxiation.

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**368,000**  
**MINING PERMITS IN**  
**15 YEARS**

The transformation of the mining sector was not limited to privatizations; the pace at which new mining licenses were issued also reached record levels. Forests and farmlands were opened up to mining operations. The number of licenses issued between 1923 and 2002 was 1,186, while between 2008 and 2023, that number rose to 386,000.

# 548,000 HECTARES

In 2026 alone, a total area of more than 548,000 hectares—primarily consisting of metal deposits—was granted to mining companies. This area is larger than the total land area of Istanbul. This comparison indicates the extent to which forests have been opened up to non-forestry activities. Moreover, there are also quite a few companies that began their mining operations without ever obtaining a permit.

## 0.9 OF THE GDP



Although the total number of mining permits has increased, the sector's share of the country's GDP has remained quite low. This rate even dropped from 1.2% in 2011 to 0.9% by 2024. A similar trend can be observed in gold production in particular. Its annual production rose from 5 tons in 2004 to 42 tons in 2020. However, this growth did not result in a significant change in the sector's share of GDP.

# **Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu: The architect of the “New CHP”**



As the loser of the last presidential election and the subsequent Congress of the Republican People’s Party (CHP, the founding party of the Turkish Republic and the country’s main social-democratic opposition party ) in 2023, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu had fallen off the political radar.. Everyone from polling firms to the bourgeois press was preparing to choose between İstanbul Mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu and Ankara Mayor Mansur Yavaş as the “presidential

candidate who could defeat Erdoğan.”

However, the AKP government, which first launched an investigation targeting Ekrem İmamoğlu, used a complaint filed by a former CHP mayor to claim that “votes were bribed at the last CHP congress in 2023” to interfere in the judiciary. Last month, the party congress was annulled by court order, and the party leadership was transferred from Özgür Özel, who had been elected General Chairperson of the party at the congress, back to Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, who had led the party until then. Police used tear gas and rubber bullets to force the elected CHP leadership out of the party headquarters.

## **From “honest bureaucrat” to party leader**

After serving in various government institutions, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu entered politics and first became known for his debates on corruption with some Justice and Development Party (AKP) deputies. He performed well in this regard and gained public support.

In the 2009 local elections, he ran as the CHP candidate for İstanbul Mayor but was not elected; however, with the 37% of the vote he received, he was successful – if not in the eyes of the public, then certainly in terms of his own political career.

Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu made his real breakthrough in 2010 by leveraging this identity as an “honest bureaucrat who exposed AKP members’ corruption.” Deniz Baykal, the CHP’s General Chairperson at the time, was forced to resign following a sex tape scandal, and Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu emerged as the CHP’s General Chairperson with full support after running unopposed in the subsequent election. It should also be noted that the support of the Koç Group – one of Turkey’s most prominent bourgeois families – was decisive in this process.

### **A false hope created by using leftist rhetoric**

Immediately following the change of leadership within the party, the perception was created that a completely new CHP was emerging in Turkey. The image presented was of an opposition preparing for power – a CHP that was not “cumbersome” like in the past, but one that had grasped the spirit of the times and was grounded in leftist values. Drawing on the anger that had been building against the AKP government since 2002, this initiative sought to feed off public reactions and continued to claim a new social democratic rise.

However, this false hope and “rise” remained mere rhetoric and failed to benefit workers in the face of the AKP’s Neo-Ottomanist

initiatives. The Turkish bourgeoisie was inclined to exploit international developments to its advantage and expand its sphere of influence. The capitalist class, having decided to settle into the vacuums created by the turmoil and uncertainty following the 2008 economic crisis on the international stage, was even prepared to get rid of the burden of the Republic of Turkey as a whole.

To achieve this, the Republic - which they referred to as "old Turkey" - had to be completely altered, and the reactions arising during this process had to be crushed. The Gezi Resistance, which we took to the streets for once again on its 13th anniversary just a few days ago, served as a magnificent response to the AKP's Neo-Ottomanist attacks.

### **The effort to convince millions of the insignificance of secularism**

In the summer of 2013, nearly 10 million people participated in the Gezi Resistance, which lasted for days and took place in almost every square across the country. While the protests had many significant aspects, one of them was that the people who took to the streets directed harsh criticism at the opposition parties of the time and sought a solution not at the ballot box but in the streets. The CHP and MHP,

supposedly opposed to the AKP, had lost their credibility in the eyes of the millions who rose up.

The working people's boundless energy was expressed through demands for secularism against reactionary forces and for freedom against AKP attacks, yet while the bases of the two major opposition parties, the CHP and MHP, were in the streets, these parties were far from representing even their own bases.

However, the Gezi Resistance, in which millions took to the streets, was gradually confined to the ballot box, and the CHP-MHP duo joined forces behind the candidacy of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu to "defeat Erdoğan."

Nominating İhsanoğlu - who served as Secretary-General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation from 2004 to 2014 - as a candidate amounted to disregarding the secular sensibilities of millions of working people. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu had already made his intentions clear in 2010 when he stated that secularism - one of the country's most critical political flashpoints - was not under threat. However, this move - taken while the public was rising up against the AKP's religious reactionary policies - served as a declaration that the opposition had also embraced the religious reactionary

transformations being carried out by the AKP. To suppress AKP opponents who publicly stated they did not want to vote for İhsanoğlu because he was also a religious politician, Kılıçdaroğlu did not hesitate to attack the secular sensibilities of his own party's base by declaring, "You will vote for him whether you like it or not."

Following Erdoğan's victory in the 2014 elections, his "rival" İhsanoğlu joined the MHP, and the MHP joined the AKP's "People's Alliance," marking another turning point in Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's efforts to normalize religious reactionary policies. Millions who took action to fight reactionary forces were "acclimated" to AKP reactionaryism by the CHP, the party they had pinned their hopes on.

### **From the justice march to Neo-Ottomanism: "The new CHP"**

These years saw the AKP's Neo-Ottomanist strategy continue, despite some stumbles, and the Turkish bourgeoisie's intent to carve out political and economic spheres of influence for itself had now become state policy.

In Turkey, where tensions escalated due to the AKP-Fethullah Gülen Movement conflict and an American-backed coup attempt took place, the relationship established with Neo-Ottomanism

took on a character that smoothed out the political order and brought the parties closer together. However, this did not mean that the struggle within the system had ended.

In 2014, while the AKP-Gülen Movement feud was ongoing, trucks carrying weapons sent by the National Intelligence Organization to jihadist groups in Syria were stopped by order of the prosecutor's office. Following the failed coup attempt of 15 July 2016, the AKP carried out a sweeping purge campaign. Once again, it used politically motivated trials to neutralize its opponents. In 2017, CHP Deputy Enis Berberoğlu was sentenced to 25 years in prison on charges of leaking footage of this incident to the press. As attacks on the CHP intensified through the prosecution of Enis Berberoğlu, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu launched the "Justice March" in protest against the injustices prevailing in the country.

The Justice March, which spanned approximately 450 km from Ankara to İstanbul, led to both the CHP and Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu regaining strength and garnering significant public support. From artists to some "socialist" party leaders, many figures participated in parts of the Justice March and joined the race to be photographed with Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu.

Having re-established his position through this march, Kılıçdaroğlu was simultaneously aware of the expansionist ambitions of the Turkish bourgeoisie and sought to pursue a political transformation aligned with those ambitions. The CHP, which had reached a point where it was difficult to distinguish its differences from the AKP, continued its transformation as a tool to make AKP policies acceptable to the public.

İmamoğlu, the Table of Six, and the “New CHP” Ekrem İmamoğlu, the İstanbul Metropolitan Mayor currently on trial while in custody, is being portrayed as the “architect of the New CHP,” but it would be more accurate to call him its “first and strongest product.” Because the process that paved the way for him, just as in the case of Kılıçdaroğlu, bore the signature of the Koç family, and at its core, the intention was to become a party as adept as the AKP in aligning with the expansionist tendencies of the capitalist class.

Kılıçdaroğlu, in summary, claims that this line can govern Turkey better than the AKP, that they have become a party capable of grasping the world’s current state and securing a firmer foothold for the Turkish bourgeoisie, and that they will be as successful as the AKP was in its early years while doing so.

This political line, on the one hand, presented an image of Kılıçdaroğlu preparing to take over the country from the AKP through the “Table of Six” he formed with numerous former AKP and MHP members while İmamoğlu managed İstanbul, and he himself ran as a candidate against Erdoğan in the 2023 elections.

The elections were lost once again, and this time, İmamoğlu pressed the “change” button within the CHP, securing Özgür Özel’s election as General Chairperson in place of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. Or, to put it more accurately, Kılıçdaroğlu’s mission reached its successful conclusion at the end of the road, and the “New CHP” emerged in its entirety.

The subsequent developments and the details of how Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was reinstated to the CHP leadership by the AKP are not the subject of this article. However, it should not be forgotten that Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was the principal architect of the transformation that enabled the emergence of the political line represented today by the elected General Chairperson Özgür Özel - who now opposes Kılıçdaroğlu and strives to defend the CHP - as well as by the detained Ekrem İmamoğlu.

# Highlights from Turkish Foreign Policy



## **Geopolitical responsibility or a mission assigned by the EU**

As the search for energy security continues in Europe, the 11th Summit of the Three Seas Initiative was held in Croatia. Turkish Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan represented President Erdoğan at the meeting. It is said that the initiative, established following Russia's annexation of Crimea, aims to address energy and infrastructure deficiencies along the north-south axis by encompassing the Adriatic, Black, and Baltic Seas. Turkey, meanwhile, is positioned as a strategic partner in this context. In the weeks following the summit, another development on the Baltic side was the opening of the Latvian-Turkish Chamber of Commerce (LVTCC) in Riga. In

addition to the ambassadors, investors from both countries gathered at the opening.

Whether regarding the Strait of Hormuz or the Russia-Ukraine war, it appears that a step toward the goal of strengthening connectivity – a theme frequently emphasized by Fidan – has also been taken with Armenia. As part of the Turkey-Armenia normalization process, a working group was established to restore the Kars-Gyumri railway line to operational status. Following this meeting, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey announced that the necessary bureaucratic preparations for establishing direct commercial relations with Armenia had been completed. A framework is being established that aligns with the “role of Turkey in the South Caucasus,” a point frequently emphasized by the EU.

During Minister Fidan’s visit to Austria, Austrian Federal Minister for European and International Affairs Beate Meinl-Reisinger reiterated Turkey’s “geopolitical responsibility” during a joint press conference, while also commending Turkey for the steps taken in this context. After 12 years, in the third meeting of the Turkey – Germany Strategic Dialogue Mechanism held in Berlin, Minister Fidan met with Federal Foreign Minister to Germany Johann David Wadephul. And while Fidan reiterated demands such as updating the

customs union agreement and visa liberalization, Wadephul also repeated his expectations from Turkey regarding ensuring safe passage in the Russia-Ukraine conflict and in the Strait of Hormuz.

## **The silence of the Pro-US**

Israel's intervention against the Sumud Flotilla was met with condemnation from Turkey across various platforms and voices, and was characterized as an act of piracy. Activists were brought from Crete to Istanbul in a spectacular fashion. The Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office launched an investigation into the attack. Grand National Assembly of Turkey adopted a resolution calling on the international community to take action "against Israel and the crimes against humanity it has committed in Gaza."

During a joint press conference with Wadephul, Hakan Fidan condemned the intervention against the Sumud Flotilla, while Wadephul implied that those on the flotilla had needlessly exposed themselves to danger of their own volition and reiterated that Israel has the right to defend itself against Hezbollah and Hamas.

Wadephul, while including Turkey in his remarks by stating that they share the same view on this matter regarding support for Israel, Fidan continued to answer questions without

addressing Wadephul's remarks, opting for a submissive silence rather than a diplomatic rebuttal. A similar silence was observed in response to the Board of Peace - which the AKP government had touted as a diplomatic success - accusing the activists on the Sumud Flotilla of "showboating on a love boat" and declaring that "Using people's misery to boost your social media profiles is a disgusting thing."

As the Sumud agenda floated amidst hypocrisy, Trump's call for normalization with Israel came as little surprise. Following phone calls with the leaders of Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Pakistan, Egypt, Jordan, and Bahrain, Trump stated in his remarks that after the significant efforts the U.S. has made in Iran and the region, "it is now imperative that these countries, at the very least, join the Abraham Accords simultaneously."

While Trump's demand was met with a guilty silence in Turkey, Trump, in a post regarding his phone call with Erdoğan, expressed his gratitude to AKP President Tayyip Erdoğan and also included praise for him. "President Erdogan is the leader the world has been waiting for for centuries. He doesn't just talk about power; he is power itself." While the AKP government saw no evil, heard no evil, spoke no evil in response

to this statement, Trump deleted the post two hours after sharing it.

## **Syrian refugees in Syria and Turkish capital**

Turkish Clothing Manufacturers' Association (TGSD), established to protect the interests of textile bosses, announced a new "project" at an event marking its 50th anniversary.

The textile sector—which responds to unionization with layoffs, preys on workers' wages through fake bankruptcy agreements, and frequently makes headlines for the most extreme forms of exploitation—can no longer rely on conditions in Turkey alone; solutions are now being sought in countries like Egypt and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Apparently, this was not enough to satisfy the employers, as the TGSD president announced their new projects by emphasizing the need to "expand our production within our own geography and in areas we can control."

While "our own region" refers to Syria, "areas we can control" points to the four separate regions where Turkey currently maintains a military presence (Operation Spring Shield/Idlib, Operation Olive Branch/Afrin, Operation Euphrates Shield, and Operation Peace Spring).

According to the project submitted to the Ministries of Industry and Trade, the goal is to establish a production capacity that will employ 250,000 workers in the medium term and generate \$5 billion annually. The TGSD president, by stating, "The migrant population in the region can also be employed here," refers to Syrians working in Syria as migrants while promising a severe exploitation mechanism that goes beyond the already stringent legal conditions they are currently imposing. When we look at this project, it becomes clear just how distorted the perspective is behind the AKP government's repeated calls for stability and independence in Syria.



## TKP calls for mass anti-NATO rally ahead of NATO Summit in Ankara



The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) has called for a mass anti-NATO rally in Ankara on 5 July, ahead of the NATO Summit scheduled to take place in the Turkish capital on 7–8 July.

In its initial appeal, the party described NATO as an organization that has brought war and destruction to peoples around the world since its foundation and argued that the summit would further integrate Turkey into NATO's military and political agenda. Calling on citizens to gather in Ankara's Tandoğan Square, TKP declared: "NATO means death and dishonor. Long live life, independence and socialism."

### International anti-NATO meeting in Turkey's capital

TKP had declared July 4–12 an Anti-NATO Summit. As

part of the week's activities, an international meeting will be held on 4 July in Ankara, bringing together parties from NATO member states and across Europe. A significant number of parties have already confirmed their participation.

### **“Don't even think about it!”**

Central Committee of TKP later issued a statement in response to reports suggesting that extraordinary security measures could be imposed in Ankara during the summit and that the anti-NATO rally might face restrictions. Referring to NATO as “the world's largest terrorist organization,” TKP warned the authorities: “Don't even think about it!”

According to the statement, the party is closely monitoring attempts to turn Ankara into an “open-air prison” because of a planned anti-NATO demonstration. TKP argued that the summit is being used to deepen Turkey's integration into NATO's plans and accused both the government and the mainstream opposition of aligning themselves with the alliance.

“The capitalist class that rules over this system, the AKP government, and the bourgeois opposition that praises NATO at every opportunity may be happy that Trump, the number one person responsible for all these massacres, will be coming to our country,” the statement said.

Referring to recent military attacks in the region, TKP stressed that “US-made bombs dropped on the peoples of Palestine, Lebanon and our neighbor Iran are still burning in the memory and conscience of our people.” While ruling class may see the summit as an opportunity to secure “new agreements and new assignments,” the

party argued that “this country does not consist of them and their collaborators alone.”

The statement then shifted its focus to public opposition to NATO and US influence in Turkey. “There is no people in this country who will bow before the plans of the United States, plans that would trample our independence and send our people to death for its own interests,” TKP declared.

It added that “millions in this country stand wholeheartedly with the peoples of Palestine and Iran against Israeli and US brutality,” and that there is a people that “feel shame at the presence of US and NATO bases on the soil of our homeland.”

Calling on people to join the demonstration, the party argued that it is the duty of working class patriots, republicans, revolutionaries and communists “to welcome NATO as it deserves” and “to stand up to this imperialist banditry with a major mobilization in Ankara.”

TKP emphasized that the rally should not be seen as an event belonging solely to the party. “This rally belongs not only to TKP,” the statement said, “but to all honorable citizens of our country and to everyone sincerely engaged in the struggle against imperialism.”

The statement concluded with a call for unity against imperialism and collaboration:

“Join us to raise together the banner of our country’s independence. Join us to stand together against collaborators and imperialist bandits.”

“This country is ours.”

# TKP protests Turkey's largest monopoly

TKP staged a protest in Ankara against Koç Holding, the country's oldest and one of its most powerful monopolies, during the conglomerate's 100th anniversary event at the ATO Congressium.

The celebration brought together leading representatives of Turkey's ruling and opposition parties, including MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli, CHP leader Özgür Özel, Vice President Cevdet Yılmaz, DEVA Party leader Ali Babacan, and Industry and Technology Minister Mehmet Fatih Kacır.

While political leaders gathered inside, TKP members demonstrated outside the venue, chanting slogans against Koç Holding and capitalist exploitation. Despite police obstruction, protesters marched to the entrance and held a press statement.

Speaking on behalf of TKP, Central Committee member Ali Ufuk Arikan accused Koç Holding of enriching itself through the exploitation of working people and argued that all major political parties were aligned with the interests of big capital. He stated that workers and ordinary citizens continue to bear the burden of poverty while monopolies accumulate wealth and influence.

Arikan stressed that TKP opposes both the government and opposition parties for their ties to large corporations and pledged that the struggle for public ownership, workers' power, and socialism would continue. He concluded by declaring that not everyone in Turkey bows to monopoly capital and that organized working people would ultimately challenge the existing social and economic system.

# TKP marks Gezi anniversary: the people will not bow down to tyrants



The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) issued a [statement](#) on the 13th anniversary of the June Resistance, describing it as one of the most important popular movements in Turkey's recent history. The party emphasized the resistance's secular and patriotic character, arguing that its legacy carries renewed significance at a time when the AKP government is deepening Turkey's alignment with NATO and the United States.

To mark the anniversary, the TKP Istanbul Organization marched from Abbasağa Park to Beşiktaş Square with the participation of party members, artists and supporters. Speaking at the event, TKP Head of TKP organization in İstanbul Ahmet Dincel said the commemoration was not an act of nostalgia but a reminder of the people's capacity to organize, defend their independence and resist the AKP's policies. Dincel also referred to the upcoming NATO summit

in Turkey, stressing that the struggle for national independence remains a pressing issue. He stated that the Turkish people would continue opposing NATO's role in the region and denounced the alliance's policies toward Palestine, Syria and Cuba.

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## **International Communist Press (ICP) relaunches its activities**

The Communist Party of Turkey called for the expropriation of mines, pointing to the destruction of the country's nature, the plundering and waste of its resources, and the lives of workers sacrificed to cost and profit calculations despite existing scientific knowledge and technical means. In its statement, TKP stressed in the statement: "We are facing a situation in which mining exploration licenses covering more than half of the country's territory, along with thousands of operating licenses and permits, have been handed over to the capital. This means that our natural wealth has effectively been placed under mortgage. Meanwhile, the share of mining activities in Turkey's national income still remains around 1 percent."

The [statement](#) set out a series of demands, foremost among them the cancellation of permits granted to all private companies, especially multinational monopolies and holdings; the expropriation of mines; and the carrying out of all mining activities by the state. It also included measures concerning miners' right to organize and the planning of mining activities in line with public health and the environment.

# Solidarity with Cuba continues

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey issued a [statement](#) and declared their determined and committed solidarity with Cuba against all U.S. imperialist aggression.



“Our position remains unchanged: we stand firmly with Cuba against imperialist aggression, economic siege and threats of military intervention and deem it our historic responsibility to widen solidarity with the people of Cuba. In the event of an imperialist aggression, we are prepared to mobilize all our political, organizational and social resources in solidarity with Cuba... The Communist Party of Turkey will remain committed to strengthen internationalist solidarity with revolutionary Cuba across the world.”

U.S. imperialist aggression against Cuba goes beyond blockades and threats, also extending to Raúl Castro, one of the historical leaders of the Cuban Revolution. The U.S. has issued as an absurd indictment, accusing

Castro of ordering the downing of two U.S. civilian aircraft in 1996 and causing the deaths of four people. In a statement, the Communist Party of Turkey emphasized that by bringing up such an indictment nearly thirty years later, the U.S. is trying to pave the way for potential military escalation and to create conditions for targeting Cuba's leadership through coercive and unlawful means.. TKP once again [expressed its solidarity](#) with the Cuban people and their revolutionary leadership.

## The youth against NATO

The Communist Youth of Turkey took to the streets in İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir on 19 May, marking the anniversary of the beginning of Turkey's War of Independence. The youth declared: "With the anti-imperialist legacy of 19 May, we stand against those who have turned our country into NATO's gendarme. We challenge them to build an independent Turkey and drive NATO out of these lands."



# Statement for solidarity with Communist Party of India (Marxist)

The Communist Party of Turkey strongly [condemned the organized](#) raid on the residence of Polit Bureau member of the CPI(M) and former Kerala Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan and expressed solidarity with the comrades in the Communist Party of India (Marxist), including General Secretary M.A. Baby, who were assaulted and detained during the protests.

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## 81 years ago, fascism was defeated by communism

TKP Central Committee issued a statement on May 9, the anniversary of the Great Anti-Fascist Victory. The statement emphasized how government leaders, state officials are horrified by the thought of humanity rising.

“The red flag bearing the hammer and sickle flew over the Reichstag not merely as a symbol of military victory, but as a declaration that humanity could never be subdued. The hands that raised that flag belonged to the builders of socialism. That was the true meaning of May 9 – and it remains the source of their fear today.

And they are right in their fear of it. Because when humanity rises again, it will once more find within itself the power to sweep this barbaric system of exploitation, poverty, war, and destruction into the dustbin of history.”

Germany organizations of Communist Party of Turkey and the Communist Party of Greece commemorated the Red Army soldiers who fell in Berlin by laying carnations at the Soviet Monument in Treptower Park.

# soL celebrates 20th anniversary

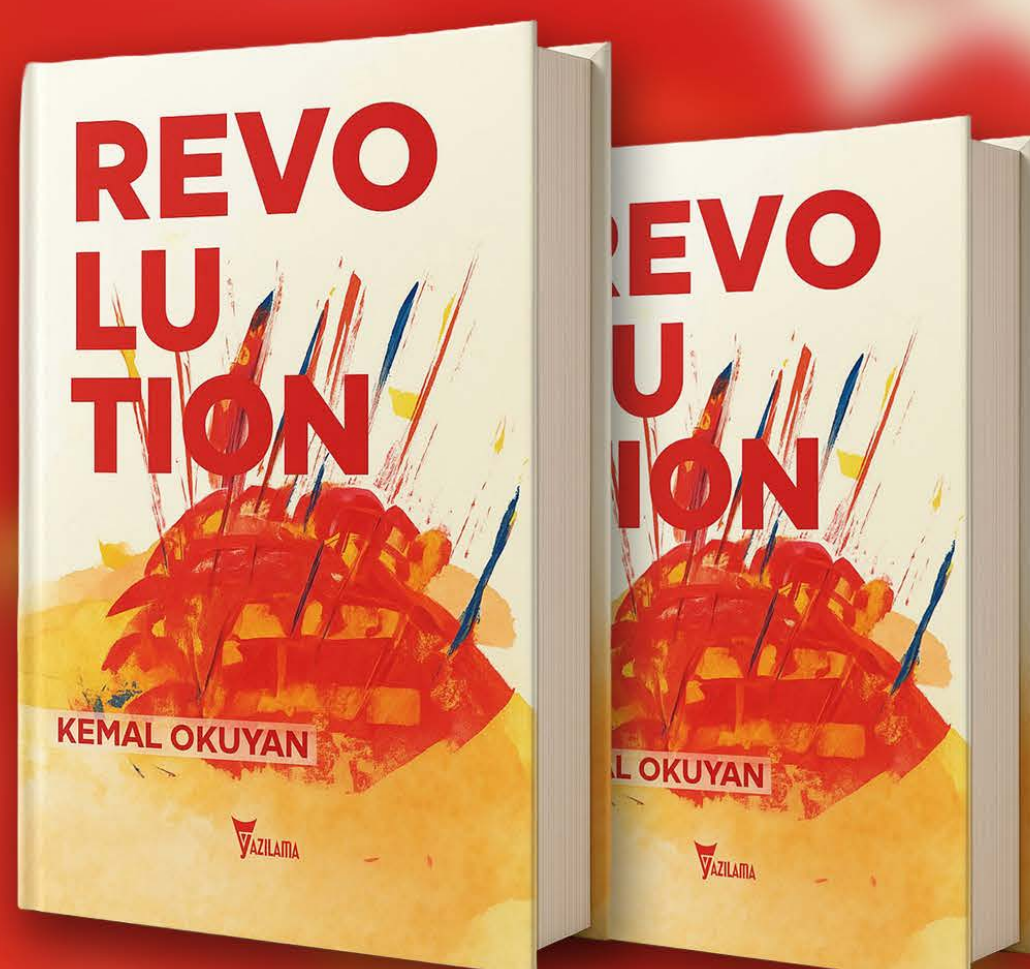


TKP's news portal, soL, celebrated its 20th anniversary as an online newspaper with messages from friends and supporters. First launched in print in 1998, soL began publishing online on 22 May 2006.

## Review of Revolution on A Szabadság

[A review of Revolution](#), the latest book by TKP General Secretary Kemal Okuyan, was published in A Szabadság, the periodical of the Hungarian Workers' Party.

You can buy the English edition as an e-book at [here](#).



Sixty-three years ago, on June 3, 1963, the communist poet Nâzım Hikmet passed away.

Nâzım was an anti-imperialist, a working class patriot, an internationalist, and a communist. He was a member of the Communist Party of Turkey.



**In respectful memory of Nâzım Hikmet.**

*This publication is the monthly international magazine of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP).*



**COMMUNIST  
PARTY of TURKEY**



int@tkp.org.tr



tkp.org.tr



tkpinter