

Middle Eastern Revolution Under Siege

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Middle Eastern revolution and as its pivot; Anatolia/Kurdistan revolution is facing a lethal attack of liquidation. This turning point is the third and most critical one, especially after the fascist coup of 1980 and the counter revolutionary climate after the collapse of centrally planned economies. The aweakening of the Middle Eastern revolution, following the imperialist Gulf War, has its roots basically in *the isolation of the Kurdish national liberation struggle*.

In short, the isolation of the kurdish freedom movement has caused gradually the abandonment of the initial strategy and the aims of the liberation struggle (“creating the October of the middle east” for example) in the last 8 years.

The Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan, PKK, apart from its many aspects was representing the amalgamation of the young proletarian revolutionaries with the oppressed masses in Kurdish society. Most elements in the nucleus of the liberation movement had their original political experience in revolutionary organisations of the Turkish left. After 1984 the rise of the kurdish national liberation struggle had coincided with the physical and political destruction of the revolutionary movement of Turkey. This anachronism could never be surpassed despite some efforts to meet the two revolutionary dynamics. The Kurdish revolution had surpassed the turkish socialist movement organisationally and morally. Some sections of the turkish revolutionary movement proved to make efforts for solidarity with the liberation struggle and benefit (not profit!) from the rise of the national liberation struggle for a reconsolidation of the socialist struggle in Turkey but remained ineffective after low intensity operations in Turkish metropolises after 1991. An armed resistance front (Unified Resistance Front Against Fascism), FKBDC was formed by seven revolutionary organisations and PKK in 1982 in Bekaa and an other Revolutionary Ligue in 1985 but then both were

liquidated arising from different reasons. Nearly all the organisations and movements

from the turkish left which collaborated with PKK in political and armed struggle has been militarily attacked by the regime and has had their leaders killed since 1990.

It is after this “cleansing process” that the way for legally reigning parties such as ÖDP(Freedom and solidarity party),EMEP(labour party);S_P(Party for Socialist Power) is paved as mainline conformist sections of the turkish left. Also some intellectuals/politicians acted as experts to prepare and make the national movement warm up for the integration to the turkish political system. In 1980's the policy of "turkey-ification" (policy of not being limited to Kurdistan but expressing the needs of the working people of Turkey as well) of the liberation movement was the expression of the idea to meet with the working and exploited masses of turkey but now the same term is concretised in daily kurdish politics as the "social peace" coupled with the enthusiasm for the integration in turkish political system and gaining acceptance from the ruling class and middle classes . Presumably the "inflaming effect" of the kurdish liberation movement for the revolutionary process in Anatolia is now fading away.

In fact, the withdrawal of the kurdish revolution is not only diminishing the potencialy positive impuls for the Anatolian revolution but also revoking all the revolutionary positions hold by non-reformist, internationalist sections of the left.

The ideas of “European democracy”; the victory of western democracies over "totalitarian bureaucracies"; legitimization of fascist MHP (nationalist action party) by setting up “civilian dialogue”; refuting class politics in trade unions; defending some “social consensus”; glorification of turkish army as a "serious democratic reformator force”; inventing good aspects of new world order; exculpation of “kemalism as a progressive idea apart from its little kurdo-phobia”; declaring “the end of the age of revolutions”; stamping the armed struggle as “blind alley”, worst of all, accusing those who insist on the right of the self-determination, on the anti-imperialist positions of beeing “dogmatics and sectarians”; and most disastrous of all, suppresing, isolating and eliminating all cadres who are not sure of the above mentionned trite political discoveries are all

launched as “new policy” in the kurdish “Democratic Republic” rhetoric.

Now, who are politically and historically guilty of this obsolete tragedy ?

The turkish traditional left is primarily guilty. The laws and the law-like tendencies of historical moments must be known to us. The gap left by the revolutionaries of turkey is filled by the new world order democrats and turkish ruling class.

Today the military attack of the colonialist forces in the middle east is complemented by the political siege over the kurdish, palestinian, turkish, iranian and arabic peoples` revolutions. *The counter revolutionary restoration process in the Shi`it iranian and palestinian revolution, and the paralisation of the revolutionary proces in turkey's metropol's contributed to the isolation of the kurdish revolution.* This has developed a geo-political climate diminishing the initiative of the oppressed peoples in the region.

The above described process was not the same during 1988-1992. For this period we were able to foresee a regularly developing ground for revolutionary politics. Both the ruling class and the anti-imperialist forces were aware of an approaching revolutionary crisis. But today this process has turned into a process of the crisis of revolutionary politics. The background which explain the siege over the Middle Eastern revolution is related with the pax-americana in the region.

The acceleration of the implementation of the pax-americana is fuelled by some shifts in the balances of imperialist forces. German imperialism gaining force with his hand in the counter-revolutions in central and eastern europe begun to lose its strenght after 1992. After the regression of german imperialist expansion, the anglo-american bloc has gained the hegemony in the capitalist world system. When we look at the Middle East, up until today, the iranian bourgeoisie tended to compensates its losses ocaused by the american blockade thanks to the collaboration with the german capitalism. German state had well played with the cards of giving breath to the iranian middle class opposition to the shi'it revolution and using iran-based kurdish leaders as pawns.

The political influence of the german imperialism on palestinian and iranian bourgeoisies is now taken over by the control of the anglo-american block. Germany, despite its economic strenght, could not

privatise all the sub-structure of the ex-socialist industries and make them rentable and profitable for its economic upswing.

As a sub-contractor country of the american imperialist plans, Turkey narrowed the economic dynamism of german-iranian and azerbaijcanian propertied classes. American-british intelligence also gained ground vis a vis other forces, thanks to Turkey. American military and foreign policy apparatuses completed what was initiated by Germany in Croatia, Baltic republics and Palestina. Even CIA has played a direct role in helping palestinian authorities to set up a police force.

Germany, unilaterally and without any consent of EU, had recognised and signed a politico-military treaty with Croatia as a first blow to divide Yugoslavia. As long as UN peace keeping force and NATO (manipulated by USA and then supported by England) intervene and islamic forces mix in the affair, Germany has fallen to a secondary position. This is accelerated by the alliance of Serbia and Russia. Wth NATO bombardment pax-americana gained hegemony in Yugoslavia. German intelligence failed to compete with CIA and MI6 in the Balkan region.

The main allies of Anglo-american bloc in M.East is Turkey-Israel. These two states are not historical nation-states, but are rather two counter-guerilla bodies organised in “state” form to suppress other peoples in the region. This alliance was done covertly up until 1992 and conducted at a level of counter-guerilla intelligence. The main outcome of the influence of anglo-american bloc via ziono-kemalistic terrorist cooperation is the concessions taken by the imperialist new world sub-plan makers from Iranian-Syrian-Lebanese –Iraqi regimes. For example the coporation between Turkey and Syria on “the prevention of terrorism” goes back to 1992. The revolutionary movements had positioned in the territories of these regimes. But especially after 1991 these movements suffered from bottlenecks of logistics and positioning. This is the main product of the so much referred “dissolution of bi- polar world system” in the Middle East.

This process contributed also to the defeat of the revolutionary movements in Turkey. First, some revolutionary and anti-imperialist organisations could not keep their organizational ideological/financial independence from Ba`ath and arabic state bodies. Secondly a wave of immigration of once militarily trained revolutionary cadres was

witnessed from M.East to Europe. This is complemented by the ideological and moral “rehabilitation” of the refugees in the margins of the welfare state consumeristic/individualistic way of european life. Now, lets come back to the role of german imperialism in the diaspora of the anatolian and Middle Eastern peoples. German imperialism had its hands beginning with 1980`s in palestinian bourgeois opposition, in both iranian trade bourgeoisy and middle class opposition, in the mainstream political forces of the turkish left such as the TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) and Devrimci Yol (Revolutionary Path) which both constitutes the quantitative majority of the left . German ruling class made attempts to gain some force of manipulation within the european population of kurdish national liberation movement`s front organisations. Some kurdish leaders of iranian-kurdistan organisations were killed in Germany such as Abdurrahman Quasimlo while german capitalists were very keen on doing business with the Tahrán and Tebriz bourgeoisy embarrassed by the american blockade. German social democracy had helped palestinian bourgeoisy to isolate revolutionary organisations fighting for full liberation from imperialist powers.

The leaders of TKP and DY who were situated in Germany played their role to liquidate their own movements and to reduce them to “democratic” pressure groups. During the second part of 1980`s TKP-led trade unionists made their best to bureaucratisé the unions in Turkey while a new wave of post-coup working class movement was on the rise. DY leaders put pressure on the armed wing of the same mouvement to give up arms and break with the revolutionary front formed by 7 other organisations including PKK. Hundreds of DY fighters in Black Sea region were captured or liquidated. Thousands of honest and modest working class elements were left by TKP to live their individual destiny. A new type of NGO democratism substituted the radical struggle conducted by several groups.

Some european countries led by Germany, forced PKK to legalise all its political activity.

However the “Golf war” was the height of the anti-imperialist standpoint of PKK. PKK fought in different fronts both in norder and southern Kurdistan. But beginning with killing of Vedat Aydın (head of Diyarbakir human rights association) in 1991 and the armed

suppression of civilian uprisings *Serhildan*, the guerilla struggle is squeezed to mountains. The bill of the following ten years is 18 thousands civilian killings whose perpetrators are not found. The same year also marked the beginning of police special team raidings of “cell houses” in Istanbul and Adana without leaving anybody surviving in them. All the leaders of the revolutionary movements were either captured or killed. The result is nearly 12 thousand political prisoners in Turkish prisons. This was also the beginning of the total isolation of the armed struggle of PKK. That was the beginning of the erosion of the concise anti imperialist politics of the national liberation struggle.

Until 1991 the German imperialism had an escalating initiative and growing control over the anti-american independentist movements in the Middle East. Germany has done this through the threat of deportation, imprisonments, sending fascist MPs to Middle East to bargain with revolutionary leaders in Bekaa, providing financial facilities to collaborationist elements in the movements and by opening cases. For example, when some leaders of the national liberation movement were tried in Germany, German politicians were openly stressing on the “democratisation and disarming of PKK”. In the 4th, 5th and 6th congresses of PKK, exaggerated expectations of “European help for democratization” and petit bourgeois elements alien to the guerilla struggle were severely “condemned”.

Today the international conspiracy towards PKK is oriented by Anglo-American bloc. The Kurdish masses are reacting to the new strategic policies of PKK depending on their class basis. Kurdish middle class elements are again gaining strength but Kurdish poor masses are debilitated between the radical anti-state tradition of struggle and the impositions of international conspiracy which seem to challenge the Kurdish masses to experience the fate of the already suppressed uprisings; i.e. the physical destruction of the leadership and integration of propertied elements into the colonialist political system. That was what Ocalan had severely condemned even just after landing in Rome but this is also what PKK is forced to accept before the Anglo-American new order that it had rejected against Germany years ago.

Any policy of unjust peace and consensus is dissoluble facing with the current reality of the Middle East. With W. Bush band coming to power, and looking at some comments of him on Middle East, the acceleration of the US aggression is almost certain. The collapse of the

Oslo Peace proves that USA is far away from supporting his other militaristic partner (Turkish state) for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish question. US needs an aggressive and militaristic regional power other than Israel in the Middle East especially to control Southern Kurdistan and Iraq, while Turkey, after having lost the hope for foreign economic resources and for European integration, needs to get what he could not during the Gulf War; the petrol of Mussool and Kharkuk. On the other hand, Germany is making a new attack to restore its political counterweight searching alliances with Russia (Russia with Iran, India and China). Turkey is not any more a Trojan horse of US imperialism driven and accepted into Europe.

Turkey, one of the most rapidly arming country in the world has no margin for political flexibilities. This is why he *has to* organise a massacre for political cadres in the prisons and provoke full confrontation with PKK guerillas. Turkish bourgeoisie has to prove that he is not a state to bargain. This is also his message to the working class which was precipitating its opposition to the IMF policies. Presumably, PKK is now adapting itself to a more confrontational period with a new concept of *serhildan* and social struggle in the metropolises. As expected, the strategic change towards “peace” in PKK policies had created an erosion of confidence in other revolutionary organisations but even just to survive PKK can never turn into a disarmed force and after so many defeats Turkish revolutionary organisations can not give up the metropolitan poor Kurdish masses even for the sake of their own social revitalisation. Now it is time to create new methods and means to unite the social struggle with the liberation struggle.

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