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## PART I THE WORLD SITUATION

### Introduction:

The history of colonialism begins with the transition to class society. Every mode of production which takes shape on the basis of class society develops a form of colonialism peculiar to itself. To the extent that class exploitation and, connected with it, class oppression develop within, exploitation and oppression of other peoples increases in the same proportion without.

Colonialism, a form of the foreign-based oppression of human societies and a form of exploitation, has continuously developed, starting from slave society and continuing up to the time of the establishment of socialist society which is the transition stage to a classless society.

In history, force has not always been reactionary. The application of force in changing the old society is inevitable. When used in line with the development of the productive forces, its application is progressive. However, when it is used in an attempt to preserve the outmoded relations of production which prevent the development of the productive forces, force becomes

reactionary. In the same way, it is also reactionary when directed towards conquest, i.e., towards establishing domination over other tribes, peoples and nations. In other words, conquest is the first stage in the colonisation of these societies. In this way, whatever mode of production it arises from, colonialism, which is based upon reactionary force, pillages and destroys the productive forces of the society subjected to it.

On the other hand, the force used by the society which is trying to protect its existence against the colonial yoke, is always progressive and is the most essential weapon resorted to in order to develop.

Succeeding a tradition of exploitation and social oppression from the slave and feudal periods, capitalism was progressive in its early stage in developing the productive forces and in the role that it played in the process whereby the peoples of Western Europe became nations. In this period, the bourgeoisie, as a revolutionary class, played the leading role in the formation of nations and national states through the struggle it waged against feudal divisions within and the foreign yoke without.

In the middle of the 19th century, together with the basic completion of the industrial revolution, a world market formed. While, within this market, a handful of nations in Western Europe played a dominating role by virtue of the production of manufactured goods, a large section of the peoples of the world were reduced to colonial status in so far as

they were the producers of raw materials. As the basic form of economic link established between the metropolis and colony by the dominant nations was a free trade one, capitalist relations could not show very much development within the colonies. Instead, simultaneous with their incorporation into the world market, the colonies came to be the exploited part of the capitalist system in its formative stage.

With the emergence of the export of capital to the colonies in the last quarter of the 19th century, the formation of the world capitalist-imperialist system was completed. Not a single country maintaining its existence outside this system remained on the face of the earth.

In this period, the division of mankind into classes on the one hand, and into oppressing and oppressed nations on the other, reached its culmination.

Unequal development among the imperialist countries renders redistribution according to the balance of power in the world inevitable. There is no other means of redistribution than war. The fact that capitalist society has no means other than war to renew itself, shows that the conditions for the proletarian revolution have matured.

### The Great October Revolution and its International Significance

The first world war for redistribution to which the imperialist system resorted as a way out of the crisis



Fronts comprising the proletariat, the peasantry and intellectuals, against the bogus National Fronts made up of the collaborating semi-feudals and semi-bourgeois elements.

The influence of the October Revolution in these developments, which are the principal characteristics of our epoch, is constant and will continue until the world revolution is complete.

### The World Situation After the October Revolution

Following the first war for redistribution, the world situation displayed the following characteristics:

a) The proletarian revolutions in Europe had been defeated. Fascism, as a new form of the bourgeoisie's dictatorship, was developing. The danger of a new world war took shape with the great crisis into which capitalism fell in 1929 and the coming to power of fascism in Germany.

b) In Russia, the proletariat, which had emerged victorious from the civil war and had repelled the imperialist intervention, accelerated socialist construction. In the 1930's the material basis for a return to capitalism was eliminated with the abolition of kulak property in the country.

c) The objective conditions for revolution had developed in the colonies. In some countries, the creation of the subjective conditions advanced considerably. In countries such as Vietnam and China, revolution began to develop under the hegemony of

into which it has fallen led to the further weakening of that system. Revolution exploded in Russia, the weakest link. The 1917 October Revolution provided the necessary basis for the construction of socialism in one-sixth of the world.

The October Revolution not only provided the necessary basis for the construction of socialism in Russia, it also played a determining role in developments which followed it on a world scale.

The international significance of the October Revolution may be summarised as follows:

First, it opened a new epoch, the epoch of proletarian revolutions. While previous revolutions had replaced one exploiting class with another, the October Revolution gave birth to socialism, the transition stage to a classless society.

Second, it acted as a bridge by which the revolutionary wave in the West passed over to the East, leading to colonial revolutions and the establishment in them of the hegemony of the proletariat.

Third, it was the foundation stone in the building of a revolutionary alliance of the socialist countries, the working class movement, and the national liberation movements against the counter-revolutionary alliance of imperialism, the collaborating bourgeoisie and the feudals.

Fourth, related to these three factors, it was a determining influence in the creation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of genuine National

At the end of the 1950's, as a result of the continuous crisis in which capitalism had become involved, the National Liberation Struggles against imperialism reached their zenith.

We may list the characteristics of this period as follows:

- a) A large section of the colonies on the African continent achieved political independence. Not satisfied with political independence in appearance only, the peoples continued their struggles for complete independence.
- b) With the completion of National Democratic Revolutions of a new type in China, North Korea and Vietnam, there was an immediate transition to the construction of socialism. The popular wars against imperialism developed by National Liberation Fronts under the hegemony of the proletariat in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, ended in victory.
- c) As a product of this period of continuous crisis, the Cuban Revolution became a bridgehead for spreading the proletarian revolution to South America.
- d) The Palestinian Revolution, which emerged as an independent force in the Middle East, became the focus of struggle against imperialism.

#### The Present World Situation

We may list the main characteristics of the present world situation, determined by the result of all these developments, as follows:

the proletariat.

At the beginning of the 1940's, unequal development among the imperialist countries and the fear inspired by the development of socialism led to the outbreak of a new world war. The features of the world situation at the end of this war, which concluded in 1945 and led to the further weakening of imperialism, may be listed as follows:

- a) Germany, which had led the fascist front, was defeated, together with its allies. Due primarily to the Soviet Union, the democratic front won a great victory.
- b) With the help of the Red Army, anti-fascist popular fronts in Eastern Europe turned towards the construction of socialism in their countries.
- c) In eastern Asia — in China, Vietnam and Korea — revolution developing under the hegemony of the proletariat achieved victory after the war. In China completely, while in North Korea and North Vietnam, following the completion of bourgeois democratic revolutions of a new type, there was an uninterrupted transition from these revolutions to the construction of socialism. On the continent of completely colonial Africa, patriotic-revolutionary trends began to develop rapidly.
- d) After the war, American imperialism, which took over from England the role of world gendarme, launched the cold war against the socialist bloc. Realising that the classical colonial period had come to an end, it developed neo-colonialist methods.



a) Socialist construction, developing on the basis provided by the October Revolution, is in power in one-third of the world. Even though there may not be complete unity among the socialist countries today, the very existence of these countries constitutes a determining force in the struggle to change the world through revolution.

Present-day divisive trends which prevent the socialist countries from forming a single bloc and destroy the unity of the world communist movement are, in their essence, revisionist trends which repudiate revolution, despite the fact that they criticise each other mercilessly. Revisionism, which is rooted in the influence of imperialism abroad and the remnants of the old society within, is doing great harm to the revolutionary struggle.

b) The National Liberation Struggles have reached their zenith. These struggles, which have virtually eliminated the classical colonial system, have also dealt telling blows against the new colonial system. In regard both to countries which have concluded their National Liberation Struggles and are now independent and to those which are still in this process, the solidarity which they have established amongst themselves is of an anti-imperialist character and is today one of the principal forces in the transformation of the world through revolution. Those views which consider the struggle of these countries, which are objectively a part of the proletarian revolution, as an independent and

fundamental force under the name of the 'third world', are anti-Leninist.

c) The working class movements in the imperialist countries are protecting their past achievements. The strong revisionist and social-democratic parties in these countries are the main factors preventing the development of the revolutionary struggle.

d) The imperialist camp is in dire straits; in an attempt to salvage this situation, it is developing new measures in the ideological, political, cultural, economic and military spheres.

In the ideological sphere: desirous of preventing revolutionary ideology from winning over the masses, it is creating ideological confusion in the ranks of the revolutionary movement by inventing theories such as the "social-state" and the "welfare society".

In the political sphere: it recognises the feasibility of social-democratic government, but when the social-democratic methods fail, it immediately resorts to fascism. It constantly organises military coups in satellite countries and attempts to rule these countries through martial law. Through the operations of its agents within the revolutionary movement, it creates and instigates artificial divisions.

In the cultural sphere: complete mayhem and chaos reign supreme.

In the economic sphere: It is attempting to find a solution using neo-colonial methods developed in order to solve the problem of markets. It is unable to cope with the unemployment and inflation which have

## PART II

### The Society of Kurdistan The History of Kurdistan

become a widespread illness in the capitalist economy. In the military sphere: It is continuing the division into camps; with the weapons which are continuously being developed, it is trying to rescue its economy on the one hand, trying to divert the peoples away from revolution on the other.

All of these measures to which imperialism resorts, are not sufficient to rescue it from the continuous crisis into which it has fallen.

e) In conclusion: In our day, socialist construction developing on the basis provided by the October Revolution, the National Liberation Movements and the Working Class movement has created extremely favourable international conditions for revolution. Under these conditions, if, no matter how little or weak they may be, the subjective conditions have been created, the possibility of carrying out revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat exists in every country, first and foremost, the colonial countries.

Our country, Kurdistan, constitutes one of the most fertile areas of land in the world, an area where, with the transition to settled living for the first time in human history, agriculture was practised and domestic animals were raised. For this reason, since ancient times it witnessed the life of various tribes and a cultural accumulation left behind by these tribes; for a long time it played the role of a cradle of civilisation. It has rich mineral resources and sits astride the routes between civilisations. However, this advantageous situation also brought with it its own disadvantages; it led to our country becoming an arena of continuous conflict and invasion since ancient historical times. Throughout this process, many tribes either disappeared or were compelled to live under very frequent invasions.

The efforts of our people to settle in our country began with the appearance on the historical stage of their ancestors, the Medians, in approximately 1,000 B.C. In order to expand into this country, the Meds,



coming from the Aryan branch of the Indo-European group, engaged in a struggle which lasted for hundreds of years with their neighbours, the Persians and the Assyrians.

Having defeated first the Persians then the Assyrians, the Meds established the greatest empire of the time in the 7th century B.C. The borders of this empire approximately encompassed the borders of present-day Kurdistan.

These long years of struggle had both awakened a separate national consciousness in the people and had led to the moulding of a freedom-loving character. Taking over and assimilating the cultures of peoples who had preceded them, the Meds played a primary role in the formation of our national values. Having laid the groundwork of a despotic slave empire, in the year 550 B.C., this state was destroyed by the Persians, thus inaugurating the period throughout which our people have been subjected to continuous oppression and invasion. From the 6th century B.C. to the middle of the 7th century A.D., until the occupation by the Arab-Islamic armies, our people remained under the invasion of various slave empires. One after the other, the Persians, the Greek-Macedonians, Armenians, Romans, Byzantines and the Sassanids established empires and either chose Kurdistan as the arena of battle amongst themselves, or else the one which emerged victorious from battle subjected our people to its own rule. As each of the two alternatives had very bloody consequences, our people were continuously

compelled to live in the mountainous regions in order to preserve their existence. These conditions led us to remain divided into tribal communities closed in upon ourselves.

In the feudal period also, the invasion of our land and oppression of our people continued without respite, increasing in violence. The Arab-Islamic invasions which began in the middle of the 7th century were very bloody; Islamic ideology, which, up to the present, has obstructed the development of national consciousness with its ideas of servitude has alienated our people from their own values of life and worked towards their remaining under the feudal and foreign yoke.

The collaborating feudals and sheikhs who are extremely powerful in our country today began to develop their unational characters in this period. Arab rule maintained its oppressive hold until the 20th century, from which time it began to weaken. The fact that at that time there was no other powerful invading force created a favourable atmosphere for our people to develop their national character. The feudal Kurdish states established in this period, the Mervani Kurdish state first and foremost, were products of this situation.

In the 11th century a new invading force appeared in Kurdistan. This new force was the Oguz branch of the Turks who had reached the stage beyond barbarism and gained a crusading character due to their adoption of Islamism. In a short time the Turks



reorganised themselves as the rulers of a feudal society. As the culture of the peoples in the countries they invaded were more developed, a large section of the Turkish tribes was assimilated.

The rule of the Turkish feudals (Atabey, Hakan, Sultan), whose characteristics we have briefly outlined, continued from the 11th to the beginning of the 20th century, sometimes moderate, sometimes violent to the point of massacres. With the break-up of the Great Selchuk Empire, the Atabeyes, Akkoyuns, Karakoyuns, Artukoglus and the Anatolian Selchuks — all these Turkish feudal lords — maintained their rule over Kurdistan, although in their time they never controlled it completely. These were followed, one after the other, by the periods of invasion by the Moguls and Timur, periods which passed like a hurricane. Before coming under Ottoman control, a large part of Kurdistan was under the rule of the Iranian Safavid.

All these feudal regimes were of a violent and predatory character and met with the violent resistance of our people. Our people never completely submitted to these regimes and, as soon as an opportunity arose, they raised the banner of rebellion. Again in this period, the boundless mountains of Kurdistan were a fortress protecting our existence and our freedom. The Ottoman Turkish feudal regime, which played a great role in the present division of Kurdistan, began to develop in Kurdistan in the 11th century. The sheikh Idris-i Bitlis, who represented the

collaborating Kurdish feudal lords, made a great contribution to this regime's development. Also by the efforts of Idris-i Bitlis, the voluntary and favourite agent in Kurdistan of the Ottoman Turkish Sultans, the division of the people of Kurdistan into two religions accelerated in this period. The Ottoman Sultans and the Shahs of Iran used this division to further their own political aims. At one and the same time, they used Kurdistan as a field of battle between themselves and, by provoking the people of Kurdistan against each other, during these wars they ensured that the people would be kept under their rule more easily. Even today, the Turkish colonialists are able to take advantage of this division.

In the beginning Ottoman Turkish rule was not very strong. In this period, the Kurdish feudal lords enjoyed very broad autonomy; their submission to the sultans took the form of sending soldiers and gifts. However, starting in the 13th century, when the door to the spoils of conquest closed as the Ottomans suffered defeats in the face of capitalism which came to dominate in Western Europe as the new mode of production, their demand for oppression and exploitation increased. In the face of this intensified oppression and plunder, uprisings exploded all over Kurdistan in the 19th century. The bloody suppression of these uprisings led to a further consolidation of Ottoman rule.

With the defeat of the Ottoman empire in the first world war for redistribution, foreign oppression in

our country and the existence of our people.

The developments brought about by the first imperialist war for redistribution had a great impact on our country. Previously, our country had been divided into two parts between the Ottoman Sultans and the Shahs of Iran; now, as a result of agreements reached between the Turkish colonialists and the French and English imperialists, it was divided into four parts.

In the capitalist stage, the Turks are in the forefront of the forces colonising Kurdistan. It was not difficult for the Republic of Turkey, which had been established on the remains of the Ottoman Empire, after the war, to reestablish its control over Kurdistan, which had in any case been occupied since the time of the Ottomans. Moreover, the effects of this control by the Republic of Turkey, once established on a capitalist socio-economic basis, were much more destructive in the military, political, economic and cultural spheres than the Turkish regimes of the feudal period.

The legal incorporation of a large part of Kurdistan within the borders of the Republic of Turkey became possible through the Ankara Treaty concluded with the French in 1921 and the Lausanne Treaty in which the English played the leading role in 1923. In the founding years of the Republic, Turkish rule over Kurdistan was very weak. The control (internal autonomy) of the Kurdish feudal and tribal chiefs was stronger. Indeed, the first Great National

Kurdistan decreased. These years in which the imperialist countries' occupation had not yet been fully established, were years in which the external conditions were extremely favourable for independence. However, the lagging behind of the internal conditions (the tribal-feudal structure, the absence of modern classes, lack of organisation) on the one hand, and repression by the reorganised Turkish ruling classes on the other hand, made it impossible to take advantage of these favourable conditions.

The hundreds of years of foreign feudal control of Kurdistan made the process of evolution of Kurdish society through its own inner dynamics very difficult. Taking place under the influence of foreign feudalism and within a tribal structure, the process of becoming feudal assumed a collaborating character. The Kurdish feudal strata which were taking shape found a life of submission to more numerous foreign forces more suited to their own interests. The internal struggle in which they engaged to establish superiority over each other brought society to an impasse.

#### The period of capitalist colonialism

At the capitalist stage of civilisation, the oppression and exploitation of our country reached levels far beyond the invasions and plunder of the slave and feudal periods. The capitalist colonialist forces did not hesitate to use all the superior means of destruction at their disposal, from the most refined to the crudest methods, in order to erase from history the name of



Assembly heard many phrases like "a government of two peoples, an assembly of two peoples." But when the Republic strengthened its central authority, it naturally came into conflict with the local authorities designed to protect the class interests of the feudal and tribal chiefs. The governments of the Republic and set themselves the fundamental aim of creating a single Turkish nation within the borders of the "National Pact", used to the full this conflict with local authorities. The strategy of these governments to establish the basis of military occupation necessary for colonial operations was as follows:

Since, given the forces of the time, it would be very difficult to occupy the whole of Kurdistan at once, it would have to be occupied piece by piece.

For this purpose, it was necessary to take advantage of religious differences in the classical manner, i.e., to provoke the people against each other.

In order to prevent any opposition either within or outside the country, it was necessary to conduct constant agitation along the lines: "the wild Kurds, the fanatics are rebelling".

The most suitable moment had to be found to apply this strategy, i.e., it was necessary to wait for an untimely popular uprising lacking progressive leadership, one that would be under a feudal leadership always easy to divide and split.

In conclusion: on the pretext of an uprising, the people would have to be massacred; the local authorities suppressed; the entire country, including

its most remote corners, brought under centralised occupation, no one must be allowed to rise again from the terror thus created.

In the years 1925-1938, governments applied this strategy to the letter and our country was taken under complete military control. On this basis it was easy to develop colonialism in the political, cultural and economic spheres.

Although extremely favourable international conditions for liberation from colonialism existed after the second imperialist war, due to the fact that Turkey did not enter the war and that strict military control in our country preserved the backward social structure just as it was, no progress was registered.

When the collaborating Turkish bourgeoisie came to power in 1950 with the support of the USA abroad and a section of the Kurdish landlords at home there had been a certain development of Turkey's economic structure. The development of capitalism in agriculture and the beginning of the establishment of the assembly industry constituted an economic incentive to break the ring of isolation by Turkey around Kurdistan. In this period, the crisis into which imperialism had fallen made necessary the breaking up of closed economic units and the fullest extension of markets. In short, the combination of the development of Turkish capitalism, imperialism's market problem, and the tendency towards capitalist development on the part of Kurdish landlords led to the development of colonialist capitalism in Kurdistan

after 1960. This type of capitalism, which was built upon the plunder and exploitation of the country's resources and the disintegration of feudalism to a certain extent and in the most reactionary manner, had a very destructive impact. The army of unemployed, who left the land in consequence of the mechanisation of agriculture and who were used as unskilled manual labour during Turkey's industrialisation, swelled to millions. In order to head off the reaction against these negative developments, a harsh cultural policy and an intense campaign of assimilation were implemented, particularly in regard to the student youth of Kurdistan.

The colonisation of the other parts of Kurdistan is, somewhat later, following the pattern of Turkey.

For a certain period, a small part in the west of southern Kurdistan remained under French mandate. With the withdrawal of the French, this part came under Arab domination. The present-day Syrian bourgeoisie is blatantly suppressing the Kurds — especially the poorer section — by such methods as refusing to consider them as citizens and treating them as a foreign minority. They are trying to eliminate the Kurds by settling Arabs in the most productive villages and by sending the Kurds further south. The Kurdish society is still living in accordance with feudal and tribal traditions.

A large part of southern Kurdistan remained under English mandate until 1931. Later, the English established an Iraqi Arab state tied to themselves.

Since 1918 they continuously acted together with the Arabs to break the very strong Kurdish resistance. Since 1958, the Arab bourgeoisie which seized power has experienced a period similar to the Mustafa Kemal period in Turkey. It is trying to repeat in southern Kurdistan the Kemalists' military occupation of Kurdistan in 1925-38.

The resistance led by the semi-feudal, semi-bourgeois "KDP" (Kurdish Democratic Party — trans.) could only be repressed, and then only partially, in 1974. Today there are attempts to develop post-military occupation forms of colonisation in southern Kurdistan.

The domination of the Shahs over eastern Kurdistan stretches back for hundreds of years. Despite the fact that they themselves were generally Persian, the Shahs tried to impose themselves as emperors of both the Kurds and the Persians. They justified this by referring to the fact that both peoples were of the Aryan race. In essence, however, the Persians were the dominant nation within the empire and suppressed the other peoples.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Iranian empire was a semi-colony of British imperialism. With the coming to power of Riza Pehlevi after the war, it began to strengthen a little. Starting in the 1920's some bourgeois reforms were handed down from the top. During the Second World War, while British imperialism occupied the south, the Soviet Red Army entered the north. Making use of these advantageous



conditions, the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds each declared a Republic with the support of the Red Army. However, with the withdrawal of the Red Army, the Shah's forces destroyed both republics and once again incorporated them into Iran.

With the Shah taking the lead, the feudals are trying to change their skins by personally becoming capitalists. Today Iran is a neo-colony dependent on the USA in which feudalism and comprador and collaborating capitalism are dominant. Acting as the gendarme of imperialism in the Middle East, the Shah is ruling the country with a crude fascism. This situation in which Iran finds itself has opened the way for the preservation of the power of feudalism in Kurdistan. Following the discovery of petrol in the region, developing capitalism has had very little effect in terms of the disintegration of feudal structure. As collaborating capitalism dependent on imperialism develops in Iran, the parallel development of colonialist capitalism in Kurdistan will be inevitable.

#### General characteristics of the situation in Kurdistan

a) Kurdistan is one of the weakest links of the imperialist chain in the Middle East.

b) Kurdistan is a classic colonial country colonized separately by Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria.

c) The foreign domination which has become continuous in Kurdistan is, on the one hand, preventing the independent development of the society and causing it to remain locked in Middle Age

backwardness; on the other hand, it has imparted a very powerful collaborationist character to the exploiting classes.

d) None of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution have been fulfilled in Kurdistan. Colonialism and the semi-feudal structure that colonialism preserves by force are two important targets of this revolution.

#### General characteristics of the situation in

##### Central-Southern-Western Kurdistan

Until recent years, economic life in Kurdistan was closed to the outside world. The main reasons for this are the distorted structure of the Turkish economy which is dependent on imperialism, and the efforts of Turkish colonialism to preserve the feudal structure by force in order to prevent the appearance of modern classes which would lead the National Liberation struggle in Kurdistan.

After the Second World War, confronted with the appearance of the socialist camp, the rising strength of the National Liberation Movements, and the loss of most of its markets, imperialism adopted a new type of colonialism based on the assembly industry and the development of capitalism in agriculture in the former colonies in order to escape this pressing situation. Turkey was one of the first countries in which this new type of colonialism was applied. Starting in the 1950's, rapid capitalist development took place in Turkey which remained within the framework of American imperialism's Truman Doctrine and Marshall aid.

Thus, these two events — imperialism's world-wide strategy of developing capitalism in former colonies and, related to it, the rapid development of capitalism in Turkey — rendered inevitable the development of foreign capitalism in Kurdistan where a closed economy was dominant until the 1960's.

We can list as follows the characteristics of the capitalism formed in Kurdistan through the cooperation of imperialism's neo-colonial capitalism and the classic colonialist capitalism of Turkey.

a) It is a foreign-style capitalism in the service of colonialism, not a national capitalism which developed through the internal evolution of Kurdistan society. Most of the property of capitalist enterprises belongs to the Turkish state.

b) As foreign capitalism is unable to completely eliminate the feudal social structure in Kurdistan, it can dissolve it only to a semi-feudal stage.

c) The aim of foreign capitalism is, not to develop the productive forces in Kurdistan, but to establish an exploitative regime based on the plunder of natural resources and human labour.

d) The period in Kurdish history during which foreign capitalism has been dominant is a period which has destroyed every prospect of independent economic development, and made Kurdistan dependent on the outside for all essential goods.

### Social structure

The feudal landowners who are collaborating closely with colonialist capitalism, see the advantages of capitalist exploitation and are changing class. This type of class differentiation is most often taking the form of becoming comprador and collaborationist bourgeois, thus involving a profound repudiation of the nation. Although the middle strata have increased in number, they have not yet achieved a national character. Naturally, the distribution of landed property has not changed. The former feudal landowners have now become capitalist landowners.

In this process, the situation of the peasantry has become even worse. Repression and exploitation by the colonialist rulers, landowners and usurers maintains the peasantry in unbearable living conditions. The introduction of the tractor and the concentration of land in certain hands has led to great unemployment. The colonialists' conscious prevention of the development of the productive forces within the country, pushes this free labour which has appeared, to work in enslaving occupations abroad (as day-labourers, porters, doormen, peddlars, etc.). Even those in these situations spend most of their time in cafes and unable to find work, or non-essential jobs unrelated to production.

An intellectual strata is being brought up in isolation from the rest of society. Developing in an atmosphere of Turkish language and culture, most of these intellectuals are denying their nation and



considering themselves Turks rather than Kurds. In return for the crumbs they receive at the door of the colonialists, they comfortably betray the most glorious national values.

Social institutions in our country are extremely distorted and weak. Health institutions in particular are primitive and insufficient to a degree possible only in colonial societies. Health services, which are totally insufficient from the point of view of hospitals, personnel and equipment, are conducted through show institutions concentrated in a few centres. As a result of this, in relation to one of mankind's most basic problems is being carried out on a terrible scale, through private surgeries and pharmacies run even by practising doctors. In this respect, no serious measures are being taken against child deaths brought about by infectious illnesses and undernourishment, and the number of such deaths is rising.

The attitude adopted by the colonialists towards natural disasters which take place in our country involving high losses of life and property for our people, is no different from their attitude towards other problems. In our epoch, which has seen technical advances eliminate the mortality risk from natural disasters, it is well known how the Turkish bourgeoisie and its collaborators not only do not develop measures to deal with natural disasters but plunder even the limited aid sent to our people by the peoples of the world.

The fact that the society has remained under

foreign domination throughout history has adversely affected internal development to a great extent. This in turn has led to the society remaining very backward politically and culturally. While this situation leads among the people to extreme loyalty to tribal rather than to national values, among the ruling classes it is manifested in treachery to national values and total loyalty to foreign values.

The Turkish colonialists, who have an excellent grasp of this backward social structure shaped over hundreds of years under their own domination, are still taking advantage of this structure today; they are trying to block national unity and the revolutionary struggle by directing the great hatred which the masses feel towards themselves into harmful channels through tribal and religious struggles.

#### Political structure

In order to ensure that the economic and social structure established in accordance with the interests of the colonialists will fulfil the functions expected of it, an extremely complex network of political and military institutions has been developed. In Kurdistan, these institutions and their leaders, originating from the dominant nation, are on the one hand trying to absorb the Kurds within the Turkish national structure, while on the other hand they were chosen as a means of fulfilling this task of absorption by forcing the popular masses to live under the most difficult economic conditions. In applying this method, the

colonial rulers do not fail to take the utmost advantage of feudal super-structural institutions and their representatives.

We can list as follows the colonial institutions which have been developed in the political sphere and the methods which are applied:

a) All strategic points of Kurdistan are occupied by the Turkish army. In particular, there are a large number of military units in all the cities where the population is concentrated. An atmosphere of pacification is being created by huge military demonstrations performed in view of the masses every day. These are intended to erase right from the beginning any thoughts of liberation which may arise among the people.

b) In the rural areas, the gendarmerie uses terror to maintain an atmosphere of fear which the peasants feel to the very marrow of their bones. While the strong are protected when quarrels break out among the peasants, it has become common practice to take bribes from both sides.

c) Although no struggle has ever been waged for it, the principle of general elections is applied in Kurdistan. In a situation where national oppression and a social structure left over from the Middle Ages are very strong, this principle allows the strongest among the feudals, sheikhs and tribal chiefs and (for the most part these are one and the same people) to enter the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Posing in parliament as defenders of "national unity and

sovereignty" with an attitude more royal than any king himself, these people are the colonialists' favourite agents. While, on the one hand, trying through their presence to legitimize and hide colonialism, on the other hand they are deceiving the people with false election hopes that serve only their own class interests, and are preventing them from taking the genuine path to liberation. They have become so blinded by their own treachery, they make isolated moves in the face of the colonizing nation, and are such lackies that they do not even demand a share for themselves from the plunder of the country.

d) MIT (National Intelligence Agency of Turkey — trans.) is like a state in itself, turning to advantage the backwardness of the national and social structure, it formed an organisation made up of lords, sheikhs and tribal chiefs. The most ruthless agency of Turkish colonialism in Kurdistan, MIT uses this structure to instigate a wide variety of destructive operations in the society (clashes which grow out of religious, tribal and blood feuds), and represents the greatest obstacle to popular unity. Moreover, it uses such organisations as Counter-Guerrilla which it has established against the revolutionary struggle ruthlessly persecutes the national liberationist trends, and organises conspiracies.

e) The task of all the other colonialist institutions, headed by the bourgeois parties, police agencies, courts and educational institutions, is to assimilate, intimidate, take bribes and develop



lackeyism — in essence, to provide an organised and lasting structure for colonialism.

### Part III The Kurdistan Revolution Characteristics of the Kurdistan Revolution

The nature of Kurdistan society, as outlined briefly in the previous section, determines the character of the Kurdistan revolution. The characteristics of this revolution, which is a new type of bourgeois democratic revolution, are as follows:

a) The revolution has two aspects: national and democratic. The national takes as its target the domination of colonialism in the political, military, economic and cultural spheres. In its first stage the revolution is compelled to place this aspect in the forefront. As the national contradiction is the main contradiction, it is the determining factor in the resolution of the other social contradictions. As long as the national contradiction remains unresolved, it is impossible for any other social contradiction to be resolved on its own. The first steps taken towards revolution in the country must of necessity have a national character.

The second aspect of the revolution is the democratic aspect. The aim of the democratic

revolution is to clear away the contradictions in society left over from the Middle Ages. These are contradictions such as feudal and comprador exploitation, tribalism, religious sectarianism and the slave-like dependence of women. As these contradictions are resolved, society will take on a democratic nature.

There is a very close relation between these two aspects of the revolution. The two aspects have nearly merged. The democratic revolution develops in connection with the national revolution which is the dominant aspect. In its development, the national revolution is closely tied to the development of democracy in society.

b) Another aspect of the Kurdistan revolution is related to the question of leadership. The fact that the fundamental force of the revolution will be the worker-peasant alliance very clearly derives both from the foreign domination which has assumed historical continuity and the close collaboration of the local ruling classes which this domination has developed, and from the fact the national bourgeoisie, whose appearance in our day has in general been made very difficult by imperialism and colonialism, has not taken shape as a class in Kurdistan (the appearance of individual elements does not negate this fact); from the fact that, as a class, the landowners and compradors have long since chosen national treachery; and from the weak character of the urban petty-bourgeoisie. Due to its class character, petty-bourgeois nationalism

cannot develop the worker-peasant alliance. Only the ideological, political and organisational leadership of the proletariat can bring about such an alliance.

Both the achievement of and provision of leadership for the worker-peasant alliance demand an unremitting struggle against bourgeois nationalist, national treacherous and revisionist trends.

c) A third characteristic of this revolution is that it will achieve victory through the mobilisation of the broad forces of the people and a long-term struggle. The mobilisation of the broad forces of the people and the strategy of a long-term struggle are not things that have been selected arbitrarily. The colonialists' extremely harsh repression can be confronted only with such an understanding of the struggle. The methods of struggle are of necessity based to a large extent on violence. This does not mean that other methods of struggle will not be used given suitable concrete conditions.

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#### The tasks of the Kurdistan Revolution

The revolution whose characteristics we have outlined above, is a necessary stage in establishing the classless society which is our highest aim, and in arriving at Socialism, the first stage of this society; in essence, the revolution will ensure that the following tasks are accomplished:

A) To end the domination of Kurdistan by



Turkish colonialism and imperialism which stands behind it. For this purpose:

- 1) Establish a broad National Unity Front made up of workers, peasants, intellectuals and patriots coming from other strata.
- 2) Ensure the total organisation of the people by forming units of workers, peasants, artisans, youth and women.
- 3) Conduct the popular struggle which is the main form of struggle against colonialism; for this purpose, to create a popular army whose main force will be the peasantry.
- 4) Put an end to clashes among the people which are provoked by the religious sectarianism and tribalism of the colonialist bourgeois party system and used by the landowners to consolidate their own class domination. To do away with regionalism and narrow bourgeois nationalist approaches.
- 5) Expose defeatist approaches which do not aim to smash the colonial yoke of the Republic of Turkey and propose things like "regional autonomy", "autonomy", etc., which are essentially compromises with colonialism; to wage a determined struggle against these.
- 6) Confiscate the lands of landowners collaborating with the colonialists in the course of the struggle and to distribute them among the landless peasantry.
- 7) Undertake to provide economic, cultural, educational and health services of our own in order to

fight against the various forms of devastation which colonialism has wrought upon the people.

B) To establish a workers' — peasants' government as the first means of implementing the popular democratic dictatorship. This government will carry out the following measures:

- 1) Confiscate all natural resources being exploited by the colonialists, as well as factories, farms and all other enterprises. These will all become public property.
- 2) Colonialism's financial and credit system will be abolished and replaced by an independent financial and credit system.
- 3) The government will enjoy complete sovereignty over the country and provide no military bases or privileges to any other country.
- 4) All land belonging to landowners, except for patriotic elements, will be confiscated, nationalised and distributed free to peasants having little land. As for the patriotic elements, they will be left enough land to live on while the rest will be nationalised through agreements.
- 5) All the debts of poor peasants to usurers and banks will be cancelled.
- 6) Democracy will be ensured for the workers and peasants first and foremost, and for all other patriotic classes and strata; dictatorship will be applied against collaborating landowners and the comprador bourgeoisie. Obstacles to the organisation of the working people in the economic, political and

cultural spheres will be removed, and legislation for organisation in these spheres will be developed.

7) New spheres of work will be opened to workers, importance will be given to the physical and intellectual development of the workers, and it will be attempted to implement the 8-hour working-day.

8) The legal system of colonialism will be abolished and replaced by a democratic legal system.

9) All types of feudal repression of women will be abolished and male-female equality will be ensured in all social and political spheres.

10) All types of repression of minority national and religious groups will be ended.

C) An independent economic structure will be built. To this end:

1) The economy will be directed through central planning.

2) Priority will be given to the development of nationalised heavy industry.

3) The exploitation of natural resources, transportation, trade, banking, and the means of mass communication, etc., will be public property.

4) Land reform will be carried out and the peasants will be won over to collectivisation with the aid and support of the state.

5) Private initiative such as will benefit the development of society will be free and accorded aid and support from the state.

6) National educational and cultural institutions will be formed to replace colonial educational and

cultural institutions. One of the Kurdish dialects will be encouraged to develop into the national language. Intensive research and organisational work will be carried out in the sphere of Kurdish language, literature and history. The whole people will be provided the opportunity to become literate.

D) To support the unity of Kurdistan. To this end:

1) Revolution in each section (colonial section of Kurdistan — trans.) will essentially be the task of the people living in that section.

2) In each section a struggle will be waged against attempts to arrive at a compromise between the people living there and the colonialist state apparatus through various reforms under the name of "autonomy".

3) Efforts will be made to ensure the closest possible support and solidarity among the revolutionary forces fighting in every section.

4) The foundation of unity will be the free will of the people of every section.

E) To apply proletarian internationalism in relations with neighbouring peoples and in international questions. To this end:

1) The principle that, on the basis of the division among different countries, each revolutionary movement will be responsible for the revolution in its own country, will be dominant in relations with the revolutionary forces of the neighbouring peoples; on this basis joint struggles will be undertaken on various



levels.

2) Unity with the neighbouring peoples is based on the freedom and independence of each. A relentless struggle will be waged to break all imposed unity which did not develop on the basis of this fundamental principle.

3) Friendship with the socialist countries, alliance with the National Liberation Movements and solidarity with the working class movement and democratic trends in every part of the world will be established, and a struggle will be waged to preserve world peace.

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