

From solidarity to permanent solutions

Palestine &
The Intellectual Tasks



Academy of
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Contents

The statist paradigm as the cause of the Middle East conflict.....3 <i>Cemil Bayik, co-chair of the KCK</i>	
Religious Fanaticism and Liberalism – The Palestinian Movement Targeted for Liquidation.....15 <i>Cemil Bayik, co-chair of the KCK</i>	
Shared resistance history: Kurdish-Palestinian struggles in the 1980's.....30 <i>Duran Kalkan, PKK Central Committee</i>	
The socialist roots of today’s palestinian solidarity movements.....39 Mustafa Karasu, KCK Executive Committee	
Intellectual Tasks.....43 Abdullah Öcalan	
About the Academy of Democratic Modernity.....64	

The statist paradigm as the cause of the Middle East conflict

- Cemil Bayık, Co-Chair of the Kurdistan Democratic Communities Union (KCK)

Based on Abdullah Öcalan's conception of history, which goes beyond the statist¹ paradigm and looks at historical developments from the perspective of a socialist paradigm, Cemil Bayık analyses the current situation in the Middle East and in particular the Arab-Jewish question and uses it to develop perspectives.

Part 1

As the globalisation of capital increases, all places with human populations become important to the forces of capitalist modernity. This is one of the main reasons why the contradictions and rivalries in Asia and the Pacific have increased in recent years. Because today the capitalist system grows and develops through consumption. That is why today's world is called a consumer society, which is a correct term. The system of capitalist modernity has reached the stage of a consumer society. Thanks to the development of science and technology, the problem of production has already been solved: everything imaginable can be produced. However, this does not mean that the problems have been solved. On the contrary, we are in a phase in which the problems are particularly great. This is because the system of capitalist modernity is still dominant. The existence of capitalist modernity prevents the problems from being solved. On the other hand, the fact that consumption has become the main means of capital has led to the

1 Statism refers to a political assumption according to which economic, social or ecological problems can be overcome through government action.

problems being shifted to the outside of people and society. This manifests itself in the destruction of nature, the destruction of ecology and the increasingly uninhabitable state of our planet. When the main goal was consumption itself, everything, including nature, became more and more objectified. Abdullah Öcalan² has stated that the system of civilisation, which has developed through the separation of subject and object and the deepening of the difference between them, has reached its maximum depth in the system of capitalist modernity and will gradually reach a stage where even the subject is objectified. We are now experiencing such a stage. This is naturally reflected in more contradictions, competition, conflicts and wars. This is happening in the form of the Third World War³. Because contradictions are not local or regional, but universal. The respective contradiction arises from the system itself.

The most modern navy in the world is in the Middle East

Since the system exists everywhere, contradictions and states of war have been carried everywhere. Undoubtedly, these contradictions are played out through certain centres. One of these centres is the Middle East. It has been an important centre since ancient times. Therefore, the region was also one of the centres of contradictions and conflicts. It still holds this position today. The increase in contradictions and rivalries in other places such as Asia in the consumer society phase does not mean that the importance of the Middle East has diminished. On the contrary, it has increased. The recent developments in the Middle East are also important in that they highlight the fallacy of such a discussion.

Abdullah Öcalan has already stated that all contradictions and conflicts today fall within the realm of the Third World War. This is best illustrated by recent developments in the Middle East. If this were not

2 Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), in solitary confinement in Turkey since 1999

3 "Towards a common fight for peace", KR 224, p. 41 ff.

the case, the most modern war systems in the world would not have been brought to this region. The most modern war fleet in the world is currently in the Middle East.

When the developments in Palestine became apparent, the USA brought its largest warship to the region. It is rumoured that the second ship will also be brought there. It is also rumoured that the United Kingdom will bring its naval fleet to the region. The largest US warship means the largest naval fleet in the world. That means a serious war posture. It would be wrong to say that this only applies to Israel's war against Gaza and Hamas. There is no doubt that Israel's existence and security are very important to the USA and NATO. Even if it is only for this reason, there is nevertheless an attitude to war that could be followed by action. However, the existence and security of the State of Israel is a regional issue. It concerns not only the area on which it was established, but the entire Middle East.

The founding of the state of Israel, which led to a renewed escalation of the historical Arab-Jewish question and the emergence of the Palestinian question, is closely linked to the Middle East policy of the forces of capitalist modernity. For one of the cornerstones of the established order in the Middle East is the existence and security of the state of Israel. One result of this order is the Palestinian question. Because of this situation, the Palestinian question is a question that affects the entire Middle East to this day. The actions of Hamas on 7 October and the subsequent Israeli attacks on the Gaza Strip and the region have reconfirmed this fact. It is not yet clear how these developments will turn out.

Now everyone is discussing it and trying to predict how events will turn out or develop. There is no doubt that it is difficult to predict at the moment. We don't know whether it will be an escalating war or a series of conflicts with defined borders. However, the deepening contradictions between the forces of capitalist modernity and the deepening crisis of the system show that developments will take place

within the framework of the Third World War. This is also reflected in the attitudes that are expressed. On the other hand, the development is not only to be observed in the Middle East. Developments in other parts of the world are also heading in this direction.

The war in Ukraine is an example of this. With Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the Third World War has left the borders of the Middle East for the first time. However, current developments indicate that the centre of the war will once again be the Middle East. In fact, it has always been the centre of war, without interruption. In Kurdistan and Palestine, there has been uninterrupted war for a hundred years. The whole region has always been a battleground for the Kurdish and Palestinian question. What is new now is that capitalist modernity has reached the stage of consumer society and its consequences are coming to light. The most important conclusion we must draw from this is that the Third World War is intensifying in the Middle East as well as in other parts of the world and that future developments will take place on this basis.

For the Kurdish and Palestinian issues, just as for the Jewish people, a real and lasting solution is important

One of the main pillars of the existing order in the Middle East is undoubtedly the policy based on the genocide of the Kurds. This reality must be taken into account when analysing the Palestinian question, the order in the Middle East and the new developments. Otherwise, one cannot properly understand the origin of the problems, the nature of the developments and thus the results that will emerge. The order imposed in Kurdistan and Palestine is an expression of the order established in the Middle East. This is based on the genocide of both peoples. Therefore, the positive and negative developments in Kurdistan and Palestine have an impact on the entire region. While the struggle of the two peoples and their striving for freedom shake the genocidal,

colonialist order in the Middle East, the prevailing "order" strengthens it. And likewise, the existence and the question of the Jewish people is a reality in the Middle East. This is also an important fact of the region. The existence and the question of the Jewish people cannot be ignored or denied.

The change of the order that has emerged in the Middle East, which is based on the interests of capitalist modernity, can only be achieved in this way: a process on a democratic basis with the overcoming of the relations of domination and exploitation and the enabling of a free and equal coexistence of the peoples. It is important to look at the Kurdish, Arab and Jewish question from such a perspective. All other approaches are absolutely wrong and incomplete. Arab nationalism (in the context of anti-Semitism) sees the problem in the return of the Jews to the Middle East, while Jewish nationalism (Zionism) sees the problem in the existence of the Arabs: For some to exist, the others must disappear. This is a completely wrong approach. These approaches, which are the result of nationalism and a nation-statist mentality, have only deepened the problems to this day. These approaches are the reason for all the painful losses. At the same time, this approach, which has developed as a result of the statist mentality and its nation-state variant, is presented as the only option. But in reality, it is not the only option for the peoples. Such a historical reading is completely wrong and unfounded. It is only right that neither the return of the Jews to the Middle East nor the existence of the Palestinians is the problem. By going to the roots of history, Abdullah Öcalan has uncovered the reality that underlies all issues, including the Arab-Jewish question, in their historical development. This new reading of history developed by Abdullah Öcalan is extremely scientific. It has a quality that correctly reveals social reality. Abdullah Öcalan's new conception of history, which goes beyond the statist paradigm and looks at historical developments from the perspective of a socialist paradigm, is of the utmost importance for solving the problems in the Middle East.

The historical Arab-Jewish question arose as a result of the development of state civilisation. Even independently of each other, the Arab and Jewish questions are a result of state civilisation. Abdullah Öcalan dealt with this in detail in his consideration of the historical development. He has shown the connection with the contradiction between the Hurrians⁴ and the Amurites⁵ in history⁶. These are important, and without knowing or taking them into account, it is not possible to understand the nature of today's problems and offer a solution. Because then the consequence would be that no solutions can be developed for the problems and that they continue to worsen. One of the issues that has intensified as a result of this approach is the Arab-Jewish question. To date, there is no other approach to the Arab-Jewish question than the current view: The forces that oppose each other as enemies have agreed to solve the problem with the mentality of capitalist modernity and its nation-state understanding.

Nevertheless, both suffer from the mentality of capitalist modernity and its nation-state understanding. However, the Arab-Jewish question, which we encounter today as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is based on the nation-state mentality and the nation-state approach. The approach of establishing nation-states in the old territories where Arabs and Jews live is the main cause of this problem. Without overcoming this approach, a solution to the problem will not be possible. Indeed, this is essential not only for the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but also for the solution of all problems in the Middle East, especially the Kurdish question.

4 The Hurrians were in the 3rd and 2nd millenniums B.C. BC settled on the border with northern Mesopotamia.

5 The Amurrites were an ancient Semitic-speaking people from the Near East. They are mainly found in the area of the middle Euphrates.

6 This is about the contradiction and conflicts between sedentary peoples in city states and nomadic peoples. See Abdullah Öcalan's comments on the early history of the Middle East in various of his books.

The emergence of the Palestinian question

Just like the emergence of the Kurdish question, the emergence of the Palestinian question is also a result of the Middle East policy of capitalist modernity. In the period before the First World War, the approach of the forces of capitalist modernity in the Middle East was to dismantle the Ottoman Empire and create dependent nation states. The Ottoman state's alliance with Germany could not prevent the development of this process. After Germany's defeat in the First World War, Great Britain and France reshaped the world and the Middle East. The influence and control of Great Britain in particular developed in the Middle East. The geography of the Middle East was fragmented as far as possible in the form of dependent states. Kurdistan was divided into four nation states and the Kurdish people were included in the series of genocides. This was the result of an agreement between the Turkish state and the forces of capitalist modernity. On the one hand, the Kurdish people were exposed to genocide; on the other, the Turkish, Persian and Arab nation states were made dependent. The forces of capitalist modernity considered this method suitable for asserting their interests. The extermination and liquidation of numerous peoples, such as the Armenians and Assyrians, also took place within this process. And the re-emergence of the Arab-Jewish question and the emergence of the Palestinian question are also results of this process.

There is no doubt that each question has its own aspects. The return of the Jewish people to the Middle East in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the process that followed should be seen in this light. With the development of capitalist modernity in Europe, pogroms and massacres against the Jewish people also increased. As a result, the Jews developed the idea of settling in the Middle East, which they regarded as their old land, and establishing their own state there. To overcome the obstacles to this endeavour, they enlisted the support of the forces of capitalist modernity. This was the main reason why the problematic situation arose. At that time, Britain tried to balance the dynamics in order to make the Middle East more dependent on itself. This is a classic method of the system of capitalist modernity and

imperialism. In short, it is a policy of balance and divide and rule. It would not be wrong to say that Britain has exploited the situation of the Jewish people in its approach to the "Middle East" question and the Arab question. The approach of the forces of capitalist modernity is based on the relationship of interests, and Britain acted in this spirit at the time.

There is certainly also a reason that involves broader issues. For example, Britain feared that the US would support Germany in the war because the Jews who had fled to America from the pogroms in Russia had established relationships with the US. To prevent this, Great Britain began to come to terms with those Jews with whom it had contact and to take a greater interest in the Jewish cause. This was because Russia sided with Great Britain against Germany in the First World War. During this time, Russia was the place where pogroms against Jews occurred most frequently. In the end, the feared scenario did not materialise and Great Britain was the victor of the war. The October Revolution developed in Russia.

Later, however, the Jewish population was mainly exposed to massacres and genocide under the Nazis. As a result, there was an increased immigration of Jews to the Middle East. With all these processes, Arab-Jewish contradictions and conflicts have also increased. With the founding of the nation state of Israel, this conflict has intensified and deepened to this day. The flight of the Jewish people from the pogroms in Europe to the Middle East was indeed a correct and necessary step. For in the Middle East, the Jewish community will come into contact with itself and ensure its development. Outside the Middle East, it is not possible for the Jewish people to develop as a society and secure its existence. Abdullah Öcalan explains this in a historical, social and current analysis.

However, the fact that the return of the Jewish people to the Middle East was conceived with a nation-state mentality and the process was to be carried out accordingly led to the opposite results. In addition to the

nation-state mentality, the presence of historical religious and even tribalist perceptions has further deepened the contradiction. This has led to a situation that is even more dangerous than before, not to mention the fact that the Jewish people must overcome the issue of its existence and create the conditions that will ensure its development. The process can be summarised as follows: The history of the Jewish people and the development of the genocide that the Palestinian people are facing today are an example of results of designs made with an statist mentality. Because the situation is extremely painful. The Jewish people came to the Middle East, to the land of Palestine, because of the massacres they were subjected to in Europe. The reason why the Jews were subjected to massacres that led to genocide is state civilisation in the form of capitalist modernity and the understanding of the nation state. However, due to the same mentality, the Palestinian people are exposed to massacres and genocide. This situation is indeed an example from which lessons should be learnt. There is probably no other historical event that is as exemplary and instructive as this one.

The nation-state approach exacerbates the problems

The fact that problems cannot be solved with the nation-state model, but are exacerbated, is best illustrated by the Arab-Jewish question, the emergence of the Kurdish question and the fact that these issues remain unresolved. This is also a result of the nation-state approach, just as other problems in the Middle East are based on this very approach. Since it could not be overcome in the Middle East, it has not been possible to solve the problems. Almost none of the problems have been solved and no developments have been set in motion to solve them. As the Israeli-Palestinian conflict shows, there are serious problems that could plunge the entire region into war at any time. The same applies to the Kurdish question. The genocidal, colonialist and nation-state mentality of the Turkish state against the Kurds and its corresponding policies are linked to conflicts, war and genocide in the Middle East. This situation shows that in reality there is no development and that

what is called development is purely formal and not real. Moreover, the constant interference of the powers of capitalist modernity in the Middle East, their organisation and management of the Middle East according to their interests, is also due to this mentality. It was the forces of capitalist modernity that designed the Middle East on the basis of nation states. This system still exists. If there has been a change, it has been in the form of US and NATO intervention in some regimes based on the needs of the global capital system. This is not a qualitative change. National-statism continues to dominate thinking and policy in the Middle East.

The role of the nation-state approach in the current phase of the Palestinian question is crucial. Arab nationalism against Jewish nationalism has not only failed to solve the problem, it has actually exacerbated it. It has gone so far as to adopt a fanatical stance on the one hand, while on the other it can adopt the opposite stance when conditions change. The fact that the Arab nation states have not always stood up for the cause of the Palestinian people has hurt the Palestinian cause the most, especially at the beginning of the conflict. With the official establishment of the State of Israel, the Arab nation states adopted a radical stance towards Israel. Over time, however, opposition to Israel and the Palestinian cause have taken a political form.

With the coming to power of Nasserism⁷ and later the Baath parties⁸ in Syria and Iraq, the Israeli question and the Palestinian cause became a political rivalry. This approach of the Arab nation states also prevented or hindered the independent development of the Palestinian movement. A generalised approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is undoubtedly wrong. In order to understand the truth, it is important to look at events and phenomena in their historical development, their contexts and interconnections. However, this should not be done in such a way that

7 Gamal Abdel Nasser's (Prime Minister of Egypt from 1952-54) version of the idea of a unified Arab nation from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf is known as Nasserism.

8 The ideology of Baathism combines nationalist pan-Arabism and revolutionary secularism with the elements of Arab socialism.

everything is equalised. It is the mentality and policies of the Israeli state that have created the Palestinian question. Just like the Turkish state, the Israeli state also suffers from a genocidal mentality. The Israeli state deals with the Palestinian people in the same way as the Turkish state deals with the Kurdish people. The Turkish state builds its existence on the Kurdish genocide. In the same way, the Israeli state has built its existence on the genocide and annihilation of the Palestinian people. The approach based on Arab nationalism has reinforced this mentality. These two nationalisms have fuelled each other.

Jewish nationalism stipulates that Palestine belongs entirely to Israel and for this purpose the Arabs must be eliminated; Arab nationalism envisages the establishment of Arab sovereignty in Palestine and that Israel must be destroyed for this purpose. These two nation-state approaches, characterized by traditional nationalism and religion, have rendered the issue unresolvable given the escalation of the conflict and the genocide of the Palestinian people.

The failure of the Arab nation-states to truly embrace the Palestinian cause and find a solution to the problem initially had a positive impact on the development of the Palestinian movement. After the defeat of the Arab nation-states by Israel in 1967, the Palestinian movement began to strengthen and fight for the liberation of the Palestinian people by truly embracing the Palestinian cause. Since then, the struggle of the Palestinian people has grown stronger and is recognized throughout the world. The Palestinian movement and the struggle of the Palestinian people have been supported by the peoples of the Middle East and around the world.

Many people from the Middle East and the world have joined the fight for the cause of the Palestinian people in the ranks of the Palestinian movement. Support for the Palestinian cause in the region and in the world undoubtedly rests on the fact that the Palestinian movement has a socialist perspective. It received support from many socialist countries and movements, especially the Soviets. As is known, the PKK also

traveled to the areas where the Palestinian movement was present and carried out actions in solidarity with the Palestinian movement. During this time, the PKK, which had just completed its formative phase, fought on the front line during the Israeli attack on Beirut, and as a guerrilla movement it suffered its first casualties here. These relationships forged by the Kurdish freedom movement have enabled the peoples of Palestine and Kurdistan to stand in solidarity with each other to this day.

Religious Fanaticism and Liberalism – The Palestinian Movement Targeted for Liquidation

- *Cemil Bayık, Co-Chair of the Kurdistan Democratic Communities Union (KCK)*

In the first part of Cemil Bayık's analysis, the focus is on the statist paradigm as the cause of the Middle East conflict, while the analysis in the present part examines the role of religious ideology and liberalism in the Middle East conflict as well as Turkey's role in it and ultimately the needs in the Middle East to demonstrate the fight for freedom.

Part 2

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, brought back to the agenda by Hamas attacks, is currently the subject of much discussion. Some consider Hamas's methods to be wrong and condemn them, others also consider them wrong but claim that Israel's policies are the cause. With intensive disinformation, every argument is focused on the one moment of the Hamas attack, thereby distorting reality.

To curb the influence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East and weaken popular democratic movements, the United States developed a strategy incorporating religious ideology and supported the movements that developed based on such ideologies. This policy was made official in 1977 under the name “Green Belt Project” and was developed by the USA in the following years. The implementation of this policy began on the occasion of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and consisted of developing and supporting movements based on religious ideology with the aim of weakening the socialist and democratic movements. The aim

was to weaken Soviet influence in the Middle East. As socialist and democratic popular movements developed, the influence of the USA and NATO in the Middle East declined. The Soviet Union increased its influence in the Middle East by supporting these socialist and democratic movements. In contrast, the USA, NATO and other powers of capitalist modernity resorted to supporting religious ideologies in the Middle East. The spread and development of religious movements in the Middle East took place against this background.

The Al-Qaeda and Taliban movements in Afghanistan, which later became known as radical religious groups, were the organizations supported and established by the US and NATO in this context. Osama bin Laden, as a member of the Saudi royal family, was asked by the USA to set up an organization to influence the population; and he was sent to Afghanistan to fight alongside the Taliban against the Soviets. The Taliban were founded in Pakistan by the CIA, trained and fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union, which was eventually forced to withdraw from Afghanistan. The organizations mentioned took over the state administration in Afghanistan. Al-Qaeda and the Taliban are the most well-known movements, but all religious movements in the Middle East have been favored, influenced and supported by the US and NATO under this policy. In addition to Pakistan and Afghanistan, movements based on religious ideology have also developed in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Kurdistan, Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt and other North African countries. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the weakening of socialist movements around the world, these religious-ideological movements had fulfilled their task. Therefore, the USA developed the project of “Moderate Islam” in harmony with global capital. Some movements, such as the Taliban, which had seized state power, did not undergo this development process and remained as an independent power, making them a target for the US.

In this context, Hamas was favored and supported by the US and Israel to weaken the Palestinian movement. As is well known, Hamas developed as part of the Ikhwan movement. The so-called Ikhwan al-

Muslim, also known as the Muslim Brotherhood, is an organization supported and influenced by the USA and NATO. Like other religious movements, the Ikhwan al-Muslimin has undertaken activities against Arab nationalism and Arab independence movements because of their ties with the socialist movement; their main goal was to prevent the spread of socialism.

These movements did not have a stance against the USA, Israel and NATO, but existed through their support. Hamas was pushed by the CIA and Mossad as an offshoot of the Ikhwan movement in Palestine in order to weaken the Palestinian movement. That was their job. Today, Hamas is in conflict with the State of Israel because its mission has been fulfilled. It is like the conflict between Al-Qaeda or the Taliban and the USA. The religious ideology was promoted by the USA, Israel and NATO with a specific purpose in mind. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the relative weakening of the democratic popular movements, the religious-ideological movements fulfilled their mission and lost the role assigned to them. They can only act in accordance with the policies of the powers with which they are in conflict: the USA, Israel and NATO. Because these movements were favored by secret services, including Hamas. Therefore, Hamas cannot play any role in the liberation and freedom of the Palestinian people, not even in the future.

As part of the “Green Belt Project,” organizations based on a religious ideology were also founded in Kurdistan. As a freedom movement developed in Northern Kurdistan, a religious counter-movement called "Hezbollah" was founded against the PKK and the revolution in Kurdistan. This structure was led by the state itself.

It is known what role this organization “Hezbollah” played and how it massacred thousands of Kurdish patriots. Their structure is still used by the state. Since Turkey became a member of NATO, religious movements have been created and maintained by the state itself. How and for what purpose religious-ideological organizations are founded in

the Middle East can best be understood by looking at the situation in Turkey. Religious and ideological organizations were officially organized there under the name “Anti-Communist Associations”. The costs were borne by the CIA. The clique that runs Turkey today, including Tayyip Erdoğan, consists of people who are active in or trained in these organizations. Fethullah Gülen is one of the founders of the anti-communist associations. With the military coup of 1980, the Kemalist ideology was replaced by this ideology. Since then, the movement has no longer been a movement supported and directed by the state, but rather a movement that is directed by the state itself. This context is important to know the development of the religious ideology-based movement in Turkey.

The Oslo process was a trap set to liquidate the Palestinian movement

Liberalism has weakened the Palestinian movement. It was promoted within the Palestinian movement by the cessation of struggle and the idea of achieving results through the use of diplomacy, which made the Palestinian movement less effective. While attention focused on diplomacy, many of the movement's leading cadres were targeted by Israel. The more the struggle receded into the background and the more the movement was weakened by the shooting of cadres, the more emphasis was placed on diplomacy. However, the development that became the Oslo process was a trap that encouraged the liquidation of the Palestinian movement. Unfortunately, the Palestinian leadership fell into this trap and did great damage to the cause. As is well known, Yasser Arafat was locked up in the headquarters in Ramallah and surrounded by people who saw the solution in aligning with the USA. He was then presumably poisoned.

The liberal drift of the Palestinian movement undoubtedly has ideological and political dimensions. After the dissolution of real socialism, movements that were based on left-wing, socialist and Marxist ideology experienced ideological aberrations.

The Soviet Union itself dissolved for ideological reasons without any direct external intervention. In this situation, it was to be expected that the movements that were oriented towards the Soviet Union would develop in a similar way. In fact, socialist and democratic movements worldwide were affected by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Abdullah Öcalan prevented such a drift by the PKK by initiating an ideological change and a paradigm shift. He also took the lead in the fight for equality, freedom and democracy in the new era with his understanding of a non-state socialism based on ecology and women's liberation by breaking away from the state-oriented paradigm. Undoubtedly, Abdullah Öcalan developed this ideological development on the basis of revolutionizing mentality and gave it an ideological-political framework. Had such a transformation taken place in the Palestinian movement, it would not be in its current situation and state. Now it must be about setting a transformation in motion, overcoming the nation-state mentality and adopting the mentality of the democratic nation.

The Turkish state is the power in the Middle East, which particularly benefits from the existing balance of power in the region and is therefore the most sensitive to changes. It fears that its position could be weakened.

However, this concern is not due to adherence to a principle. Perhaps this approach of wanting to benefit from the existing balance of power can be attributed to all states; However, the potential or opportunity to do so is not the same everywhere and for every state. There are conditions and geopolitical and geostrategic realities in Turkey that favor its opportunities in this regard. Its geopolitical position gives Turkey importance. Since its founding, the Turkish state has made policies based on this position and has sought to garner support for its policies. From this it achieved important results.

First and foremost, it was able to carry out his policy of genocide against the Kurdish population with outside support. The basis of the Turkish state's policy is the genocide against the Kurds. It built its existence on it. The fact that it can maintain this policy of genocide to this day was in the past and is only possible today with the support of foreign powers, especially the USA and NATO. Foreign powers are undoubtedly providing this support to Turkey because of its geopolitical importance. One of the main powers supporting the Turkish state is Israel.

In fact, Turkey has received so much support from the US and NATO because it has a positive stance towards Israel. The fact that this support continues today is also linked to the continuation of these relationships. Therefore, Israel's support for the Turkish state is very important.

Israel's role in the international plot against Abdullah Öcalan clearly demonstrates this importance. Because the international plot is to support the Turkish state in its policy of genocide against the Kurds at the highest level. It was based on a US-Israeli plan that was implemented in coordination with NATO.

In this respect, relations with Israel are very important for the Turkish state. The deterioration of these relations would mean that the support the Turkish state receives from foreign powers would be at risk. The Turkish state's slowed response to the Israeli attacks on the Gaza Strip and the lack of further steps must be seen in this context. It can be seen that the Turkish state is extremely concerned about the developments, which it clearly expresses. But its reaction is very moderate and weak. This is an expression of the politics and character of the Turkish state. Some people, ignorant of the politics and character of the Turkish state, expected Tayyip Erdoğan to react harshly to the situation. Of course he didn't. Since special warfare is very developed in Turkey, it is difficult to understand the realities. One of the characteristics of the Turkish state is that it makes heavy use of special warfare and uses its means to

influence people's perceptions. In recent years, especially under the fascist AKP-MHP government, this policy has increased significantly.

Because a climate of oppression has been created, fueled by nationalism, chauvinism and fascism, these conditions are not openly and adequately discussed. Turkish public opinion and Turkish intellectuals are very inadequate in this regard. The intensive use of special warfare and propaganda is a result of this and at the same time an indicator of the low value placed on society. Society in Turkey is not informed about this and cannot free itself from this situation.

Now much of society will think that Tayyip Erdoğan cares about the future of the Palestinian people and is committed to them as if he were in Gaza himself. But it is the activities of the Special Warfare Center that make the public think this way. This is seen and presented as a success by those in power, but in reality it is not a success for a society, but a defeat.

Israel's policy against Palestine is a strategy pursued by NATO

The Turkish state was founded at a time when the world was divided into two poles and the two poles were moving closer to each other⁹. It has benefited more than any other state from this constellation. During the state founding process it acted politically and benefited from both blocs.

As the antagonism between poles intensified in the 1930s and World War II began, the Turkish state took its place in the bloc of capitalist modernity led by the United States and later taking shape as NATO. When NATO was founded, Turkey became a member of this organization. As is well known, NATO became the power that

9 After the October Revolution, the end of the civil war and the founding of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union gradually concluded various international treaties over the course of the 1920s, including with Western countries.

determined world politics and developed corresponding strategies. The founding of Israel was also strategically favored by the Western powers. NATO is the center where all Middle East policy is shaped. So Israeli policy towards Palestine is a NATO strategy and is supported by NATO. Without the support of the US and NATO, Israel would not be able to pursue this policy. Just like the policy of genocide against the Kurds, the policy of genocide against the Palestinians would also be unthinkable without the support of NATO. As you can see, the Turkish state and Israel are surprisingly similar in many ways.

Turkey benefits from interstate contradictions, both because of its geopolitical location and because it is a member of NATO. Therefore, Turkey does not want the contradictions between the states to weaken, because that would weaken its own position. One of the contradictions that Turkey benefited from was that between the United States and the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, Turkey benefited greatly from this contradiction. It implemented its policies with the full support of NATO.

This support continued even after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Because the world entered a new process, World War III, and NATO continued to exist despite the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The international plot against Abdullah Öcalan is also an expression of support for Turkey. At the same time, this was also a return for the Turkish state's actions within the framework of the policies of the USA and NATO. Because all interventions in the Middle East took place within this framework. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, this policy was pursued as part of the Third World War. Since Turkey acts in accordance with US and NATO policies, it continues to receive their support. On the other hand, Turkey benefited greatly from the Russo-Ukrainian war. Because this war increased the contradictions between states. Relations between the USA and Russia and between Russia and Europe are tense. On the one hand, Turkey has benefited from these tensions as a NATO member; on the other hand, it has received

economic and political support from Russia by maintaining its relations. Although it seems contradictory, Russia has supported the Turkish government despite its NATO membership. The reason is the given conditions and its own situation.

One of the contradictions from which Turkey benefited the most was the contradiction between Israel and the Arab states. As is well known, after the founding of the State of Israel, one of the most important dimensions of the Middle East policy of the USA and NATO was the security of the State of Israel. One of the most important pillars of this policy was the presence and support of the Turkish state. In fact, Turkey was one of the first states to recognize Israel. The official policy of the State of Israel was the genocide of the Palestinian people and the establishment of a state based solely on Judaism. This is also a policy of the USA and NATO. The role of the Turkish state was to support this policy of Israel in the Middle East. On the other hand, such a policy meant the beginning of an endless Jewish-Arab war.

Since the immigration of Jewish people to the Palestinian territories, this conflict-ridden situation has continued to this day. Current events are of course part and continuation of these developments. The Turkish state has benefited immensely from this conflict-ridden situation between the Israeli state and the Arab states. By siding with Israel, it has received support from Israel, the US and NATO. It has even occasionally received support from Arab states in conflict with Israel.

Undoubtedly, the Turkish state carried out the policy of genocide against the Kurds with all this support. It has already entered into these relationships in order to receive the appropriate support. This genocide is also the reason why the Turkish state joined NATO. Whenever there are events in the world or in the region that strain political relations, some, usually among those in power, say that Turkey could or should leave NATO. These statements are unfounded. The Turkish state will never leave NATO. It knows very well that it cannot carry out its policy of genocide against the Kurds without NATO. Everyone knows that.

After the Turkish state attacked Rojava, the Israeli attack on Gaza began

The Israeli attacks on Gaza and Palestine since October 7, 2023 have revealed the hypocritical reality of the Turkish state and the AKP-MHP government in many aspects.

The fact that the Turkish media keeps the issue so high on the agenda is partly due to the need to cover up this hypocrisy. As you will remember, the Turkish state carried out a major attack on Rojava, using the attack in Ankara¹⁰ as a pretext. Before the attack, the foreign and defense ministers publicly stated that Rojava's entire infrastructure was now in their sights. And then the attack on Rojava was begun. During the air raids, every type of underground and above-ground structure was bombed and hit. These included dams, power plants, hospitals, schools, settlements, grocery stores, oil refineries, workshops, factories, etc. Dozens of people lost their lives. The attacks are still ongoing. In fact, the Turkish state has been carrying out these attacks for years. The difference is that this time they were more intense and violent. Five days after these attacks by the Turkish state, the Israeli attack on the Gaza Strip began.

While the Turkish state is taking such a stance towards Rojava, Tayyip Erdoğan stated without blushing that the attacks on the Gaza Strip should stop and the places should not be attacked from the air. However, what Tayyip Erdoğan is doing is no different from what Netanyahu is doing. In many ways it's even worse. But why is the Turkish state concerned about the situation in Gaza, and how can it express this unchallenged in public when it is conducting an operation that slaughters the Kurds?

10 PKK attack on the Turkish Interior Ministry in Ankara on October 1, 2023

Everyone has to ask themselves these two questions and find the right answers

Only then will the truth about the Turkish state, the AKP-MHP government and Tayyip Erdoğan be revealed. The situation of public opinion in Turkey will then also be understood.

The only reason why the Turkish state is concerned about the situation of the Palestinians, which has been aggravated by the attacks of Hamas and whose consequences for the region cannot be foreseen, is the possibility of the emergence of new balances of power which could endanger its policy of genocide against the Kurds. The Turkish state cannot bear the thought of this possibility. Such a situation would be extremely problematic, especially for the AKP-MHP government, which has based its entire existence on the genocide against the Kurds. In this respect, this possibility worries them very much. Contrary to its portrayal on television and other media, Turkey otherwise does not care about the suffering of the people of Gaza and Palestine, the loss of Palestinian lives and the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homes. It is the requirement of state policy to hide the real concern and thus obscure it. This dirty form of politics has increased with the AKP-MHP government. Almost everything is distorted in Turkey, even small things.

This makes society incapable of recognizing the truth. This is the way fascism rules society. In reality, the Turkish state is concerned with the policy of genocide against the Kurds. If the Turkish state sees that the current situation and its consequences do not endanger the policy of genocide against the Kurds, that it can benefit from the new developments or that a corresponding offer is made to it, it will lose this fear. In such a situation, Turkey would work towards further development of the conflict and war situation.

This has always been the attitude of the Turkish state. The Turkish state definitely does not want an end to the Arab-Jewish conflict in the

Middle East and a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As tensions between Israel and the Arab states decreased in recent years and agreements were reached between them, the Turkish state was extremely concerned about this. It accused the Arab states of betraying the Palestinian cause. The Arab states have not taken a stance that serves the Palestinian cause.

But the Turkish state's concern is not with the Palestinian cause, but with the diminishing contradictions in the Middle East and the resulting waning support for its policy of genocide against the Kurds. The renewed tensions do not worry the Turkish state. If it knows that a situation will not harm its policy of genocide against the Kurds, then it works to escalate the situation. Therefore, we should not doubt that the Turkish state and the AKP-MHP government work towards exactly that.

Only on the basis of Kurdish reality can the truth in Turkey be revealed and understood

Since the bombing of Gaza began, criticism has developed that the AKP-MHP government is not sincere on the Palestine issue and is deceiving society. This criticism is voiced by some Turkish intellectuals and journalists. There is no doubt that this criticism is correct, but because it ignores the Kurdish reality, it is inadequate and does not have the necessary impact.

Unfortunately, due to the influence of nationalism and government pressure, the truth cannot be fully understood and expressed. That is why no positive developments can be initiated in Turkey. It is clear that the Turkish intellectual, left, socialist and democratic movements are inadequate in this regard. This also applies to the area of democratic politics, because it is also their responsibility to develop it. The truth in Turkey can only be revealed and understood by taking into account the Kurdish reality. Even if the truth is spoken, it will have no effect and no result. Even saying from morning to night that the AKP-MHP government, Tayyip Erdoğan and the religious movements in Turkey do

not care about the Palestinian cause will not have a significant impact on society. Because reality remains hidden. Anyone can pretend to support the Palestinian cause by wearing a thousand and one masks. The way to prevent and change this is to represent the cause of the Kurdish people, criticize and question the state and the AKP-MHP government on this basis. If the fascist leader Tayyip Erdoğan says that the bombing of Gaza must stop, Turkey would have to say with a loud voice, "Then why are you bombing Rojava?" If that were said, then the government's mask would fall, Turkish society would understand reality and be able to assess the situation accordingly. This is what is not happening in Turkey but is necessary.

The consequences of the situation that has arisen are now being intensively discussed worldwide. However, these discussions are far from showing the fundamental causes of the problem and the ways to solve it. The discussions are mainly about the outcome and what might happen after the war. However, it is clear who wants what. So everyone will strive to carry out its will; the one with the greatest social, economic, political and military power is more likely to achieve its own goals. That's easy to say and not a false statement. But if you ask yourself whether all this can solve the existing problems, the answer to that will be negative. We have seen that the balance of power in the Middle East is very delicate. In such a phase of the Third World War, playing with the constellations in the Middle East and the intention of war can lead to an unpredictable course of the conflict. The scenarios proposed are worrying in this sense. The goal of the State of Israel is clear. It wants to push the genocide against the Palestinians further with every step. It is clear that it is trying to take advantage of the current conditions. It is currently conducting an intense bombardment against Gaza, but it is not known whether it will limit himself to this.

The USA and Great Britain have brought their warships to the Middle East. These are the largest war fleets in the world. Additionally, the US government has committed enormous resources to this situation. According to their own information, an unprecedented amount of

funding was requested and approved by the US Congress. It is also stated that a significant part of these funds will be used for the war in Ukraine. Iran and the structures it has created in Lebanon and Syria that are close to Iran are the target. The contradictions with Iran are well known. On the other hand, China has interfered in politics and the constellations of forces in the Middle East in recent years. China played an important role in the Saudi-Iranian rapprochement, which is considered very important. It is obvious that the US does not like this situation. Russia is involved in a war in Ukraine.

There has never been a lack of war in the Middle East. Now a basis has been created that will strengthen it even further. The Turkish state is already trying to exacerbate the problems and create a conflict-ridden constellation in order to advance the genocide against the Kurds. It is now widely known that it wants to invade Rojava and eliminate the order there, that is, the system of democratic autonomy. The goal of the Turkish state is not limited to occupying Rojava and liquidating the Rojava Revolution. His goal is to drive the Kurds out of Rojava. It also wants to drive out the Kurds who are resisting in other parts of Kurdistan and continue to fight for the freedom of Kurdistan. In this way it wants to achieve its ultimate goal, the genocide of the Kurds. It wants to use the situation that has now arisen to do this.

The solution is the development of the democratic nation

This is the situation in which capitalist modernity finds itself. It has never taken any other path than the intensification of the war. Therefore, peoples must organize themselves and develop their struggles according to this reality. Of course, it is not the states that will solve the problems, but the democratic social struggles. There is no way to solve the problems in the Middle East with the state and nation-state mentality. The root of all today's difficulties in the Middle East, especially the Palestinian and Kurdish "question", is the state-fixated mentality and its nation-state variant. The solution can only lie in overcoming this

mentality and developing the democratic nation. This is a method of life and solution that is based on the democratic system of society by overcoming all types of monistic understanding of the nation state. What is needed in the Middle East is the development of such an understanding of life and solution. When Abdullah Öcalan introduced the concept of the democratic nation, he did so to solve the problems of the Middle East.

Therefore, we must think about and fight for the solution of the “Palestinian question”, which is one of the most fundamental problems of the Middle East, through a democratic nation. The Kurdish people have been fighting for their freedom for decades. With the fight against the international conspiracy and the new mentality and paradigm developed by Abdullah Öcalan, it has now taken this fight to the international level. The struggle of the Palestinian people in particular and the struggle for freedom and democracy in the Middle East and throughout the world can lead to greater unity and solidarity between the struggles for freedom and democracy, which will lead to a real solution to the problems.

The democratic struggle of the Jewish people against the official state mentality is also very important. Despite the beating of the drum for war and genocide, it is extremely important that this idea and this struggle develop among the Jewish people. Added to this is the struggle of the other peoples of the Middle East.

It will be possible to develop a perspective of democratic nationhood and the brotherhood of peoples and to overcome the problems through solidarity and common struggle.

Shared resistance history: Kurdish-Palestinian struggles in the 1980's

- Interview with Duran Kalkan, Central Committee of the PKK, first published in Firatnews, February 2015.

In a comprehensive interview, Duran Kalkan, founding cadre and member of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), evaluated the resistance of the PKK against the Israeli occupation of Lebanon on 2 June 1982.

What was the situation in which Israel's occupation of Lebanon took place on 2 June 1982?

At the beginning of the 1980s, as in the early 1990s, there were significant events and serious changes in this process. On September 12, 1980, there was a military coup in Turkey and the army took over the leadership. On 19 September 1980, the Iraqi state attacked and the eight-year Iraq-Iran war began. Before that, the Islamic Revolution had taken place in Iran in February 1979 and a new Islamic administration had begun to develop.

All these events were significant and far-reaching for the Middle East. At the same time, they were also related to the conflicts at the international level. In the world, the confrontation between the USA and the Soviet Union intensified. All the struggles in the world were directly related to this bloc formation. In short, the confrontation between the USA and the Soviet Union had a very strong impact on the Middle East. At the same time, regional contradictions deepened on this basis and transformed into concrete conflicts.

The occupation of Lebanon by the Israeli state on 2 June 1982 therefore took place in this atmosphere and was bound by the conditions

mentioned above. It was basically an attack and a push against the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), because Israel had occupied Palestine and the Palestinian population and the liberation forces had spread to the neighbouring Arab countries. Refugee camps had been set up in many Arab countries, especially in Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

The largest of these camps was in Lebanon. Movements associated with the PLO had organized themselves well in these camps. Due to the civil war in Lebanon, the central state structure had disintegrated and a large number of regional administrations had emerged. The PLO had assessed this situation, started organizing the guerrillas and brought some areas of Lebanon under its control. On this basis, it organized the Palestinian people and carried out the fight against Israel from the Lebanese border. More and more Fedayeen were sent into Israel and Israel was bombarded with artillery from the border. This was undoubtedly a very limited military resistance, but it was enough to damage the Israeli state.

The occupation of Lebanon on 2 June 1982 took place under these conditions and as a continuation of the conflicts described above. Previously, the Israeli army had carried out attacks on Palestinian camps in Lebanon with fighter planes and artillery fire. When these attacks could not stop the Palestinian resistance, the Israeli state took advantage of the situation in the region, which was marked by armed conflict, and attacked the Palestinian camps and guerrillas to destroy both. The Arab League was scattered, the Egyptian government had signed a peace agreement with Israel, the Iraq-Iran war had weakened the Arab power and Turkey was bound to the USA, and consequently to Israel, due to the military coup of September 12, 1980. In such a state, there was no serious regional force that could have stopped the Israeli occupation or supported the Palestinian resistance. The Israeli state thus easily carried out the occupation of Lebanon and did not meet with any serious reaction.

In what way was the PKK involved in the war against the occupation?

The leader of the PKK had been in the Syrian/Lebanon area since July 1979 and had established relations with organizations linked to the PLO. In order to assess the possibilities of the military training created, the first PKK group came to Lebanon in September 1979. When the Siverek resistance in the country [Kurdistan] did not bring the expected results and military difficulties arose, the need for military training in the Palestinian territories grew. If one also considers the military-fascist coup of 12 September 1980, the PKK also pursued a tactic of withdrawal in part. In the winter of 1980/1981, cadres and sympathizers were brought into the area and, in addition to military training, organizational strengthening was achieved with the first conference in July 1981 and the second in August 1982. All these activities were carried out in the warlike atmosphere of Lebanon and Palestine in 1980, 1981, 1982. When the Israeli state occupied Lebanon on 2 June 1982, PKK cadres had already been there for three years. So they were not confronted with the occupation all at once, but had been there for three years, or rather had been there for three years during the Israel-Palestine war. The cadres received their military training in the Palestinian camps on the border between Lebanon and Israel and, of course, protected them. Even though the PKK cadres did not take part in Fedayeen actions or artillery attacks organized by the Palestinians themselves, they played an active role in defending the Palestinian territories against the air raids and artillery shells. When the land occupation began on 2 June, the PKK had forces stationed in the Palestinian camps on the Lebanon-Israel border, which responded to the occupation.

How do you evaluate this resistance of the PKK?

To be honest, the PLO could not effectively resist the occupation. Because of the previous attacks, the Israeli army had created a negative atmosphere among the Palestinians. They had not expected such an occupation. Consequently, they were not well prepared. As a result, they

were not able to offer any serious resistance and withdrew in a scattered way. The Israeli army crossed the border and surrounded Beirut in one day. This meant both a fragmentation of the Palestinian guerrillas and a blow to the organization of the people. Those who resisted in this situation were rather the forces that had come from other countries for training. Here, the PKK took an important place. In the border towns of Sayda, Nebatiye and Sur, there was a significant PKK force and wherever there were attacks, it fought actively. In the battles with the Israeli army, there were martyrs and prisoners. And the PKK forces were the last ones who withdrew, collected the weapons and tried to strengthen the Palestinians. The PKK forces, as militants of the party, were thoroughly educated and disciplined as compared to the Palestinian guerrilla in terms of ideology and organization. At the same time, they were full of anger because of the torture and massacres carried out by the 12 September regime against the society of Kurdistan. They were there because of the Palestinians' own education and resistance, and were ready to go to war if the situation required it. The Palestinians saw this state of PKK militants and preferred them. That is why they always wanted to have the PKK militants on the front line in case of a possible Israeli occupation. On this basis, all PKK members fought against the developing occupation in every place and fulfilled their tasks. The brotherhood between Palestine and Kurdistan and the Kurdish and Palestinian peoples has been formed on the basis of such a confrontation, such a friendship on the war front.

In this resistance, the PKK suffered losses and prisoners. Can you tell us about your attempts to liberate them?

In 1982, the PKK forces within the Palestinian resistance had eleven martyrs. Our first was our friend Abdulkadir Çubukçu from Êlih (Batman), who lost his life in an air raid in a camp near Beirut. During the Israeli occupation on June 2, we lost two friends in eastern Lebanon and eight in southern Lebanon at Arnon Castle (Nebatiye area). Comrade Sabri was in southern Lebanon and reached our forces after nine days under Israeli occupation. Comrade Cuma spent three months

within the siege of Beirut and in the end, when the Palestinians were released, he was able to reach our forces again. If Comrade Cuma's group had also been captured, the number of our prisoners would have been much higher.

I remember the names of the following comrades who died in the struggle in Lebanon/Palestine: When news of the death of Comrade Abdulkadir Çubukçu on May 1, 1982 reached us, even Leader Apo went to Lebanon and attended the funeral service together with the Palestinians. On this basis, Leader Apo had prepared his Mayday assessment. This death seriously strengthened our cooperative relations with the Palestinians.

In eastern Lebanon, comrade Abdullah Kumral from Cebinli died together with another friend. Abdullah Kumral was a primary school teacher and we called him Teacher Abdullah. He was also a friend who had taken part in the PKK founding congress. At Arnon Castle we lost Kemal Çelik, İsmet Özkan, Mehmet Atmaca, Mustafa Marangoz, Şerif Aras and three other friends. Comrade Kemal came from Elazîz-Kebanlı. He was the younger brother of comrade Xalit. All his siblings had joined. Comrade İsmet came from Pîrsûs (Suruç). He was the son of Comrade Herbijî and his two siblings were killed in action. Comrade Mehmet Atmaca also came from the village of Cebin and was a commander. Comrade Mustafa was from Çermikli and had a strong fighting spirit. Later there were many fallen in his family.

One comrade who was captured was Kaymak Xalit. Comrade Kemal, who died in Arnon Castle, was his brother. I remember the names of the following comrades who fell into captivity at that time: Seyfettin Zoğorlu, comrade Seyfettin from Nisêbîn (Nusaybin), comrade Sabri Gözübüyük and a few others. These comrades were all released after two years of captivity with great difficulties. The Turkish state had intervened and demanded the extradition of all these prisoners. Israel was receptive to this and wanted to extradite them. But our comrades had all claimed to be Palestinians or from other Arab countries. In the

end they had to cross many countries. They got as far as an airport in Syria. Syria did not take care of them. Later they chained themselves at the airport in Athens and with this action they demanded asylum. So they managed to get from there to Europe. It was a real struggle and a long journey.

During this time, did you established relations with other organizations, particularly Palestinian ones?

During this time, especially our Leader, together with comrade Cuma, established links with other groups and organizations in the region. We had relations with all Palestinian organizations that were represented in the Palestine Liberation Organization. We had the strongest relations with the Palestinian Democratic Liberation Front, the People's Liberation Front of Palestine and the Resistance Front for the Liberation of Palestine. To this end, we also established relations with the Communist Party of Iraq, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), as well as with a number of revolutionary organizations from Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, and we held discussions there. With seven groups from Turkey, we founded the united resistance front against fascism. But it lasted only one year.

As a movement, we took some of the Palestinian resistance with us in this phase. We achieved military training of our forces and organizational strengthening. We supported the Palestinian resistance in a comradely and fraternal way. We built the solidarity between Palestinian and Kurdish society on this basis. We have taken a lot from the Palestinians and we still evaluate this with respect. We always declare with pride that the guerrilla in Kurdistan has developed within the Palestinian experience. We are convinced that with this resistance we have given a lot back to the Palestinian and Arab peoples and that they see it that way. We still follow the situation and the resistance of the Palestinian society and see the struggle as our own. We want the Palestinian question to be solved on a democratic level and the Arab and Jewish people to live together as brothers and sisters.

What kind of atmosphere did the resistance of PKK in Lebanon create in the mountains of Kurdistan? How do you assess this?

The PKK movement had resisted and given martyrs even before the military coup of 12 September 1980. This resistance was a preparation for the fight against the coup. Due to double resistance, PKK forces returned to the country from Lebanon/Palestine and developed the resistance as guerrilla. The first was the large prison resistance, which developed through the pioneering role of Mazlum Doğan, Hayri Durmuş and Kemal Pir. The second was the resistance against the Israeli occupation with its heroic martyrs. The mentioned historical resistance and its immortal martyrs have made the PKK irreversible and have given the guerrilla the strength to move towards freedom. Of course, Leader Apo's correct definition of this resistance has also played a decisive role.

At the time of the prison resistance and the struggle against the Israeli occupation, there was no organized and fighting guerrilla in the mountains of Kurdistan. In the Lebanon/Palestine area, there were guerrillas that were prepared to return to Kurdistan. This guerrilla developed its spirit and strength to return through this resistance, thus creating the freedom guerrilla of Kurdistan. The heroic march – with the advance of August 15, 1984 against the fascist military regime of September 12 – has developed on the basis of this resistance. The mentioned influence continues until today.

How did such a practice influence the PKK even before August 15, 1984?

It is not the same thing to fight at home or abroad, in a country of other peoples. It is undoubtedly much easier for a person to live and fight in his or her own country and society. It is said that revolutionary movements, after their birth, have two basic fields of experience: first, the practice in prison and second, the practice abroad. Movements that

fight in both fields and pass the test successfully, if they do not slacken later, will surely succeed. The period between 1980 and 1984 was such a testing period for the revolutionary movements in Turkey and Kurdistan. The movement that passed both tests was the PKK movement.

And this is exactly the reality that distinguishes the PKK from other revolutionary movements and brought them to the guerrilla advance of August 15, 1984. On this basis, the prison resistance and the resistance outside the country have influenced the PKK. If the PKK had not resisted the Israeli occupation in Lebanon/Palestine, it could not have returned to Kurdistan and turned to the guerrilla resistance.

What were the effects of the resistance in Lebanon and the prison resistance?

The second congress of the PKK took place immediately after the resistance against the Israeli occupation in August 1982. Even though it was not quite visible at this congress, there were first signs of liquidation. For this reason, the second congress was a critical event. It was saved by fighting against liquidation. The first prepared forces realized their return to the country. At this point, the resistance against the Israeli occupation was open to two directions. To a certain extent, the liquidation tried to create fear and break the influence of the resistance with the help of the fallen and prisoners. However, the mentioned resistance and its martyrs had an encouraging effect for the return to the country and the development of the guerrilla resistance. At this point, Leader Apo's evaluations meant that the liquidation come to nothing. The return to the country and the guerrilla resistance became irreversible. For this reason, at the second congress it was decided by an overwhelming majority to return to the country and build up the guerrilla against the fascism of September 12. The result of the two years of practice abroad were 11 martyrs and more than 15 prisoners. People gave their lives for the cause of the party in other countries. In addition, the prison resistance of 1982 is an incomparable reality. The

self-immolation of four friends and the great death fast of February 14 took place within this framework. Of course, it was the resistance of Mazlum Doğan that paved the way and created great determination. People burned their own bodies for the cause. It is obvious what significance this has and how the party line became irreversible for the party cadres. Our Leader defined the resistance in prison as “building a bridge to free life” and invited the whole society to cross this bridge without fear. Society and especially the youth responded positively to this call. The development of the PKK and the guerrilla took place on this basis. Their history is long and it is a subject worthy of being explained in even more detail.

The socialist roots of today's palestinian solidarity movements

- Excerpt from interview with Mustafa Karasu, Executive Council of the KCK, published on kck-info.com in June 2024.

Q: As the war between Israel and Hamas continues, the number of Palestinians killed has exceeded 36 thousand. Reactions against Israel are increasing day by day. Turkish President Erdogan, on the other hand, continues to embrace Hamas openly. What is the current stage of Israel's war on Palestine and what is Erdogan's influence on the Palestinian people's struggle?

The Jewish-Arab conflict has a history of three thousand years. This fight existed even before the emergence of Islam. Religious and nationalist understandings ensure the continuation of this fight. As long as religious-nationalist and nation-state understandings are not abandoned, this fight cannot be ended. The solution to this problem cannot be the destruction of one by the other. In this respect, Democratic Confederalism, which refers to a democratic non-state administration in which all communities recognize each other, is the only solution. It is not a confederation of states. It is a democratic system where all different ethnic and religious communities are free and have their own governments. All other parts of society and all other peoples are also organized on a democratic basis, and they come together in a democratic confederal formation. Palestinians and Jews can live together in a democratic system that is not one in which one becomes a state and exercises sovereignty over the other. It is a system in which the Palestinians are free and self-governing in their own land. In the 21st century, this is the way to solve problems. It is necessary to overcome the nation-state mentality that has caused great suffering for

humanity. The result of religious-nationalist understandings is today's Israel-Hamas war.

Israel persecutes the Palestinian people under the pretext of Hamas. Of course, the mentality and actions of Hamas are unacceptable. Hamas has become a provocateur organization. However, massacring the Palestinian people in response to Hamas' attacks is a crime against humanity. The human conscience does not accept this. Like this Israel is doomed. Neither Hamas nor Israel will win. This war has revealed that both mentalities have lost.

The whole world is now taking a conscientious, humane, moral, and democratic stand against Israel. This is due to the fact that in the 1960s and 1970s, the Palestinian liberation struggle hosted revolutionary and socialist organizations of 72 nations and national liberation fighters. The Palestinian people have thus established a relationship of friendship with the revolutionary democratic forces and peoples of the world. The PKK also stayed in Palestinian camps from 1979 on and benefited from the facilities of Palestinian organizations. The basis and source of the Palestinian people's high level of support in the world today is that they opened their space to revolutionary organizations in the 1960s and 1970s. This reality has created today's support. This is the reality that has created the magnitude of this support. This support has nothing to do with Hamas. It is the relationship that the Palestinian people and their organized forces established with the peoples of the world and revolutionary organizations 50–60 years ago. Palestinians and those who support the Palestinian struggle must be aware of this reality. It is not a public opinion created by Hamas and organizations with a similar mentality. It is a public opinion created by the democratic forces that have been in touch with the Palestinians for decades. Without recognizing this reality, one cannot understand the solidarity shown to the Palestinian people in the world today and the source of the reaction against Israel and its supporters.

Fascist Erdogan's pretense of being pro-Hamas is just a policy of threats and blackmail. He is saying that "if you want us to oppose Hamas, you will support my Kurdish and regional policy." In essence, he is pursuing a policy of blackmail: "Support my Kurdish genocide policy, and I will change my Hamas policy." The Turkish state does not want peace and stability in the Middle East. It has the understanding and policy that it needs war and chaos so that the Turkish state will be needed. At the moment, Turkey is the only state that wants the Israeli-Hamas war to spread and become an Israeli-Arab, Israeli-Iranian war. It is the AKP-MHP government in Turkey.

Let's take for example Iran; President Ibrahim Reisi was killed in a helicopter crash. The TV channels affiliated with the AKP-MHP government have been the ones that have speculated the most on this issue and raised the possibility that he might have been shot by Israel. When these TV channels and the press are observed, it becomes clear that Turkey wants the war between Israel and Hamas to become widespread.

Everyone can see whether the AKP is truly siding with Palestine. The AKP insulted a member of parliament who disclosed that Erdogan had the most trade agreements with Israel while claiming to support Palestine. They killed the person who said this, yet they did not end trade until after the March 31st elections. This alone shows that for the AKP-MHP government, what the Palestinian people are going through is only a political tool. Surely, no one believes that a government that persecutes other peoples and communities, especially Kurds, acts morally and conscientiously towards Palestine.

For decades, Turkey has been carrying out a policy of genocide against the Kurds with the support of the US and Europe through its relations with Israel. Today, if it has problems or takes a stance with Israel or any other power, it is because it wants to gain support for the Kurdish genocide. The Turkish state's foreign policy is based on this. Its blackmails, threatens, and criticism of certain powers, are all aimed at

gaining such support. Both the Kurdish people and the democratic forces should be aware of this reality.

Intellectual Tasks

- From *“Sociology of Freedom”* by Abdullah Öcalan

Let me say in advance that I will not be casting intellectual tasks as the constitution of unitary consciousness and its transmission to the units. First, we must evaluate what intellectualism is. It is often said that the Age of Enlightenment (eighteenth-century Europe) determined how modernity was shaped. Numerous systematic physical and cultural genocides by the nation-state, in particular the Holocaust, dealt a fatal blow to modernity’s idea of enlightenment. It was at that point that the intellectual Theodor Adorno demanded that all divinities fall silent. This, at the same time, is the ultimate stage of civilization to date. This is an important moment; without an analysis of it you cannot hope to move forward. We are talking about a moment of historical failure, lies, and genocide. As an act of enlightenment, awareness, and the growth of knowledge, intellectualism cannot isolate itself from this moment. It must be judged to be one of the main culprits. Placing responsibility for the crime on a few dictators like Hitler is among liberalism’s most disgusting acts of propaganda. The truth cannot be discovered if the system that nurtured Hitler from cradle to the grave is not elucidated; this would be nothing but a betrayal of truth. When the main task of intellectualism, “the pursuit of truth,” has been betrayed and this betrayal is largely the work of intellectual capitalists and load donkeys, there are issues that need to be carefully scrutinized. Without evaluating and resolving these issues nothing but the creation of new intellectual capitalists and load donkeys can be expected from the newly assumed position.

If the system, which is in a global crisis, can only be sustained through an extraordinary crisis regime, then the fact that we are not talking about the intellectual crisis can only be because we are totally blind or are the system’s incorrigible intellectual capitalists and load donkeys. An ordinary intellectual with a sense of dignity should have no

difficulty understanding that the crisis is effectively the result of an occlusion in the field of mentality. Furthermore, there is a link between system structures and their mentalities like that between the body and the soul. The crisis of the body - the structurality - not only necessitates the crisis of the soul - the mentality - it makes it the precursor of that crisis. The priority is not the crisis of the body - but of the soul. Just as brain death is conclusive evidence of bodily death, the mentality crisis is certainly evidence of a structural crisis. It is quite clear that we are currently faced with a profound intellectual crisis.

Because in certain areas the crisis cannot be addressed by innovations; a profound response to the crisis is required, and it must be related to the transformation of the system. The solution to the system's intellectual crisis inevitably lies with an "intellectual revolution." Before discussing intellectual revolution in our current context, it might be useful to look at some historical examples.

As far as can be determined, the first great intellectual revolution took place in Mesopotamia c. 6000–4000 BCE. This was a period when the power of society and the natural forces was observed extensively for the first time with enormous practical results, which Gordon Childe found comparable to the developments in post-sixteenth-century Europe. Most of the social achievements made to date, both in terms of tools and intellect, have their roots in that period. The second great revolution occurred with the foundation of the Sumerian and Egyptian civilizations. In the first period, the ability to transform the achievements of the Neolithic Revolution to the civilization system was demonstrated, both in terms of tools and intellectual achievements. Many of the inventions and discoveries in different areas, including writing, mathematics, literature, medicine, astronomy, theology, and biology in particular, are the result of the revolutionary intellectual developments of this period. Until the Greek- Ionian revolution, history continued to learn from and duplicate these developments.

The Greek-Ionian intellectual revolution constituted the third major step. The period 600–300 BCE was another period that was very rich in terms of both philosophical mindset and scientific development. No

doubt the transition from mythology blended religions to philosophy was a major intellectual revolution. There were also revolutionary developments in areas such as writing, literature, physics, biology, logic, mathematics, history, the arts, and politics. Until the sixteenth century, the products of these revolutions were transmitted and duplicated. While there were certainly many other intellectual developments at other times and in other places, they cannot be regarded as having constituted major revolutions. It is possible to interpret the emergence of monotheistic religions as important revolutions in mindset. Furthermore, the Zoroastrian moral revolution was a major intellectual revolution. Confucius in China and the Buddha in India developed important intellectual values. The intellectual sparks seen in Islam from the eighth to twelfth century were also important. It is a great loss that they did not lead to a revolution.

The European intellectual revolution is undoubtedly deep-rooted and extensive. However, it is indisputable that its source is the revolutions and intellectual sparks that we have been discussing. I must clearly point out that none of these intellectual revolutions had any link to the exploitation and power monopolies. On the contrary, it was these monopolies that distorted these revolutions and prevented them from adequately developing, causing them to atrophy and be tied to the monopolies and turned into capital. This reality is even more strikingly clear in the great intellectual revolution of Europe. Absolutism and the nation-state systems, as capitalist monopolies and state monopolies, have gone to great lengths to prevent and distort the intellectual revolution and to bind it to their own rule, considering this their foremost duty. Many great struggles have been waged in this regard. Giordano Bruno, Erasmus, Galileo Galilei, Thomas More, and other thinkers and scientists resisted the relentless tyranny of the rulers to protect their intellectual independence and retain their dignity, whether at the hands of the Inquisition or the French revolutionary courts, where some even ran the risk of being burned at the stake.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as in all areas and units of society, the hegemony of monopolist capital and the nation-state was

strongly reflected in the intellectual area and the intellectual units. Science, philosophy, the arts, and even religion were all heavily integrated into the structures of power, particularly the nation-state. Monopolism in both these areas dealt a major blow to intellectual independence. In this situation of dependence, the intellectual either became an intellectual capitalist or, more often, a knowledge load donkey within the universities and other school systems. The schools, particularly the universities, became the new temples of the nation-state, where each successive generation's mind and soul are washed to render them servant-citizens who worship the nation-state god in an unparalleled way. Naturally, the community of teachers at every level have become the new priestly class. No doubt there are a handful of intellectuals who preserve their intellectual dignity, but they are the exceptions that prove the rule.

Of greater importance are the contextual developments of the intellectual revolution in Europe. We should point out that the pioneers of this revolution thoroughly absorbed the religion, science, philosophy, and arts of the previous eras, and it is clear that this was the basis of their contributions. It must be acknowledged that European intellectuals made huge progress toward the truth. They were certainly successful in terms of method and application. While this is particularly true in the area of first nature (physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy), it is not so much the case with their scientific, philosophical, artistic, and moral approach to society as second nature. European intellectuals wrote meaningful manifestos and developed scientific disciplines, philosophical schools, artistic tendencies, and ethical teachings. However, they were not successful enough to preserve the moral and political character of society. On the contrary, the more their dependency on the capital and power monopolies grew, the more they became complicit, targeting moral and political society to the point of destruction, which cannot be explained away with talk of inadequacies, failures, and errors. This is precisely how the intellectual crisis began.

Undoubtedly, the responsibility for not only society becoming the target of destruction but also the environment is on the intellectuals. The fact

that they are held jointly responsible for the global crisis is because they are part of the crisis. The most important issue to be elucidated is the way the intellectual defeat, corruption, and distortion developed, both strategically and tactically. Who should we hold responsible for the development of the great turmoil, defeat, and betrayal in the field of social sciences in particular? (Here, I must first express my belief that sciences that address first nature have or, at least, should have a social quality.) Are we only talking about a disease of the scientific paradigm? Should we primarily look for the problem in particular disciplines? Is the disease structural or incidental? Is treatment possible? How can we develop the means and method of treatment? What would be the main indicators of a new scientific revolution or a new scientific paradigm? Strategically, what is our starting point? Only if we have clear and concise answers to these and similar questions can we overcome the intellectual crisis and determine what our new paradigmatic and scientific tasks are.

The crisis of the European civilization-centered science is structural, and this is related to developments experienced at the beginning of civilization. The centralization of science in the temple means its integration with power. There are many examples indicating that in the Egyptian and Sumerian civilizations science became an integral part of power. The institution of priesthood that pieced together science was already the most important partner of power. The structure of science in the Neolithic period was, however, different. Women's knowledge of plants likely laid the foundation of both biology and medicine. In addition, observing seasonal cycles and monitoring the moon gave rise to the need for calculations. It can easily be construed that the life practices of the agrarian-village communities that existed for thousands of years provided a wealth of knowledge. This knowledge was pieced together and turned into a component of power during the period of civilization. What we have here is a negative qualitative transformation.

In pre-civilization societies and later in societies that opposed civilization, knowledge and science were a component of moral and political society. Unless the vital interests of the society necessitated it,

it was not possible to use science in any other way. The sole purpose of knowledge and science was to ensure society's continued existence and provide it with protection and nourishment. Anything else was unthinkable.

Civilization radically changed this situation. It established its monopoly over knowledge and science and severed their ties to society. With society deprived of knowledge and science, the rulers and the state forces used knowledge and science to maximize their power. They consolidated their monopolies by binding those who produced and carried knowledge to their dynasties and palaces. The profound severing of science from society, and from women in particular, also meant its detachment from life and the environment. This developed alongside a profound severing of analytical intelligence from emotional intelligence and the continuous growth of the distance between the two.

In social nature science was understood as divine. Society deified the level of knowledge and consciousness related to its own nature as an expression of its own identity and equated it with divinity. Civilization changed this too. When science fell under the control of the dynasties and their partners, this divine status was also modified. While the society was assigned the rank of servitude and the non-divine, the dynasty and its immediate surroundings were reassigned in mythology and religion as god's nobility. God-kings and god's nobility were the product of this process. The severing of the producers and carriers of science and knowledge from society in this way continued throughout the ages of civilization. There were of course those who resisted this, but they were easily liquidated.

Those who dealt with knowledge and science became a sort of caste. As for European civilization, the producers of knowledge and science experienced a period of limited independence, particularly because of the confrontation between the Church and the kingdoms, as well as the quasi-autonomous atmosphere in the monasteries. The intense power struggles gave them the opportunity to easily find protection and to carry on without their research suffering. The Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment are closely linked to the autonomous

environment that resulted from these power struggles. The absence of a Chinese- or Ottoman-style autocracy also contributed to this autonomy. The result was a philosophical and scientific revolution. However, the hegemonic rise of capitalism, on the one hand, and the formation of the nation-state, on the other hand, resulted in the establishment of a monopoly of capital and power over science during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Science became an integral part of capital and power. This situation, which had already developed during the history of civilization to the detriment of moral and political society, peaked with European modernity. Eurocentric scientific paradigms had long been detached from society.

Those dealing with knowledge and science had predominantly adopted the perspective of capital and power. Moral and political society had already been discredited. This process only escalated with the defeat of the Church.

Science, whose main concern was no longer moral and political society, had no other area of engagement aside from being locked into the objectives of capital and the state. At the same time as science began to produce capital and power, capital and power were appropriating science. The severing of all ties between science and morality and politics threw the door wide open for war, conflicts, battles, and all types of exploitation. Indeed, the history of Europe became the history of the most intense wars. The role cast to science was now to focus on inventing the perfect instruments of war to ensure victory. The rapid increase in the production of instruments of war resulted in a nuclear arms race. In a society where the rules of moral and political society were still intact, never mind nuclear weapons, there would be no reason to even invent a popgun, and if one were invented it would never be used against society.

The collapse of morality is the most important factor for the onset of war. The severing of the ties between science and morality provided the foundation for the invention of all sorts of destructive instruments. It is unthinkable that this relationship between science and power and society would not be echoed in the fundamental paradigm and method.

Removing society from this relationship also meant its objectification, much like the objectification of women and slaves that preceded it. Then the subject- object distinction that began with Francis Bacon and René Descartes was transferred to all sciences. Being objective in scientific studies is highly praised, but the fact is that the door to the greatest of catastrophes was opened by this sharp subject-object distinction, which was later deepened by the self-other distinction, with both eventually transforming into destructive dialectical poles. These contradictions are certainly a reflection of the separation and contradiction between moral and political society and capital and power. The reduction of nature to an object, followed by a similar objectification of women and slaves, and finally of the entire society, emerged as the much revered “objectivity rule” that is still widely applied in science. The former god-servant relationship was transformed into the subject-object relationship. The earlier understanding of “a living nature” was replaced by “nature as a dead object,” with the “human as the divine subject.”

These paradigmatic approaches had a devastating impact on science, the social sciences in particular. For example, physicists who base themselves on physical nature, which is entirely objective, believe that they have the freedom to conduct unlimited experiments and dispose of nature as they wish. They feel they are free to do anything from nuclear tests to setting in motion all types of technological development. They feel no moral qualms about any of this. This objectifying approach to nature creates the conditions for the unlimited use of and disposal of any material, leading in the extreme to developments like the atomic bomb. When divine science becomes instrumental science it ceases to have any connection to society; in the hands of power and capital it becomes a tool dependent on the law of maximum profit. At the outset, physics appears completely neutral and deals with objective nature. However, in its essence, it is clearly one of the main sources of strength for power and capital. Were this not the case, the science of physics would not be able to maintain its current status. The fact that it has turned into an anti-society force tells us that it is not the neutral and objective science it claims to be. The power relations called the laws of

physics are in the final analysis nothing more than a reflection of human power. We know, on the other hand, that the human being is a social being in the absolute sense.

When we make sense of positivist philosophy, which has left its mark on the entire scientific structure of modernity, we can better expose the penetralia of the relationship between civilization, power, and science. We know that positivist philosophy acts on the basis of absolute objective facts, not allowing for any other scientific approach. If we take a closer look it becomes clear that science, as the study of the relationship between objects, is a lot more idolatrous and metaphysical than all of the ancient idol worship practices and the various metaphysical forces. Briefly touching on historical dialectics will make the issue clearer. Just as the monotheistic religions emerged and shaped themselves on the basis of a criticism of paganism (in a way, idolatry is the religion of the deification of facts), positivism also emerged as a counterattack and, in a way, as a new idolatry.

Will to truth, based on the critique of religion and metaphysics, has been shaped as neo-metaphysics, the new idolatry (will to truth based on facts is definitely neo-paganism).² Friedrich Nietzsche was one of the first philosophers to identify this reality, and his analysis made significant contributions to the study of truth. It is of great importance to identify the concept of so-called objective fact as far removed from truth. Facts on their own do not provide us with any meaningful information about the truth, and when they do they bring with it the most erroneous of outcomes.

Earlier we said that if facts do not find meaning in the context of their complex connections, they either provide no information or lead to the most erroneous of outcomes. Let's put the facts of physics, chemistry, and biology to one side, focus on one social fact, and take a close-up look at the actual outcomes. From the point of view of positivism, the nation-state is a fact. Each of the elements that constitute it is also a fact. Each of the thousands of institutions and of the millions of people is also a fact. When we include the relationships between them, we complete the picture.

According to positivism, we have thus formed a scientific concept. We now face an absolute truth: the truth of the nation-state! Positivism does not view this definition as an interpretation but as a fact of absolute truth. It takes the same approach to all other sociological facts. Just as with the facts of physics, chemistry, and biology, each of these is also a fact. This is positivism's definition of truth. We witnessed with dismay that while this approach was seemingly innocent and appeared to pose no danger, we have now seen its role in ethnic cleansing and genocide and know this is not the case. All leaders of nation-states, from Hitler to the most moderate, would say that their actions are perfectly correct from a (positivist) scientific point of view, that they are purifying the realities of their nation and creating a more homogeneous nation is not only their right but also in line with the laws of evolution. They are telling the truth based on the science they use.

This power is given to them by positivist philosophy and sciences. As a matter of fact, it was during the period of capitalist modernity that, in keeping with this positivist approach, there were countless wars in the name of the homeland, the nation, the state, ethnicity, ideology, and the system. Because all these concepts were sacred, it was necessary to fight to the end. This way of seeing things made history a bloodbath. This was the grin on the bloody face of a seemingly innocent positivism.

Let's dig a little deeper into this. At present there are about two hundred nation-states in the world. If all of the abovementioned institutions and their citizen masses and relationships and these states confront one another, inevitably, a new kind of order or chaos of at least two hundred or more gods with thousands of temples and an unlimited number of sects will rise, because the facts that each of them represent are seen as sacred and worth dying for. It is important to note that there is absolutely no mention of the moral and political society that reflects the real social nature, even in name.

If there is a reality worth dying for in the event of attack, it is the reality of moral and political society. In the nation-state, on the other hand, everyone fights in the name of the fact idols that they themselves

created or that others created and placed before them. We face a period of wars for idols a thousandfold more horrifying than anything previous. The result is the operation of the law of maximum profit of the capital and nation-state monopolies, providing a happy minority with benefits more opulent than anything the pharaohs ever had. What is called modern life is, in fact, nothing but the consequences of the reality of positivism, or, put another way, positivism's murdering of reality. We have now reached the age of the virtual society; no other reality can explain positivism better than virtual society. A positivist society is a virtual society. Virtual society is the real face of positivist society. Moreover, it is truth itself. The meaninglessness of facts (here, meaninglessness should be understood in the sense of the bloodbaths, imaginary society, and consumer society) peaks with virtual society. Media-oriented societies, societies of the spectacle, magazine-driven societies are the unveiled truth of objective understanding, I.e., of positivism. This is, in fact, the negation of truth.

We could extend this list, with similar results, without the need for further investigation. Terms like Islamic, Christian, Mosaic, Buddhist, capitalist, socialist, feudal, and slave-owning society are realities that are the product of this approach, and here the metaphysical face of positivism is also clearly present. And, yes, the labeling as Islamic society and capitalist society are the result of the same approach. These are factual terms; in other words, they are terms related to ascription, the image. The same can be said about the sense of belonging to a nation. Terms like German, French, Arab, Turkish, and Kurdish nations are truths with a positivist character. However, in essence, they are only the faint images of truth. We might ask: "What is the reality—the truth?" I think the answer is simple. There is the truth of moral and political society, which is a natural part of the reality of society, and there is the truth of civilization, which constantly seeks to erode society. I am not saying that nothing outside of this represents reality. What I am saying is that this represents the image and its simple and frequently changing form not the essence.

For example, let's look at the reality of the Arab nation. Being an Arab means very little beyond the reality of a society that has a moral and political character—even though it is considerably weakened—in a place called Arabia, where the power that became an authority over society for thousands of years has today brought it to the brink of collapse. There are thousands of different types of Arab people, some in contradiction with one another, some even enemies. This means thousands of contradictory truths! According to positivism, this is how it should be. But we know very well that this is not the essence of Arab reality.

A better example might be the trees. A tree, as a fact, has thousands of branches and innumerable leaves. A tree is, however, only valued if it produces a known and desired product, not on the basis of its branches and leaves. Positivism is the blindness of giving everything equal weight. Of course, the branches and the leaves are realities too, but they are not the meaningful reality. A bunch of grapes, say a kilo, has a value, a meaning, but a leaf has only an image, something that does not reflect its essence—a positivistic reality that only gives it a visual form.

The main reason for the scientific crisis is the drowning of the sciences in facts and the emergence of a new scientific discipline every day, with each regarding itself as a truth of the same magnitude as all others. Earlier we identified the connection of this crisis to the system. Truth is being fragmented into ever deeper opposing pairs, including subject-object, self- other, body-spirit, religion-science, mythology-philosophy, god-servant, oppressed-oppressor, and ruler-ruled. This is essentially the result of the erosion and colonization of moral and political society by the civilizational monopoly networks established upon it. Capitalist modernity has infinitely replicated and deepened this dichotomy of civilization, bringing society to our present point of disintegration and decay. The collaborationist science of the system plays a great role in all of this. The crisis becomes apparent when the contradiction between ideological essence and instrumental structuring reaches an agonizing juncture; through unemployment, war, hunger and poverty, oppression

and genocide, inequality and lack of freedom, it transforms itself into screams in the flesh and souls of the overwhelming multitudes.

I feel the need to say a little more to ensure that my criticism of positivism is not misunderstood. First, I am not saying that facts have no value, or that they do not have any connection to reality. What I am saying is that their value is limited and so is their connection to reality. When this is taken to the philosophical level, I am saying that positivism will result in major shortcomings, as the European system of thought makes quite clear.

A second misunderstanding could lead to the criticism that I have slipped into a kind of Platonism. This might be the response to the previous example of a tree, where I said that essence is decisive. My point was not the idea of a tree. I was trying to describe the reality that a tree embodies for society. I am also not presenting a utilitarian approach. All I am saying is that a tree's reality must be determined by moral and political society. A tree may be very useful to an individual or a group, but if moral and political society does not construe it as such, then it does not have any true beneficial value.

Liberalism wants us to adopt a philosophy that says, "Individuals as philosophers, scientists, soldiers, politicians, capitalists, etc. will find whatever is true and live according to that," but I criticize this as most definitely immoral and apolitical society. I think this is the greatest ideology of demoralization and depoliticization to arise during the history of civilization, one that the capitalist system is trying to sell to the whole of society, or, more precisely, it is the contemporary mythological narrative sheathed within modernism that society is made to adopt through propaganda.

In that case, the question or problem that will prove more important is: Where and how can we find the truth? I would like to answer by recalling a very simple rule: you can find something only by looking for it where you lost it. You will not find it anywhere else, even if you look the world over, because the method is wrong. The method of looking anywhere other than where it was lost is just a waste of time and energy.

I see our era's search for the truth in this light. Despite the daunting research laboratories and funding, the facts uncovered are laden with crisis and pain. It is clear that this cannot be the truth humanity is pursuing. My response is to emphasize what I have already said: the truth can only be social. When moral and political society is eroded and subjected to the strict domination of the exploitation and power monopoly during the process of civilization, social truth is lost. Whatever has been lost was lost along with moral and political values. If you want to recover them you have to look for them where you lost them. You must look for and find moral and political society and its reality, as opposed to civilization and modernity. However, you cannot be content with this alone, you must also rebuild its existence, which has been transformed beyond recognition. Once you have done this, you will find that bit by bit you can recover the golden valued truth that you lost throughout history. You will thus be much happier, and you will understand that the only way this can be done is through a moral and political society.

As we reorganize the intellectual area, based on criticism and at the level of principles, I would like to present some of my suggestions regarding the tasks:

- a) Intellectual efforts—studies of knowledge and science—should be developed within the scope of moral and political society, social nature's fundamental form of existence. The reality of moral and political society, which we have increasingly been severed from, has been gradually eroded throughout the history of civilization and has been completely fragmented, left to decay, and brought to the brink of extinction during the modern age shaped by capitalism.
- b) Therefore, intellectual efforts, studies of knowledge, and science must first and foremost aim to stop this course. Because there can be no science of something that has been destroyed. There may be memories of it, but memory is not science. Science is about things that exist and are alive. If under such conditions a society does not wish to be completely annihilated, then it and

all of its constituents must resist capitalistic modernity. Resistance is now on the same plane as existence and identical with it. If intellectuals want to live with the dignity of genuine researchers—not viewing intellectualism as intellectual capital or as doing donkey work—then they must inevitably resist in all their endeavors, and the elements of their research should have the dimensions of resistance. In this sense both the intellectuals and their science must adopt an attitude of resistance. Anything else would be self-deception or disguising an essentially capital or load donkey identity.

- c) The science to be developed must foremost be organized as a “social science.” Social science must be accepted as the mother goddess of all sciences. Neither the sciences related to first nature (physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology) nor human knowledge sciences related to second nature (literature, philosophy, the arts, economy, etc.) can play that leading role; they cannot establish a meaningful bond with truth. Only if these two areas can successfully establish a bond with the social sciences can they gain a share of the truth.
- d) Social science should base its studies on moral and political society, which is its main topic, not as an object or duality deeply entrenched in human perception and widely separated, such as subject-object, us-other, body-spirit, god-servant, or dead-alive, but using a method that overcomes these dualities. Differentiation, a way of life for the universe, is also valid in social nature and is an attribute that can be found to be more flexible, freer, and more concentrated. But to carry this differentiation to the level of the subject-object distinction, which has been made the foundation of all the ideological structures of civilization and modernity, would most definitely come to mean fragmentation and the loss of both universal and social truth.
- e) We cannot develop a meaningful social science paradigm (a radical anti-civilizational philosophy of science) unless we

throw positivism—which is the general philosophy of this objectivity that science in general and social science in particular emerged from, and which reached its peak in European modernity—into the dustbin of history on the basis of a thoroughgoing criticism. Even though it is highly fragmented, and there is a danger of loss of truth, it is essential to understand and absorb the constructive achievements and parts of truth revealed by Eurocentric science in general and the social sciences in particular. While it is imperative that positivism be criticized and overcome, it is also important that any truth it has exposed be adopted. In the exploration of truth, wholesale anti-Europeanism can lead to outcomes that are just as negative as those resulting from the wholesale adoption of Europeanism.

- f) Although the exploration of truth called postmodernism criticizes positivism and rejects Eurocentric social sciences, this approach is easily liberally twisted and can be readily shaped into an anti-Europeanism that is more significantly anti-truth. Postmodern quests that take advantage of the crisis of the social sciences shouldn't be totally rejected but should be approached very critically. Just as the universalist progressive linear method and perspective of modernist positivism leads astray, the excessively relativist cyclical method of many postmodernists is open to similar deviations. To not drift to these extremes, it is necessary to absorb and adhere to the fundamental principles that we are attempting to outline here. The crisis-ridden atmosphere creates a situation that would allow almost anyone to seek their own path to the truth, which in itself can distort the exploration of truth in many ways.
- g) Our main method of researching truth can neither be positivist objectivism nor relativist subjectivism. They are essentially two faces of liberalism, and, by combining them, it produces an abundance of methods, which it in turn uses to create intellectual capital and load donkeys. The most effective way to preclude truth is with this abundance of methods. This in turn means that

by combining the objective and subjective methods you produce as many methods as there are individuals. It is important not to be deceived by this abundance of methods, which act to depreciate truth. There is no doubt that there are both subjective and objective aspects to reality. Consciousness, truth, in the final analysis, denotes the convergence of the observer and the observed (I am not talking about them becoming one and the same; it would be better to understand them as becoming identical). The greater the depth and focus attained in relation to this issue, the more parts of the truth will be revealed. In this case, the observer is not a subject and the observed is not an object. Rather, the two, approaching each other, do not become one but undergo a process of identification. The process in which truth is maximized is the process that engenders the opportunity of identification. For now, I will define the question of method as I have without giving it a name. Of course, we should never, anywhere or anytime, ignore the fact that the main unit observing and being observed is moral and political society.

- h) The primary research centers cannot be the official institutions of civilization and modernity, foremost the universities. Whether in the past or in the present, tying science to power and producing it in official state institutions means the loss of its bond with truth.

Severing the bond of science with moral and political society and not allowing it to be of use to society helps the development of oppressive and exploitative monopolies ruling atop society. Just as a woman who is confined to a private home or a brothel loses her free reality and truth, the intellectuals and sciences confined to official institutions lose their freedom and genuine identity. This does not mean that no intellectuals can arise in these institutions, or that science cannot be developed. The thing we need to understand is that when the intellectual and science become power-centered they detach from their purpose, research and invention in the service of social reality. The existence of

exceptions—encountering a genuine intellectual or the discovery of a work with scientific value—does not change the overall reality.

- i) An institutional revolution, I.e., restructuring, is essential for the social sciences. Just as during the Greek-Ionian Enlightenment, independent philosophical and scientific academies were formed, and during the medieval period, khanqahs, dargahs,³ and monasteries played a similar role within Islamic and Christian traditions, just as the European Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment movements were all intellectual and scientific revolutions, we now need similar revolutions to exit the present crisis. The four-hundred-year-old ideological hegemony of modernity is as profound and continuous as its hegemony over material culture and cannot overcome the crisis. Without the intervention of democratic modernity in content and form, it is inevitable that the crisis will play an increasingly corrosive and degenerative role. There is a rich intellectual and scientific legacy that extends from the utopian socialists to the scientific socialists, from the anarchists to the Frankfurt School, from the French philosophy of the second half of the twentieth century to 1968 youth culture revolution, and finally to the postmodernist, feminist, and ecological movements that emerged in the 1990s. Democratic modernity has to make its own intellectual and scientific revolution by absorbing the positive aspects of the intellectual sparks and revolutions of the civilization period, as well as of the anti- modernity intellectual breakthroughs.

Institutionalization is one of the conditions of this revolution. For success on a global scale, the intellectual revolution needs a new institutional center based on the lessons learned from the historical experiences we have raised. To address this need, a World Confederation of Culture and Academies could be built. Such a confederation should be built at a free geographical location and should not be attached to any nation-state or ruling

power but should be formed on the basis of opposition to capital monopolies.

Furthermore, it is essential that the confederation be independent and autonomous. Every local, regional, and national academy would be free to participate on a voluntary basis and in accordance with the principles of its program, organization, and action. This confederation could establish institutions with tasks at the local, regional, national, and continental levels.

- j) Democratic politics and culture academies may be the appropriate institutions for this task. These academies could provide the intellectual and scientific support that is necessary for moral and political society units to restructure themselves. Rather than imitating the official and private monopoly institutions, they should construct themselves in original ways. Imitating the institutions of modernity could well lead to failure. These academies should be autonomous and democratic, form their own program and cadres, and base themselves on the principle of their members being both voluntary students and voluntary teachers. It is quite easy to imagine that to begin with the positions of teacher and student will be readily interchangeable. From a shepherd in the mountains to a professor in the city, anyone who has an idea and a purpose should be able to contribute. Academies primarily for women might also prove appropriate, to allow for the scientific treatment of the unique aspects of women's reality, while still having content similar to that of other academies. To avoid remaining purely theoretical, the participation of women in every aspect of the implementation would be a sought-after quality. Academies would be established and run in response to practical needs, whenever and wherever they might arise. As seen in numerous historical examples (the fire temples of Zarathustra on mountaintops,⁴ Plato and Aristotle's gardens, the pavements of Socrates and the Stoics, medieval monasteries and khanqahs), these would be simple and voluntary establishments.

From a mountaintop to a neighborhood corner, any place can be chosen as the site for such an establishment—we do not seek buildings that prove the grandeur of their rulers. As is the case in monasteries and civilian madrassas, the duration of education would be determined by the level and the number of the participants. There is no need to determine the exact duration for education, as official institutions do, but, of course, it cannot be completely without form or rules. It must have its own ethical and esthetic rules.

When rebuilding the units of democratic modernity, intellectual and scientific contributions will be necessary. It is clear that this requirement cannot be met by the intellectual capital available on the market. Such a need can only be met by the cadres and science that come from these new academies.

This short assessment and my proposed principles regarding the scope of intellectual tasks necessary for a solution are nothing more than recommendations requiring further debate. The crisis conditions can only be positively overcome on the basis of new intellectual and scientific breakthroughs. Since the crisis in question is global, systematic, and structural, finding the way out also requires global, systematic, and structural interventions. Numerous revolutionary experiences teach us that we cannot get anywhere by imitating former patterns, institutions, and science or by using an eclectic approach.

One of the foremost lessons to be learned from the past is that rebuilding democratic modernity must be accompanied by a revolution of radical enlightenment. At the same time, I must emphasize that the past is the present. In particular, we should not ignore the fact that Neolithic society, agrarian-village communities, nomadism, tribes, and aşirets, as well as religious communities, still persist. We have not spoken much about the overall history of moral and political society, social nature's main form of existence. However, to regain the values that have been lost by five thousand years of capital accumulation and power monopolies and rebuild democratic modernity, revolutionary intellectual and scientific production shall constitute the much-needed support. To meet these absolutely essential needs, it is more important

than ever to focus on our intellectual tasks and intensify our analytical efforts and find solutions.

About the Academy of Democratic Modernity

As the Academy of Democratic Modernity, we strive to spread the ideas and rich experience of the Kurdistan Freedom Movement and its paradigm of Democratic Modernity. Our publication activities are intended to start discussions with activists, academics and various anti-systemic and social movements in order to move forward in our search for a radical alternative to capitalist modernity and to realise a free life. Through our educational work, we want to create a new understanding of democratic politics, social enlightenment and a new political-moral consciousness. Some dimensions of social issues we address are sociology of freedom, weaving together lines of resistance, democratic autonomy, women's liberation, youth autonomy, social ecology, communal economy and art & culture.

Through the development of platforms and networks, we want to contribute to the strengthening of the international exchange of experiences and interweave existing struggles, in line with the proposal of World Democratic Confederalism. To overcome capitalist modernity, concrete local and global institutional alternatives are needed. If we succeed in expanding democratic politics in everyday life - through alliances, councils, communes, cooperatives, academies - the huge political potential of society will unfold and be used to solve social problems. In this sense, we see our activities as a contribution to the unfolding of Democratic Modernity and Democratic Socialism. Let us work together to bring our visions and utopias to life. Another world is not only possible - given the world situation, it is sorely needed. Let's start building our future together in the present, waiting would be madness.

