BROADER MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA PROJECT (BMENA) AND THE ARAB SPRING

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“THE BROADER MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA PROJECT”

(BMENA)

&

“THE ARAB SPRING”

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All Projects

That Do Not Take the People into Account

Are Doomed to Fail

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“The 'Arab Spring' is a part of the Broader Middle East and North Africa Project (BMENA)

The imperialists' spring is the winter for the Arab people.”

INTRODUCTION

Spring is the awakening of nature. The awakening of the air, the earth, the water, and all living things in nature.

The term "Arab Spring" also refers to the awakening of the Arab peoples. However, this term is one used by imperialists and their bourgeois ideologists. When imperialists are involved, they never stand behind anything that benefits the people. This is inherent in the nature of these classes. The interests of two irreconcilable classes are such that if something benefits one, it harms the other. All events between imperialists and the people must be viewed through this framework. Otherwise, it is inevitable to be mistaken, fall into traps, and be used in line with the interests of the opposing class.

The "Arab Spring" process should have been examined through this perspective, and it still needs to be. What was "spring" for the Arab peoples should have been "winter" for the Arab rulers and the world rulers. However, during the so-called "Arab Spring", the imperialists openly supported it; this situation is contrary to the nature of class reality.

Therefore, it is necessary to look at the events with a different perspective than what is apparent, what is being shown. In our book, we have analysed the so-called Arab Spring through this point of view.

Looking at the results as of 2021, it has become very clear what the so-called 'Arab Spring' process was. However, if we do not approach the events from a class-based perspective, through the framework of imperialism and the people, even though the naked truth is visible, it is not possible to evaluate the events correctly or draw the right conclusions. Imperialists can develop new policies depending on the situation and manipulate the people to serve these policies.

In this regard, the process that began as the "Arab Spring" continues to take different forms, and the lands of the Middle East have been turned into a bloodbath by the blood of the Arab people. However, it is also a fact that, regardless of the goals of imperialists' policies, the resistance of the people has not been defeated. From BMENA to the Arab Spring, imperialist policies have been thwarted by the people's resistance. In Iraq, in Afghanistan, U.S. imperialism was defeated. In Syria and Yemen, the resistance will win... In Libya, they will lose as well... U.S. and EU imperialists are losing their economic and political dominance from Central Asia to the Middle East and Africa.

The U.S. empire has been destroyed. Power balances in the world are being re-established.

In our book, we examine BMENA from the early 2000s to the 2020s, the Arab Spring process, and the developments that followed. In doing so, we look more closely at the history, economic, social, and

political structures of the countries included in BMENA, spanning from Asia to North Africa, and analyse why these countries were targeted.

It seems that the U.S. has not been able to establish the order it wanted anywhere in the world. While at the beginning of the 2000s it declared itself the world's emperor, by the 2020s, the U.S. can no longer be a decisive force anywhere on its own. However, it continues to create unrest around the world, successfully spilling the blood of the people.

At the beginning of the 2000s, no one could stand against the U.S. imperialist policies, but by the 2020s, Russia and China are seen as the main threats. And the conflicts in the coming years, wherever they occur in the world, will fundamentally be the contradictions between these powers. And of course, the imperialism-people contradiction will deepen these contradictions between the powers.

Imperialist powers and their military-strategic organisations can draw up the projects they want at the negotiation tables. However, none of these projects will come to life because they do not reflect the reality of the people.

The main contradiction lies between imperialism and the oppressed, exploited peoples of the world. The solution to these contradictions is the downfall of imperialism and the liberation of the people.

If we do not view the developments and conflicts in the world from this perspective, it will be inevitable to become an instrument of imperialist policies and be used by the imperialists. In our book, we have tried to highlight this while examining BMENA and the Arab Spring process.

It is easy to evaluate the process after 20 years, looking at the result. All the lies and demagoguery of imperialism have been exposed. However, to implement the correct policies and stand in the right place, it is essential to look at the issues through a class-based perspective.

In the past 20 years, reformist leftists, opportunists, and Kurdish nationalists have failed to stand on a consistent anti-fascist, anti-imperialist line in both imperialist policies and AKP fascism. Particularly, the Kurdish nationalist movement[1] and the factions following it became pawns of the U.S. in Syria. Similarly, the support given by Kurdish nationalists and the left until 2015 played a role in strengthening the AKP fascism.

Throughout all these processes, the Revolutionary Movement continued its struggle without deviating even an inch from Marxist-Leninist ideology and its claim to power. It resisted the policies of submission and destruction by imperialism and the collaborating AKP government. In times when the world was sinking into despair, the Front grew the resistance to the death. While Afghanistan and Iraq were occupied, Saddam's statues were dragged through the streets, and the most despicable tortures were carried out on prisoners in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib, the Front prisoners were giving hope to the world with their epic resistance in the F-type prisons.

In the past 20 years, hope has grown. Even without M-L leadership, the resistance of the people has grown. Those who did not resist, those who chose surrender, have decayed and been eliminated. In our book, we also included writings that were published in the revolutionary movement's publications regarding these processes. What we have written and said is not an evaluation derived from the outcome; rather, what we wrote during the process is what has actually happened.

Our book was completed in over a year, under conditions with limited research opportunities. During this period, changes occurred regarding the topics we wrote about. For example, on 31 August 2021, U.S. and NATO forces left Afghanistan after 20 years of war, bringing the Taliban to power.

Also, at the end of 2021, the crisis deepened by the U.S.-EU imperialists through the collaborationist Ukrainian government to encircle Russia, which culminated in Russia's military operation in Ukraine on 24 February 2022, and the operation is ongoing as of now.

1Kurdish Nationalist Movement: In this book, this term refers primarily to the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and, in the discussion of Syria, to the PYD and YPG, which the book treats as organisations of the same political movement.

Due to the limitations of our resources, some topics that require more in-depth research may have been treated superficially. Nevertheless, we believe we have outlined many aspects of BMENA as a U.S. imperial strategy.

SECTION 1

WHAT IS THE ARAB SPRING? HOW DID IT START?

The term "Arab Spring" refers to a series of popular uprisings that began with an event in Tunisia on 17 December 2010. A university graduate and unemployed man, Mohamed Bouazizi, set himself on fire after police confiscated his street vendor stall, which led to a mass uprising by the Arab peoples.

As Mao said, "It only takes one matchstick to ignite a whole forest, "and Bouazizi's self-immolation became the spark that ignited protests across the Middle East and North Africa.

The protests began in the town where Bouazizi lived and quickly spread across Tunisia.

All Arab countries have become symbols of the luxurious and extravagant lifestyles of their kings, sheikhs, emirs, and corrupt leaders. The yachts, planes, cars, vacations, and lavish spending of the oil-rich kings, sheikhs, and emirs become the subject of worldwide attention.

Those who see these images assume that all Arab peoples also benefit from the wealth derived from oil. However, this is not the case. The self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian man who set himself on fire due to unemployment and hunger, has exposed the reality of the Arab world that is hidden behind the luxury and indulgence. On one side, there is the lavishness constantly showcased in bourgeois media's gossip pages, while on the other side, millions of people are living in poverty, hunger, unemployment, and under oppression, deprived of even the most basic rights.

The protests that began in Tunisia in December 2010 soon spread to Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, and Jordan.

In Tunisia, protests had been ongoing for days, with tents set up in city squares, demanding the resignation of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who had been in power for 23 years and whose corruption had become widely known. The protests aimed at holding him accountable for his corrupt actions.

Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, unable to gain the support he expected from his imperialist allies, fled the country and took refuge in Saudi Arabia when the protests escalated across the country. This outcome further inspired other Arab nations facing similar fates. After Tunisia, uprisings spread to Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco, Libya, Syria, and Mauritania, reaching across the entire Middle East and North Africa. Even in countries that are not Arab, such as Iran, Albania, and Armenia, people began protests with similar demands.

The rebellion of the Arab peoples is a response to the decades-long aggressive exploitation policies of imperialism and the corrupt, dictatorial regimes that have come to symbolize it. These regimes, led by collaborationist kings, sheikhs, emirs, and dictators, have fostered unemployment, hunger, poverty, and corruption.

The uprising, anger, and revolt of the Arab peoples are legitimate and justified. After decades of oppressive conditions created by imperialists and their collaborating rulers, the self-immolation of a university graduate from Tunisia, driven by unemployment and despair, became the last straw.

Movements without a goal of power under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries are doomed to fail and be exploited by the ruling class.

In the so-called "Arab Spring, "there was no Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement leading the anger and uprising of the Arab people.

The demands of the protests focused on the resignation and removal of the corrupt rulers, but there was nothing that directly targeted the system or proposed an alternative to it.

The most advanced demands included the resignation of corrupt leaders, the election of new ones, the end of oppression in monarchies, the adoption of a parliamentary system, the recognition of various bourgeois democratic rights, women's rights, etc.

Because there was no explicit opposition from imperialist countries towards the uprisings and protests, there was no political stance in the slogans or goals of these protests against imperialism and collaborationist relationships.

This was not simply due to political blindness. In Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, and elsewhere, the groups that led the uprisings were mainly union organisations within the existing order, professional associations, youth organisations, reformist left-communist parties, and reformist "moderate" Islamist organisations.

None of these groups proposed an alternative to the current system or opposed its collaboration with imperialism.

From the start of the protests in Tunisia, the United States supported the movements, claiming they contained "democratic demands." Reformist left-socialist-Islamist groups, in alliance with the U.S. and the EU, worked with the open support of imperialist powers.

Their demands were limited to changing the long-standing rulers and making reforms within the system, such as constitutional changes. However, these reforms were referred to as "revolution" by the reformist left, socialists, and Islamists. While imperialists called it the "Arab Spring, "reformist leftists and Islamists referred to it as the "Arab Revolution". Almost the entire global left embraced this notion of the Arab Revolution.

True Marxist-Leninist revolutionary struggle and discussion was avoided by reformist leftists. These petty-bourgeois intellectuals often refused to even mention a Marxist-Leninist revolution. They would accuse those advocating for revolution of being "backward" and "out of touch with the times."

However, since the counterrevolutions of the 1990s, imperialism has supported and manipulated civil society-led movements that lack revolutionary leadership, labelling them as "revolutions" for its own benefit.

Before the Arab Spring, reformist-opportunist leftists also supported so-called "coloured revolutions" in countries like Georgia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, and others, all directly influenced by imperialists.

In this sense, they did not surprise us during the Arab Spring either.

In the current situation, despite the fact that the Arab Spring has shown who benefits as a "spring" and who suffers as a "winter", we do not believe that reformist-opportunist leftists and groups based on nationalism and religious ideologies have drawn the correct lessons.

In Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, and Yemen... despite the failure of the U.S.'s BMENA, these resistances lack a class-based perspective. They operate based on nationalist and religious ideologies, which only serve to expand the manoeuvring space for imperialists, allowing them to develop new policies depending on the situation. Furthermore, imperialists can easily manipulate these movements to fit their new strategies. We will revisit these points as necessary.

“What Happened In Which Country During The "Arab Spring" Process? What Kind Of Results Did It Lead To?

TUNISIA:

The first protests began on 17 December 2010, after Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire. Protesters demanded the resignation of the government and the trial of those responsible. As the police opened fire on the crowds and more people were killed, protests spread across the entire country. City squares were occupied, and government buildings and state offices became targets. The people demanded the removal and trial of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, who had been in power for 23 years and whose corruption was widely known. Beyond ordinary protests, the people had revolted. Ben Ali's government insisted on staying in power, resorting to a massacre to suppress the uprising. 223 people were killed. Despite this, the uprising could not be suppressed, and President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and his deputy Mohamed Ghannouchi fled to Saudi Arabia. The government resigned, political prisoners were released, and a new government was formed in the following months.

ALGERIA:

On 28 December 2010, the Tunisian uprising influenced the people of other countries in the region that shared the same fate. After Tunisia, the first protests began in Algeria. Protests and rallies were held across the country. Issues such as unemployment, hunger, and poverty were raised. The corruption of the ruling powers was highlighted. The people demanded rights and freedoms. As a result of the protests, 8 people were killed due to police assaults. The state of emergency that had lasted for 19 years was lifted.

LEBANON:

Protests in Lebanon began on 12 January 2011. Following interventions, 17 people were killed. Hezbollah, initially supporting the democratic demands of the protests, called on the people not to fall for the interference of the imperialists, especially the United States. The protests ended spontaneously.

JORDAN:

On 14 January 2011, following protests, King Abdullah Bin Abdul Aziz dismissed Prime Minister Rifai and his cabinet. One person was killed, and the government was renewed.

MAURITANIA:

On 17 January 2011, small-scale protests occurred. After police intervention, one person was killed. There was no significant change in Mauritania, and the protests faded spontaneously.

SUDAN:

On 17 January 2011, following protests, President Omar al-Bashir announced he would not run for election in 2015.

OMAN:

Protests began on 17 January 2011. Sultan Qaboos Bin Said granted economic privileges. Some ministers who were associated with corruption were dismissed. The legislature was granted legislative powers. Six people were killed in police assaults on the protests.

YEMEN:

Protests started on 21 January 2011 and spread nationwide in a short time. While imperialist powers supported the demonstrators in many Arab countries, they did not intervene as the Yemeni police killed thousands of protesters. The opposition leading the protests was openly against the United States and local collaborating powers. Despite 7, 000 deaths, the protests could not be suppressed. To quell the uprising, the "Gulf Initiative, "backed by Saudi Arabia and the United States, gave immunity to Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh and forced him to resign. His deputy, Mansur Hadi, took over, but Hadi was one of the collaborating leaders of the previous regime. The uprising, led by the Iran-backed Houthis, continued. The capital was taken over by the rebels, and the people's resistance in Yemen still continues.

SAUDI ARABIA:

Protests, which began on 21 January 2011, were quelled when King Abdullah offered economic privileges. Two people were killed in the protests, but the movement ended before it could grow.

EGYPT:

On 25 January 2011, protests began as millions of people took to the streets following the forceful suppression ordered by President Hosni Mubarak, who had been in power for 30 years. The protests spread across the country. The people set up tents and resisted in Tahrir Square for days. Government buildings were occupied, police stations were burned, and political prisoners were released. At first, the military stood behind Mubarak, but as the protests grew, they eventually took a neutral stance and intervened militarily. Mubarak and Prime Minister Ahmed Shafik resigned. The military took control of the government. Parliament was dissolved, and the ruling party was disbanded. The leftist-socialist and Islamist groups that led the protests eventually reached an agreement with the army to end the protests and prepare for elections.

SYRIA:

Protests began on 26 January 2011. Although these protests escalated into armed conflicts with attacks on government buildings, they did not spread as widely as in Egypt. Bashar al-Assad's government freed political prisoners and lifted the state of emergency. However, imperialists continued to fuel the protests, and religious organisations gathered in Syria, particularly after the death of Muammar Gaddafi

in Libya. Despite all the instigation by imperialists and collaborators, large-scale demonstrations that could seriously threaten the government did not materialize. The protests were primarily driven by imperialist agents who, after Gaddafi's death, began transporting Al-Qaeda and other collaborators to Syria.

DJIBOUTI:

Protests began on 28 January 2011. Opposition leaders leading the protests were arrested after occupying public spaces. International observers were expelled from the country. The protests, which resulted in the deaths of two people, ended before they could grow further.

MOROCCO:

Protests began on 30 January 2011. The people attacked the royal family's properties. King Mohammed granted economic privileges, and the protests ended with promises to combat corruption. Seven people were killed during the protests.

IRAQ:

On 10 February 2011, protests started and developed into a large uprising. Government buildings were attacked. Prime Minister Maliki announced he would not run in elections. Governors and local officials resigned. Thirty-five people were killed during the protests.

BAHRAIN:

Protests began on 14 February 2011, and large protests ensued. Government buildings were occupied. King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa granted economic privileges, political prisoners were released, and some officials resigned. Fifty-one people were killed during the protests.

IRAN:

Protests started on 14 February 2011. The protests were suppressed after the leaders were arrested. Three people were killed during the protests.

KUWAIT:

Protests began on 18 February 2011 and ended with the resignation of the cabinet and small-scale clashes with the police. The state reported no fatalities.

WESTERN SAHARA:

Protests began on 20 February 2011 and ended with one death without further escalation.

LIBYA:

Protests began on 17 February 2011. While the protests were not as widespread as those in Tunisia or Egypt, they were still a significant challenge to Gaddafi's regime. The imperialists, behind the scenes, openly supported the "Arab Spring" in Libya. The protests alone could not bring down Gaddafi's regime. However, imperialists gathered radical religious groups from Afghanistan, Iraq, and other areas to fight against Gaddafi. The imperialists provided them with weapons and training and launched an open war through collaborators. Gaddafi's government, which had contradictions with tribal groups and different religious factions, was targeted. Imperialists openly called for Gaddafi to step down, but he vowed to resist to the end. Despite the support of imperialist collaborators, they failed to remove Gaddafi. Eventually, NATO forces attacked Libya from the air, land, and sea. The reason for the attack was stated to be the use of force against the people and Libya's non-compliance with UN resolutions. On 22 August 2011, Gaddafi's convoy was bombed near Sirte, and he was captured and lynched by a handful of collaborators. After Gaddafi's death, a puppet government was established, and Libya was immediately looted. The imperialists, having created a puppet government, moved quickly to Syria.

In Libya, after Gaddafi's regime was toppled, problems persisted, and imperialists could not establish the exploitation order they desired. Ten years after Gaddafi's fall, the imperialists have not been able to resolve the issues in Libya, and they continue to struggle with the complexities created by their own actions.

Imperialists Used The “Arab Spring” For Their Own Interests

When the “Arab Spring” began, the anger of the people of the Middle East, especially against the United States, reached its peak. This was because the people of the Middle East instinctively knew that their hunger, poverty, and the corrupt dictators ruling over them were the responsibility of imperialist powers, particularly the United States.

With the collapse of the socialist bloc in the early 1990s, the Middle East and Africa became some of the regions where the most savage, unrestrained exploitation, plundering, and pillaging took place under the name of globalisation.

Unrestrained imperialist exploitation grew the hunger of the people, and hunger, in turn, intensified anger.

The unipolar system promised to overthrow the dictatorships and bring freedom, welfare, and democracy to the people. However, by the 2000s, after more than a decade, the comprador dictatorships, kings, sheikhs, and emirs who had been in power for years remained in power, and hunger and poverty continued to increase.

In the Middle East, anger fuelled by exploitation and hunger found expression in radical Islamist organisations. Specifically, organisations such as the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and Hamas, which were established and nurtured by imperialists before the fall of the socialist bloc to prevent the spread of socialism, grew and gained mass support. The Taliban came to power in Afghanistan, while in Palestine, Hamas grew its struggle against Israel with martyrdom operations and armed force as the PLO engaged in a process of reconciliation with the imperialists.

In Lebanon, Hezbollah became a significant anti-imperialist political force against the collaborating governments.

For imperialists, the turning point came on 11 September 2001. On that day, Al-Qaeda hijacked passenger planes and targeted the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre, the Capitol building, and the Pentagon in the United States, killing thousands.

Such an act cannot be supported by revolutionaries. However, it is important to note a few points regarding this event and its aftermath:

1. **September 11 as a Reflection of Growing Anger**: The September 11 attack was a reflection of the extent of anger and hatred that had been growing among the peoples of the Middle East, particularly against imperialists, especially the United States.
2. **Al-Qaeda's Roots in U.S. Actions**: The Al-Qaeda organisation that carried out the September 11 attacks was created by the U.S. CIA as part of the “Green Belt” strategy to prevent the spread of socialism. Al-Qaeda was trained by the CIA, and its approach to action was no different from imperialism’s perspective. Just as the U.S. dropped bombs without mercy on civilians around the world, Al-Qaeda viewed such an attack as normal.
3. **The September 11 Attack as Justification for U.S. Imperialism**: The September 11 attack served as the foundation for U.S. imperialism to justify its attacks on the world and its declaration of world empire. Right after the attacks, Muslim countries were labelled as “terrorist-supporting nations” and became enemies of the U.S. The U.S. passed new terror laws, asserting the right to intervene militarily in any country it chose. A lynch campaign was launched against Muslim populations, particularly in Europe, where they were seen as potential “terrorists” and subjected to street lynching attacks.

Following September 11, imperialists tried to mask their exploitation by framing it as a “clash of civilizations” between the “East and the West.” Soon after, the U.S. used the “terror” rhetoric to justify its attack on Afghanistan in November 2001, with the support of over 60 NATO member countries.

The U.S. arrested hundreds of Afghan resistance fighters detained them in Guantanamo without trial and subjected them to the most brutal forms of torture. The images from Guantanamo were broadcast worldwide to instil fear among people. Outside Guantanamo, the U.S. set up torture ships, torture planes, and torture centres in Eastern European countries.

In 2003, the U.S. invasion of Iraq was launched, and no country other than the oppressed ones could stand against it. The U.S. declared, "*Either you are with me, or you are a terrorist."* With the invasion of Iraq, the U.S. declared world imperialism. The U.S. proclaimed, "*Next up are Iran, Syria, and North Korea,* " trying to bring them into line.

The fall of Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq and the subsequent occupation took place without significant resistance. This further deepened the despair created by the post-September 11 "terror rhetoric" and the occupation of Afghanistan. Statues of Saddam were toppled, and he was dragged through the streets with a noose around his neck. Iraq was plundered in the truest sense, from the Central Bank of Iraq to Baghdad's world-renowned library.

"There is No Absolute Darkness"(Dursun Karataş)

Resistance is Hope! It is Light!

On 12 September, fascism had subdued the people outside, and within the prisons, the ongoing torture and the uniformity of attacks on revolutionaries who continued to resist were still in effect. Revolutionary Left Leader Dursun Karataş2, by saying "*There is No Absolute Darkness, "o*rganised the 84-day death fast resistance, and just as they had shattered the darkness, the Party-Front members were once again the only force resisting against imperialism and the oligarchic power in collaboration during a process where despair prevailed globally.

The Great Death Fast Resistance, which began on 20 September 2000, against the F-type prisons in our country, which were not independent of the world imperialist policies, continued fiercely despite all attempts to break it, even when Afghanistan was occupied and Saddam's regime in Iraq was overthrown and the occupation completed.

While the imperialists and their collaborators spread fear and despair over the people in 2003 with the phrase "Baghdad has Fallen, "the Party-Front, with the experience of the Great Resistance, said, ***"Baghdad may fall, but it will rise again! This fire will not be extinguished! Baghdad may be destroyed; from the ruins, the people will create many Baghdads. Baghdad may fall, but from its ashes, it will be reborn. Iraq may be occupied; the flag of resistance against occupation will begin to wave in the hands of the people."***(*Ekmek ve Adalet, Issue: 56, 13 April 2003)*

As the Front had said back then, the invasion of Iraq was both the open declaration of the U.S. as the world empire and the beginning of the empire's end.

After the invasion, although fear and despair prevailed among the world's people for a while, the reality of the occupation gradually grew the resistance within the Iraqi people.

The arrogant soldiers of the occupying United States brazenly attacked Iraqi women and young girls. They raped, tortured and murdered in front of their husbands and parents. Those who showed the smallest resistance against the occupation were arrested and subjected to the most heinous torture, rape and degrading treatment.

The purpose of leaking images of naked Iraqis being dragged on the ground by U.S. female soldiers in Abu Ghraib to the press for the U.S. prison was to be a "lesson" to the peoples of the world but with fear in their hearts, it also increased anger and hatred against imperialism among the peoples of the Middle East.

2Dursun Karataş (1952–2008): Revolutionary and leader of Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol), and later founder and leader of the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) in Turkey.

Notes Written in History

Outcry of a Woman from the Abu Ghraib Prison: "With all weapons you gather attack this prison! Kill them, kill us too. We are already willing to die."

"Bismillahirrahmanirrahim (In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful)
For the sake of god, kill us!
To my people, to the people of Ramadi, Al-Khalidiya and Al-Falluja; to the people of the world who haven't lost their honour and virtue.
This is the letter of your sister Nur from the American Zionist Abu Ghraib prison.
Please believe me, I don't know how to describe, how to put in words the improbity, humiliation and misery in here. While you are having dinner in your warm homes and be with the ones you love, and in deep sleep; the sleepless night we suffer in the hands of Americans. While you are dressed, our nakedness, how can I describe and put in words the way to make us undressed and line up by the wall!
Please let me tell you how they beat us to death when we refused to become a subject to their bestial pleasure and surrender ourselves to their lust.
You, those loitering around as our religious leaders!
*How could you still walk around with your head high whilst Americans make us subject to sexual torture and torment. ****

Did you sell us and yourselves to Americans and Zionists for a bunch of dollars like slaves in marketplace? How quickly you lost your honour and dignity? In Abu Ghraib Americans are raping your honour every day.
I'm calling upon all those who read my letter to say stop in the name of God to the savagery in Abu Ghraib prison. I'm inviting you to raise your voice to stop the inhumane torture here. What happens here much worse than the ones in the Zionist prisons where Palestinian youth and women are subjected to similar torture.
With all weapons you gather, attack here! Kill them and us too! We are already willing to die. Smash this place in pieces! We all have their bastards in our wombs! Most of us are pregnant. We are willing to die already.
We are begging for you, to come and save us! We want to die to stop shaming you, our families and our country. Kill us! I'm begging for you. For the God sake kill us, Americans and their bastards!
For the God sake!
We beg for you.
Your sister Nur (20 April 2004)

This is how the Iraqi Nur who was raped by American soldiers many times had called out the Iraqi people…

And shortly after the invasion of Iraq, small-scale resistance efforts led to larger ones. Despite the collaborationist tribes and feudal and religious leaders, the resistance spread all over the country. Even though there was neither national unity nor organisation, the resistance of the Iraqi people cost thousands of casualties for the U.S. army. 70-year-old grandfathers and grandmothers turned their bodies to bombs

and pulled the trigger amongst the invading U.S. military units. Vehicles filled with explosives targeted the headquarters of the invaders.

By 2005 the U.S. struggled to carry on with direct invasion and tried to form a collaborationist rule to implement the neo-colonialism. The Secretary of State at the time, Condoleezza Rice declared that "from Morocco to Pakistan the borders of 22 countries will change". This was the declaration of BMENA and that they didn't change their mind to become a world empire. On the other hand, the resistance in Iraq, despite of its shortcomings, started to burst morale of the people of the world.

The invasion had begun in Afghanistan in 2001 and under the leadership of Taliban grew stronger. According to research, in 2005 the hatred for the U.S. reached its peak among the peoples of the Middle East.

Despite of the collaborationist AKP rule's efforts this hatred was also strong for the peoples of Turkey.

We will cover BMENA initiative in later sections.

The period called "the Arab Spring" prepared a ground to soften the hatred that barricaded the U.S.'s empire dream. This hatred had grown due to the U.S.'s invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq following the September 11 twin towers action and maximised with further attacks to surrender the people of the Middle East from North Africa to Pakistan.

To evaluate the U.S.-EU imperialists approach to the popular uprisings in all Arab countries following the immolation of Mohammad Bouazizi in 2010, without considering the developments we summarised above will be wrong.

The year of 2010, when the "Arab Spring" began, is also the year when the U.S.'s invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq turned into a swamp and militarily lost against the resistance. The U.S. attempted to get out of this swamp by choosing a black candidate as president, Barack Obama in 2009. The blame for the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions and consequently defeat was brought upon the republicans under the presidency of W Bush. The black and African origin candidate of the Democrats, Barack Obama was sold as the symbol of peace and democracy. For the first time in the U.S.'s history, by selecting a black candidate as a president, they attempted to cleanse the bloody history of the U.S.

By using Obama family's Islamic background, they tried to soften the anti-American hatred of the African and people of the Middle East.

Even Muammar Gaddafi wrote a letter to Barack Obama, who would watch life his massacre. The letter starts with "To Our Son, his excellency, Mr Barack Hussein Obama"

"*I have said to you before, that even if Libya and the United States of America enter a war, god forbid, you will always remain a son. Your picture will not be changed."*

This was "the picture" of Obama and this image was at the centre of the "Arab Spring".

Peoples' Movements Without Revolutionary Initiative Are Open to the Use of Imperialists

As we mentioned earlier, the "Arab Spring" is an uprising of the Arab peoples.

It is a revolt against the policies that imperialists have imposed on the peoples of the Middle East over the last century.

It is a revolt against the humiliation of Muslim peoples after the 11 September attacks and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq.

It is a revolt against the massacres, tortures, and BMENA following the Iraq invasion, as well as the arrogance of the imperialists.

It is a revolt against the corrupt dictatorships that have been in power for decades, the complicit Arab kings, emirs, and sheikhs.

Nearly all Middle Eastern countries are oil exporters. These countries are rich in oil. Arab kings, sheikhs, and emirs have become dollar billionaires from oil revenues, and they have become associated

with luxurious lifestyles to the point of vulgarity. On the other hand, the people of almost all Arab countries live under hunger, poverty, misery, and intense oppression. The "Arab Spring"is the people's revolt against all of this.

Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation was the last straw for the Arab peoples.

Let us emphasise this first: **imperialists do not support popular uprisings.** It goes against their reason for existence. Initially, they did not support the uprisings in Tunisia either. This is because imperialists are directly or indirectly the target of popular uprisings.

Although it may appear that the Arab peoples have revolted against the corrupt, complicit rulers, the real responsibility for the hunger, poverty, suffering, and oppression faced by the people lies with the imperialists.

The peoples of the Middle East have suffered under nearly 500 years of Ottoman rule, followed by 200 years of British, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish colonialism, and their fate was determined by them. Since the 1950s and 1960s, when they supposedly gained independence, it has been U.S. imperialism that has determined the fate of the Arab peoples.

While the people suffer from hunger, poverty, and misery, the imperialists are also responsible for the luxurious lifestyles of the kings, sheikhs, and emirs, as well as the complicit dictators who have ruled with oppression and terror for 20-30 years without stepping down from their thrones. To be more concrete, the main culprit is U.S. imperialism. All countries in the Middle East, except for Iran, Syria, and Libya, are ruled by individuals who never defy the U.S. With such a situation, it is absurd for imperialists to support the Arab people's revolt.

In fact, during the early days of the protests in Tunisia, they did not support them. They stood behind their complicit rulers. But when the people's uprising could not be suppressed, even with massacres, and spread throughout the country, only then did they start making statements claiming that the protests had "democratic demands". They "condemned" the use of violence against the protesters. From that moment on, they began to use the people's uprising to further their own interests.

How Did They Use It?

Looking at the course of events, the first protests in Tunisia began after Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire on 17 December 2010. The police opened fire on the protesters, and new casualties occurred. As a result, the protests started to spread and grow throughout Tunisia. The government began using massacres to suppress the protests. New massacres, new funerals, and a nationwide uprising followed.

The people's demand was for the police who carried out the massacres and the political leaders responsible for them to be tried.

During this period, the imperialists, who had posed as the champions of democracy, merely watched the events unfold. After the protests spread across the country and could not be suppressed with massacres, they started to claim that the protesters' demands were democratic. By this time, the government had killed more than 200 people in Tunisia. After President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali left the country, the protests spread to other Arab countries. Protests that began as small demonstrations escalated rapidly across the country due to police massacres, leading the people to resort to violent actions such as attacking public buildings and burning police stations.

The biggest, most violent, and longest-lasting protests occurred in Egypt. In Egypt, the protests began on January 25 with demands for the resignation of Hosni Mubarak, who had been in power for 30 years, and for him to be tried for corruption. The police also attacked the protesters in Egypt, killing dozens of people.

At the beginning of the protests, both the imperialists and the army and police supported the Mubarak regime. However, the massacres committed by Mubarak and the people's uprising spread throughout the country. The people began attacking state buildings and police stations. Tahrir Square in Cairo became the centre of the protests. Millions of people set up tents and resisted.

Although the anger of the people was immense, the demands of those leading the protests were entirely within the system. At first, all the imperialists, led by the U.S., posed as champions of democracy and began to adopt the protesters' demands. The Egyptian military also stopped supporting Hosni Mubarak.

Although the demands of the people are within the system, they are undoubtedly democratic demands.

Justice, freedom, employment, and sustenance... The call for accountability for the corruption and crimes committed by the 30-year-long ruling of Hosni Mubarak, and for the prosecution of those responsible for the massacres, are all democratic demands.

Even though the demands of the people were democratic, the organisations leading the protests had no revolutionary goals outside the system. They were bourgeois opposition parties, reformist left-socialist parties, Islamist parties and organisations, and labour unions. While the demands were democratic, none of the organisations leading the protests had any revolutionary or alternative goals outside of the existing system.

When the protests reached a point where they could not be suppressed by massacres (29 January 2011), President Hosni Mubarak announced that he would not resign, but he had removed the cabinet.

On the same day, the leaders of Britain, Germany, and France declared their "concern" about the events in Egypt in a meeting in Berlin.

On January 31, nearly one million people gathered in Cairo's Tahrir Square and began marching toward Alexandria. The army and police opened fire on the protesters again, and hundreds of people were killed. However, the protests did not cease. Despite the bourgeois parties and reformist opposition forces attempting to keep the protests within the bounds of the system, the massacres fuelled the people's anger. They began storming and burning government buildings, state institutions, and police stations. All opposition forces set up tents in Tahrir Square and began resisting with the demand for Mubarak's resignation.

After the protests reached this stage, White House spokesperson Robert Gibbs stated, "*To resolve the chaos in Egypt, the government should negotiate with the people. The crisis is not about appointments, but about the protests. The government must fulfil the demands of freedom the people are asking for."*

When the imperialists make calls, would their servants, such as Tayyip Erdoğan, remain silent? *"I call on Mr. Hosni Mubarak. We are mortal, we are not eternal... We will only leave with our shrouds... For the peace, security, and stability of Egypt, take the first step,* "he called on Mubarak to resign.

In the following days, trade unions and all opposition forces called for a general strike. The military, which had previously supported Mubarak, gave assurances that they would not intervene in the protests. The imperialists, through all their agent organisations under the guise of NGOs, began openly supporting the protests and attempting to direct them.

From Obama to former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, they began calling for Mubarak's resignation. Lacking the support of imperialists, Mubarak helplessly resigned on 11 February 2011 and handed over power to the army. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces announced that it had dissolved the parliament and suspended the constitution. The Arab revolution in Egypt resulted in the military taking control of the government.

In all the countries except Libya, Syria, and Yemen, the Arab Spring was similarly managed with some changes in leadership and reforms, and the uprisings were controlled and managed without escalating.

As mentioned earlier, the governments of the countries where the "Arab Spring" occurred—except for Syria, Libya, and Iran—are all major collaborators of the U.S. By seeming to support the demands of the people in the "Arab Spring, "the U.S. and EU imperialists:

1. Softened the growing anger and hatred against the U.S. among the people of the Middle East, paving the way for the realisation of the U.S.'s BMENA.
2. After the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, where the U.S. had exposed itself as an occupier, torturer, and killer, they positioned themselves as supporters of the people's fight for

democracy and freedom, using their collaborators to intervene in the management of these countries.

Reformist Left and "Moderate Islamists" Who Co-opted the People's Uprising During the "Arab Spring"and Conformed to Imperialism's BMENA

In our book, we will discuss the role of the reformist-opportunist left and the ***"Moderate Islamists"*** acting as imperialist collaborators under the guise of "Islamic reformism" during the "Arab Spring" in separate sections.

Here, we would like to briefly note that the role of progressive, leftist, socialist, or even communist unions, associations, organisations, and parties, as well as Islamists, was to direct the anger of millions of Arab people against the regime back into the system. The people's uprising, despite state forces killing hundreds of people, could not be suppressed, while the reformist, systemic left and Islamist forces co-opted the rebellion under imperialist consent by reaching an agreement with the military.

The U.S. and EU imperialists, using the reformist left and Islamists, brought BMENA into action under the banner of the "Arab Spring." Without the intervention of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries aiming for power, the bourgeois ruling classes, through centuries of accumulated experience, can manage to pull people's movements, uprisings, and revolts back into the system and use them to reinforce their own power. The "Arab Spring" process also served this function for imperialism and collaborating regimes.

One of the most striking aspects of this process was the attitude of the reformist left.

Since the early 2000s, we have been saying that the left has lost its claim to power. There is a left without a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary understanding, an organisational approach, or a claim to power, which is now in alignment with the system.

Today, what the "left" calls "revolution" is in fact the "coloured revolutions" of imperialism. It is merely the sharpening of the existing system with imperialist approval. The reformist left's approach to the "Arab Spring, "which it described as an "Arab Revolution, "has always been based on this premise. The so-called left, socialist, and even communist organisations, parties, and unions did not have a goal that transcended the boundaries of the system. What they meant by "revolution" was never a Marxist-Leninist revolution. They did not aim to channel the anger and struggles of the masses toward a power-driven fight, beyond merely smoothing out the existing system and finding a place within it.

The reformist left used the people's rebellion not for revolution, but to create reforms within the system and settle into it. In this way, it also served imperialist policies. That is why, after the true face of imperialism became evident soon after the "Arab Spring", it was said that the "Arab Spring" turned into the "Arab Winter, "leading to disillusionment.

In reality, there was neither "revolution" nor "spring."

Yes, the uprising of the Arab people was against the system. They wanted justice, work, bread, and freedom. Their actions were directly aimed at the system. They harboured anger toward the collaborating rulers and imperialists. Therefore, the people's uprising was progressive and revolutionary.

However, the opposition leading the uprising, whether leftist or Islamist, was part of the system and within imperialist consent. None of them had an anti-systemic revolutionary agenda or programme. They were satisfied with the departure of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia and the resignation of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt. In Egypt, they compromised with the military after it took control, dissolved the parliament, and suppressed the movement without protest.

When millions rose up, and over 800 protesters were killed, the reformist left, the pro-American Islamist unions, professional organisations, parties, and groups managed to suppress the uprising by reaching an agreement with the military.

In this sense, the reformist left, and pro-American "moderate" Islamists are responsible for implementing imperialist policies during the "Arab Spring."

The “Arab Revolution”, “Arab Spring” Demagoguery, and Imperialist Policies Came to Life in Egypt

The protests and uprisings that began in Tunisia spread to more than 20 Arab countries across the Middle East and North Africa, with reforms, leadership changes, resignations, and concessions by the rulers until the end of February 2011, except in Yemen.

Imperialism used the “Arab Spring” and “Arab Revolution” rhetoric to push its policies of BMENA in the Middle East and North Africa, which was realised through the events in Egypt and the resignation of Hosni Mubarak.

After Mubarak’s resignation, new parliamentary elections were held under the control of the military that took over the government. In the elections, the candidate of the Muslim Brotherhood, Mohamed Morsi, who had been promoted as a “moderate Islamist” against Mubarak’s allies, was elected, and an opposition coalition formed around him.

The “Arab Revolution” in Egypt resulted in the rise of a moderate Islamist, pro-imperialist party, in alignment with the region’s imperialist policies, and not a radical Islamist movement.

U.S.’s "Moderate Islam" policies were proposed in 2005 under BMENA to prevent the rise of radical Islamists in the region, following the invasion of Iraq. The project was announced by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan being appointed co-chair. As an Islamist party and as Turkey was a Muslim country, the AKP was shown as a model for “Moderate Islam.”

With the coming to power of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, it became a second example of “moderate Islam.” Radical Islamist movements in other Arab countries would be made compatible with imperialism accordingly.

The main target countries for regime change in the Arab Spring were Libya and Syria. These countries, since the collapse of the socialist bloc in the 1990s, were on the U.S. target list, as it could not dominate them. After the invasion of Iraq, the U.S. openly threatened, “Syria, Libya, Iran, and North Korea are next.” The resistance in Iraq and the growing resistance in Afghanistan posed a significant obstacle to the U.S. attacks on these countries.

The resignation of Mubarak in Egypt, under the guise of the "Arab Revolution" and "Arab Spring" rhetoric, created the ground for attacks on Libya and Syria under the name of "revolution

In Libya, influenced by the events in Tunisia, protests took place before Egypt. On January 13-16, the population protested the delay in the delivery of public housing by the government and occupied the constructed houses. On January 27, the government announced that it would solve the housing problem with a new investment fund of 24 billion, and the protests ended.

In Syria, the first protests started on January 26. Despite the Assad government agreeing to the demands for the release of political prisoners, the lifting of martial law, and the resignation of regional governors, imperialist forces ensured that the protests continued. Furthermore, the protests in Syria did not evolve into democratic protests. A large majority of the protesters were not Syrian, but radical Islamist groups who were armed and carried out armed, bombed actions targeting government buildings and institutions. These were presented as “*the people’s democratic protests against Assad's dictatorship*” through imperialist media.

In Libya, after the protests under the “Arab Spring” ended, Islamist militant groups similar to al-Qaeda from Chechnya, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Niger were moved into Libya after Mubarak’s resignation. They were organised, armed, and trained for war. They forced Muammar Gaddafi to leave power. Collaborating tribes, so-called NGOs, and internet-based mass movements attempted to organise protests, but they failed to organise real mass movements. Only small groups of armed terrorists from groups like al-Qaeda carried out armed actions, which were then propagated as “popular protests.”

Notes Written in History

The Egyptian people must see that democracy and freedoms cannot be achieved by relying on imperialism...

The only salvation for the peoples of the Middle East is anti-imperialist, anti-fascist popular governments!

Last weekend, on November 19, the Egyptian people began to protest again in Tahrir Square and other cities, after the military took control following the resignation of the collaborator Hosni Mubarak. The failure of the military government to fulfil demands for rights and freedoms, as well as the planned constitutional amendments that aimed to increase the military's powers and the postponement of the presidential elections to 2013, further fuelled the people's anger. Tens of thousands of people have been protesting in Tahrir Square and other cities since November 19.

The military, which had supported the people's actions to overthrow Mubarak by labelling them as "freedom" protests, is now firing on the people. Over the past week, more than 40 people have been killed and over 2, 000 have been injured due to the attacks by the police and military. While some speak of "spilled blood" in Syria, they remain silent about the massacres committed by the pro-American military government in Egypt.

The Egyptian people must now see the truth—who are their friends and who are their enemies. They must realise that democracy, rights, and freedoms cannot be won by relying on imperialism. They must understand that imperialism is the dictatorship of monopoly capitalists. Monopolies never bring democracy for the people. Before calling it the "Arab Spring, "the imperialists have been exploiting the people of the Middle East for decades through the puppet dictators they installed. They left people hungry and poor.

With the "Arab Spring", imperialists are using the accumulated anger of the people toward dictatorships and their demands for rights and freedoms in the Middle East to serve their own policies. Particularly in Tunisia and Egypt, the people have sought to rid themselves of dictatorship and achieve democracy, rights, and freedoms by relying on imperialism. However, the process has once again shown that peoples cannot win their rights and freedoms by relying on imperialism.

The U.S. has taken control of the revolutionary anger and demands of the peoples of the Middle East, who lacked revolutionary initiative, and directed their anger according to its own interests.

The imperialists are attempting to reshape the Middle East and Africa by removing governments that stand in the way of their exploitation policies, as they did in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria. In Egypt, the collaborationist military wants to reshape the country according to the U.S. interests. If the Egyptian people want democracy, rights, and freedoms, they must first oppose imperialism and its collaborators. Otherwise, the U.S. will use their anger for its own policies by changing the military regime and making superficial "reforms."

The Muslim Brotherhood, which had previously participated in protests, is not taking part in the recent ones.

In this process, the Muslim Brotherhood has been cooperating with imperialists in all the countries of the Middle East where it is organised. Their stance once again highlights the approach of Islamist organisations in the Middle East, which considers any means acceptable to come to power.

Islamist organisations will never bring liberation to the peoples of the Middle East. They can never do anything for the interests of the people. While they may temporarily be opposed to imperialism, they are open to reconciliation with imperialism because they are not grounded in class struggle. They will justify any means to come to power. Today, from Tunisia to Egypt, Libya to

Syria, the Muslim Brotherhood is doing the bidding of the U.S. to come to power. America wants to shape the Middle East using the Muslim Brotherhood, just as they have shaped our country with the collaborationist AKP.

The Egyptian people must direct their struggle against imperialists and their collaborators. They must fight to expel imperialists and collaborators. This struggle is the struggle for an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist revolution.

—Yürüyüş Magazine, 27 November 2011, Issue 296, p.13

The Resistance of the Yemeni People Has Exposed the Lie That Imperialists Support the Arab Peoples' Demands for Bread, Justice, Freedom, and Democracy.

Yemen is one of the most striking examples that revealed the true face of imperialists during the "Arab Spring" process.

As we mentioned, the protests and uprisings that began in Tunisia following Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation spread throughout all Arab countries, but by the end of February 2011, protests had ended in all countries except Yemen. We will examine Libya and Syria separately. After Hosni Mubarak's resignation in Egypt, protests were reignited by radical Islamist groups, largely non-Egyptian, who were organised and supported by the U.S. and the EU through various secret services and provocations, leading to months of campaigns.

However, the situation in Yemen developed very differently.

The demands of the Yemeni people were no different from those of other Arab nations. They demanded bread, work, and jobs. They wanted the resignation of Ali Abdullah Saleh, who had been in power for 33 years, and whose corruption and theft had become widely known. They demanded democracy and freedom.

The protests in Yemen started earlier than in many Arab countries, including Egypt (on 21 January 2011). These were the most massive protests across the country. However, neither the imperialists nor the "Arab Revolution" enthusiasts, including reformist and opportunistic leftists, paid attention to what was happening in Yemen. This is because the "revolutionary wave" in this process was one that developed with the support of imperialism and under its supervision.

In Yemen, things were different. The Yemeni people's demands were the same, but the imperialists did not support the Yemeni people's resistance, as they did in Egypt. Ali Abdullah Saleh's regime, which had been in power for 33 years, killed thousands of protesters (7, 000). Yet, this was barely reported in the bourgeois media.

Meanwhile, in Libya and Syria, while groups like Al-Qaeda were decapitating people and raping women, filming these atrocities and broadcasting them for propaganda, bourgeois media turned a blind eye to these actions, instead fabricating narratives about Gaddafi and Assad's "massacres."

In Yemen, the resistance and the massacres of Ali Abdullah Saleh were deliberately censored and kept hidden from the world. This is because the resistance in Yemen exposed the imperialists' policies in the "Arab Spring" through their support for anti-imperialist struggles.

The leaders of the protests in Yemen, like those in Egypt, were not in collaboration with imperialists. From the beginning, they fought against both the collaborationist Ali Abdullah Saleh regime and American imperialism. Their protests were not only for economic and democratic demands but were also anti-American.

The Yemeni people, led by the Houthis, had already rebelled against Ali Abdullah Saleh's regime before. In 2004, the Houthi movement, led by Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi, had already revolted in what is known as the Zaydi Shia uprising. The Houthis are not a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement, but

their resistance aligns with Iran's anti-American stance, making them an obstacle to U.S. imperialism in the region.

For this reason, the U.S. and its Gulf allies supported Ali Abdullah Saleh's regime to suppress the resistance, instead of supporting the Yemeni people's democratic demands. From the start of the uprisings on 21 January 2011, until Ali Abdullah Saleh's forced resignation on 23 November 2011, 7, 000 people were killed with the support of the U.S. and its allies. Despite this brutal repression, the Yemeni resistance continued.

On 23 November 2011, under pressure from Arab states, Ali Abdullah Saleh's 33-year dictatorship was ended. After Saleh's resignation, his deputy, Abd Rabbuh Mansur al-Hadi, was brought into power. In the elections on 21 January 2012, Hadi became president. So, while Saleh left, a puppet regime took his place. However, the Yemeni people rejected this new regime, and once again, led by the Houthis, they revolted, taking control of the capital, Sana'a.

Yemen will be examined in more detail when discussing the countries involved in BMENA. To summarise, the Houthis have made it clear: "Our struggle is against ***U.S.-EU imperialism and their collaborator coalition forces. We will continue until we drive the imperialists and their collaborators from our land."***

This is the reason imperialists have been trying to suppress, isolate, and erase the Yemeni resistance from the very beginning. Yemen's resistance has served as a counterexample, exposing the emptiness of the imperialist "Arab Spring" and "Arab Revolution" narratives. The Yemeni resistance is one of the touchstones of the "Arab Spring."

Reformist Leftists Have Objectively Collaborated with Imperialism During the "Arab Spring"

The uprisings during the so-called "Arab Spring" reflected the peoples' desire for a more just, prosperous life, work, bread, and freedom. They largely had progressive-revolutionary characteristics. However, due to the lack of revolutionary leadership and the absence of a goal to overthrow the existing social order and replace it with a new one, it is not correct to call these movements "revolutions". Shortly after the "revolutionary wave, "imperialists revealed their true intentions in Libya and Syria. While there were some formal differences, the events in all Arab countries essentially unfolded according to imperialist policies and served their interests.

A year after the "revolution" winds in the Arab world began, the reformist-opportunistic left started to complain, saying things like "Islamists hijacked our revolution" or "the Arab Spring turned into a winter". However, it was these same leftists who had allied with Islamists in Tunisia and Egypt. They were well aware that movements like the Muslim Brotherhood had been promoted by imperialists since 2005, but they failed to see the imperialist manipulation at play.

The reformist left in this process was not anti-imperialist. They acted under the supervision of imperialism. This issue was not only a mistake within the Arab left but also reflected a broader failure in the global left, especially among parties and movements that had lost sight of revolutionary goals and aimed to settle for positions within the existing system.

To demonstrate the left's capitulation to imperialism, let's recall the 2nd Eyüp Baş International Symposium Against Imperialist Aggression, held in Istanbul from February 25-27, 2011. Over 60 left-wing, socialist, and communist organisations and parties from Arab countries to India, Europe, and Latin America participated in the symposium organised by People's Front.

At the time, Tunisia's Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and Egypt's Hosni Mubarak had been overthrown, while in Syria and Libya, imperialist interventions and provocations were becoming clear. The seminar's main topic was the imperialists' role in the "Arab Spring, "how they manipulated the situation, and their efforts to divide peoples along sectarian lines.

However, most of the participating organisations only spoke of the "Arab Revolution, "ignoring the role of imperialism. They failed to critically analyse how imperialist interests coincided with the revolution's demands. Some even openly supported imperialist interventions, believing that the U.S.'s role in the uprisings was legitimate.

At that time, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, then Prime Minister of Turkey, was seen as a hero in the eyes of many left-wing groups, despite his close ties to U.S. interests in the region. We, on the other hand, found it difficult to explain the reality of imperialist policies in the Middle East, the situation in Turkey, and Erdoğan's role in all of this. Many groups accused us of being out of touch with the ongoing process, while we had to explain to them what revolution truly means.

One year later, at the 2012 symposium, those same groups who had earlier criticised us for being behind the times admitted, "You were right". After the real face of imperialism became evident in Libya and Syria, and the bloodshed continued, the supposed "revolution" in the Arab world began to reveal its imperialist underpinnings.

The Cause of the Error is the Forgetting of the Reality of Imperialism

On the left, the reality of imperialism and the irreconcilable contradiction between imperialism and the peoples have almost disappeared. The reformist and opportunist left, which describes itself as "revolutionary, socialist, "called the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria, which imperialism openly used to reshape the Middle East, "revolutions" due to the dissatisfaction of the peoples with dictatorships. In the early 1990s, the same reformist and opportunist left evaluated and supported the counter-revolutions directed by imperialism in former socialist countries and those with popular power as "people's movements."

During the Arab Spring, imperialists were the first to use the rhetoric of "revolution" in an attempt to direct the people's anger. This was a conscious way of emptying the content of revolution, degenerating it, and distorting it. Ideologically influenced by imperialism, the reformist and opportunist left quickly joined this. In our country, particularly reformist parties such as ÖDP and EMEP, with these developments labelled as the "Arab Spring" by imperialists, essentially rediscovered the revolution. However, these factions had long since shelved a Marxist-Leninist revolution and removed it from their agenda.

The opportunist approach to the process has not been different from the reformist left. For example, the Socialist Party of the Oppressed (ESP) can claim that "*what happened in the Arab region and Latin America in the 21st century heralds regional revolutions.*"

The Understanding of Revolution of Marxists-Leninists is Clear: Movements That Do Not Aim for Independence Against Imperialism and the End of Exploitative Classes' Rule Are Not Revolutionary!

There are two stages in the Marxist-Leninist understanding of revolution. The first is the Political Revolution. Political revolution is the transfer of power. It is the overthrow of the exploitative classes and the establishment of the people's power. It involves the dismantling of the existing bourgeois state apparatus and the construction of a new type of state apparatus.

The second stage is the Social Revolution. Social revolution is the building of socialism through revolutionary popular power. It is the realisation of social transformation. It involves the establishment of a more advanced economic, political, and social order.

In light of these foundations, there are two key elements that determine whether a movement is revolutionary. These are:

1- Whether the movement has an anti-imperialist independence goal. In other words, for a movement to be revolutionary, it must aim to end imperialism's dominance in the country. It must be openly and clearly anti-imperialist.
2- The overthrow of the collaborationist, exploitative classes' rule. No movement that does not target imperialism and its collaborators, or fail to end their rule, can be called revolutionary.

The distortion and confusion about revolutions and popular movements is not only present in the left in our country but is also similar in the world left.

Today, the ideological crisis and deviation in the world left are so severe that they call any movement a revolution. Moreover, even counter-revolutionary efforts are often labelled as "progressive-revolutionary" developments.

Counter-revolutionary movements, led by imperialism, the compromises and surrenders to imperialism, the collaborationist relationships with imperialists, and the legitimization of becoming the imperialists' foot soldiers are presented as policies in favour of the people.

Reformist-opportunist left jumps on any movement that has a bit of the people in it and any oppressive power, calling it a "revolution" or "progressive uprising". They did this during the Arab Spring.

It was clear that the movement called the "Arab Spring" was not a revolution. Opportunist-reformist left, and nationalists used the rhetoric of "revolution" to legitimise their backwardness, conciliatory submission, and liquidationist line.

The Kurdish Nationalist Movement has Tried to Legitimise Its Collaboration with U.S. Imperialism Under the Demagogy of "Revolution."

If imperialists talk about "revolution, "you can be sure that there is a serious ideological attack against real revolution. In its simplest form, they want to empty the concept of revolution by using it inappropriately, because imperialists are enemies of revolutions.

When reformist left and Kurdish nationalists talk about revolution, you can be sure that they are trying to mask their cooperation with the system and imperialism.

Reformism has no goal of revolution. On the contrary, they are enemies of revolution. They are not for revolution, but for improving the system with reforms.

Kurdish nationalists closed the "revolution" chapter by removing the symbol of socialism, the Hammer and Sickle, from their flags as early as 1993. For them, the era of revolutions is long over, and this has been theorised repeatedly by Öcalan in Imrali Island Prison. "Ecological Society" and "Confederalism" are the latest theories of the unnecessary nature of revolutions.

Given this situation, what is the so-called "Kobane revolution" or "Rojava revolution", which is now hailed as the only revolution of the Arab Spring? Why do Kurdish nationalists defend the concept of revolution so vigorously, even to the point of attacking those who claim "Rojava is not a revolution"?

The answer is clear: It is not because they are revolutionaries or fighting for revolution.

Let's give a straightforward answer: **U.S. collaboration!**

Being the "Ground Force" for the U.S. in Syria. Being used as an agent of the U.S. in Syria.

The Kurdish nationalist movement has tried to mask its U.S. collaboration in Syria under the guise of the "Kobane" and "Rojava" revolutions. As we mentioned earlier, the Kurdish nationalist movement closed the chapter on revolution long ago. Since the fall of the socialist system in the 1990s, they have leaned on imperialists, writing thousands of pages to argue that the era of revolutions has ended. They have cursed revolutions at every opportunity, attacked revolutionaries.

Abdullah Öcalan[3], the leader of the Kurdish nationalist movement, condemned everything related to revolution in his Imrali defences.

A more recent example: Murat Karayılan, one of the PKK leaders, in an interview with an Israeli newspaper (Jerusalem Post, 27.11.2020), seemed uncomfortable with the rhetoric of "Kobane, Rojava revolution" – the Israeli journalist asks: "*You say you were never enemies of the U.S.; we know that during the founding of PKK, you aimed to create a united Marxist Kurdistan, what do you say about this*?"

Karayılan's response: "***At that time, Marxism-Leninism was a trend. And we were influenced by these ideas. We criticised Soviet ideology. That's why we were not negatively affected when the Soviet***

3Abdullah Öcalan (born 1949): Founding leader of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party). He was captured in 1999 and imprisoned on İmralı Island in Turkey.

Union collapsed. We have always kept a distance from them. Öcalan revised many of his ideas while in prison. He emphasised democracy, environmentalism, and women's rights."

In short, Karayılan is saying what the U.S. wanted to hear.

The Kurdish nationalist movement's collaboration in Syria can no longer be masked by the rhetoric of revolution. They are guarding oil wells in Syria under U.S. command, with U.S. weapons, and U.S. dollars.

The PKK now has no revolution in Rojava and Kobane. The Kurdish people are made to serve U.S. interests. They can no longer deceive anyone with revolution rhetoric.

However, at the start of the process, the "Rojava and Kobane revolution" demagogy not only masked the Kurdish nationalist movement's collaboration with U.S. imperialism but also allowed the U.S. to intervene in Syria through its collaborators PKK-YPG. The oil wells in the areas controlled by PKK are working for U.S. monopolies. There are 25 U.S. military bases in "revolutionised" Rojava and Kobane.

As we said earlier, the first criterion for determining if a movement is revolutionary is its stance against imperialism. However, the Kurdish nationalist movement is collaborating with imperialists. There has never been a revolution made in collaboration with imperialists anywhere in the world. It is absurd to claim that a revolution has taken place where 25 U.S. military bases exist.

The Kurdish nationalist movement no longer focuses on the rhetoric of revolution. However, at the beginning of the process, they managed to drag the reformist-opportunist left in our country into collaboration with imperialism.

The Kurdish nationalist movement exploited the internationalist solidarity feelings of the world left through its "revolution" rhetoric and ensured the U.S.'s policies in Syria were supported.

While collaborationism is masked under the demagogy of "revolution, "the hopes of the Kurdish people and others for revolution have been damaged.

Revolution cannot be made with U.S. collaboration. Making the Kurdish people collaborators under the guise of revolution is the greatest harm done to them. Wherever U.S. imperialism is involved, it soon turns into a swamp. As long as U.S. collaboration continues in Rojava and Kobane, it will turn into a swamp.

The decades-long struggle for freedom and the sacrifice of tens of thousands should not end in the quagmire of collaboration.

In conclusion, the real lessons proven by the Arab Spring process and similar events are:

1. No movement that receives imperialist support can do anything for the benefit of the people. Imperialists are the enemies of the people. They are responsible for hunger, poverty, misery, and the bloodshed of the people worldwide.
2. Imperialists cannot solve the problems of independence, democracy, or freedom for the people. Those who expect peace, democracy, and freedom from imperialists will never be free from being tools of imperialist policies.
3. Since the 1990s, the world has been dominated by imperialists. They are responsible for all the problems the people face, and they are the ones causing these issues. The people of the world have no solution except revolution, and no salvation other than socialism. The only force that will lead this salvation is the Marxist-Leninists.
4. Without a Marxist-Leninist understanding of revolution and a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organisation-party, revolutions will not happen anywhere in the world. People's uprisings due to imperialist exploitation are taking place in all corners of the world. The example in Egypt after the Arab Spring is a very striking one. In July 2013, more than 20 million people gathered in Cairo's Tahrir Square against "moderate Islamist" Mohamed Morsi, who came to power as a result of the Arab Spring revolution. However, this popular movement, lacking revolutionary leadership, ended up facilitating the overthrow of Morsi and the re-establishment of the system by an American-backed junta. Today, the world's people need Marxist-Leninist leaderships.
5. The measure of a movement's progressiveness and whether it should be supported is whether it serves the policies of imperialism. No movement that empowers imperialist policies, even if it has

the people in it or arises under an oppressive power, can be considered progressive or supported. Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries should assess such popular movements with their independent policies, aiming to target imperialism and its collaborating governments, and strengthen the revolution with clear slogans and objectives.

6. The contradictions between the world's people and imperialists are irreconcilable and will never end. These contradictions are deepening every day. The imperialists' slogans such as the New World Order and Globalisation have proven to be great lies. While imperialists have managed to exploit the people's hunger and poverty through "colour revolutions" and processes like the Arab Spring, the people's desire for justice, equality, and humane living conditions keep surfacing and turning into action. This is proof that the people will not and have not submitted to imperialism's exploitative and oppressive order.
7. The reformist left is a system-based left. They are not revolutionaries, but reformists. They use popular movements not to develop the revolution and the struggle but to reconcile with the system. Because they are not for the overthrow of the current exploitative system with revolution but for improving its flaws with reforms. Their mission during the Arab Spring process was also to reconcile with imperialism, collaborationist military juntas, and U.S.-backed Islamists. During the June Uprising in our country, from the first day, they tried to end the uprising to reconcile with the system.

   Nationalism, on the other hand, is self-centred. It cares little for the interests of the people outside of its nationalistic concerns. It is open to all kinds of cooperation and alliances with imperialism and its collaborators. For this reason, they cannot use popular movements to develop revolution.

Libya, Syria, Yemen: The Winter Of Imperialism After The Arab Spring

The "Arab Spring" and the subsequent process were periods where the slogans of justice, democracy, and freedom were most intensively propagated, and psychological warfare was employed in various forms. After the invasion of Iraq, the United States, which declared itself the world emperor, made Iran, Syria, and Libya its primary targets.

However, as previously mentioned, the open occupation conditions and the rapidly growing resistance in Iraq started a process of decline for the U.S. empire before it could fully establish its dominance. Anti-Americanism among the peoples of the Middle East quickly radicalized and grew. During Iraq's invasion, there wasn't a single country that politically opposed the U.S., yet even in its most disorganised form, the Iraqi people's resistance sparked anti-American uprisings in various parts of the world.

While Iraq became a quagmire for the U.S., the Taliban's resistance in Afghanistan also began to grow rapidly. After Iraq's invasion, although the U.S. threatened countries like Iran, Syria, Libya, and North Korea, the resistance that grew afterward made military interventions in these countries impossible. The Iraqi people's resistance also contributed to the rise of anti-American sentiment in Latin America. Reformist, albeit anti-American and populist, political parties came to power in countries like Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, and Brazil. Despite all the embargoes and attempts to isolate Iran, North Korea, and others, they continued to implement their military, political, and economic policies.

In 2005, the U.S. announced BMENA as part of its imperial strategy. However, the resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan and the growing anti-American sentiment blocked the military intervention aspect of BMENA.

The U.S. and its allies attempted to encircle countries like Iran, Syria, North Korea, Libya, and Venezuela through economic sanctions, blockades, and internal conflicts, aiming to destroy their economies and break them apart by supporting local collaborators. They conducted conspiracies, assassinations, and used the internet to call for uprisings. Despite all these efforts, they failed. These attacks only amplified anti-American sentiment in these countries and around the world.

In an attempt to reverse this trend, the U.S. attributed these failures to the policies of George W. Bush and sought to change its strategy with the "peaceful" approach under Barack Obama. In his

campaign, Obama promised to close the Guantanamo camp, withdraw from Iraq and Afghanistan, improve relations with Cuba, and generally improve relations with countries that were in conflict during the Bush era.

After Obama's election, he tried to extricate the U.S. from the military quagmire in Iraq and Afghanistan by strengthening pro-American governments in these countries. To mitigate anti-American reactions that were growing under the influence of radical Islamist groups, he began using his key ally, Turkish President Tayyip Erdoğan, as a partner in his Middle East strategy. Erdoğan and his team toured the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, acting as Obama's agents and reporting back to him.

Turkey was presented as a "model country" to the region, depicted as a moderate Muslim, secular, and democratic republic. The "Arab Spring" unfolded in this context, finding its real basis during this process.

The primary goals of the "Arab Spring" were:

1. To prevent and reverse the growing anti-Americanism and create an image of the U.S. as a country advocating "peace, democracy, and freedom."
2. To soften and control radical Islamist movements by promoting “moderate Islam” (which was aligned with the U.S. and imperialist interests).
3. To overthrow the governments of countries like Iran, Syria, and Libya, which were outside the sphere of imperialist influence, and turn them into neo-colonies.
4. To use the dissatisfaction of the people under the banners of justice, democracy, and freedom to either change or pressure the cooperative leaders that imperialism wished to replace.

The "moderate Islam" policies helped the U.S. achieve its goals during the "Arab Spring." In Tunisia and Egypt, the "moderate" Muslim Brotherhood was brought to power.

In Libya, Syria, and Iran, however, the "moderate Islam" approach was insufficient to overthrow the existing governments. Yet, imperialists did not remain idle. In Libya, they tried to create collaborator groups under the legitimacy of "overthrowing dictators" initiated by the Arab Spring.

In Libya, the Arab Spring process began and ended before Egypt's, influenced by the uprisings in Tunisia. From January 13–16, protests broke out in cities like Domah, Benghazi, and Beni-Walid due to delays in the government's completion of housing projects. The protests were put to rest when the government allocated a new fund of 24 billion for completing these projects.

However, after the resignation of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt on February 14, imperialist powers focused all their efforts on toppling Colonel Muammar Gaddafi in Libya.

The imperialists, led by the U.S., flooded Libya with their agents under the guise of human rights organisations. They created collaborators from religious figures, tribes, different ethnic groups, the military, and government officials. With media campaigns through the internet, newspapers, and television, they launched attacks to manipulate public opinion.

They turned the few hundred people they organised into protests into news stories, repeatedly calling it a *"popular uprising against Gaddafi's dictatorship."* Even the ordinary police interventions in the protests were presented as torture and massacre attacks. The case of an accountant, Cemal El Hacı, who was detained for hitting someone with his car, was presented as a violation of human rights under Gaddafi’s regime. His arrest, for calling for Gaddafi’s resignation and urging the public to take part in street protests, was propagated as an act of human rights defence. Through these and similar provocative news stories, they tried to incite the public to revolt.

The protest in Benghazi, which they reported as a popular uprising, was shown by the state television as being no more than a group of 15-20 specially organised individuals. Despite all the provocations and inflammatory propaganda, the imperialists failed to organise large-scale, mass demonstrations.

In Libya, unlike in Egypt, there were no "moderate Islamists." Gaddafi made a call to the people, saying that imperialists aimed to destroy the order in Libya and that he would not leave office, urging them not to fall for imperialist provocations and propaganda.

Realising that they could not overthrow Gaddafi’s government like they did with Hosni Mubarak, the imperialists began supporting religious groups like the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, which they had

previously targeted in Afghanistan and Iraq, in order to destabilise Libya. They allowed Taliban representatives to open an office in Qatar and brought Al-Qaeda into Libya. They even brought jihadist groups from as far as Chechnya into Libya, arming them heavily.

Unable to organise civil protests, the imperialists resorted to using these armed gangs to attack police stations and government buildings. On the other hand, they attempted to create the narrative that Gaddafi's government was "massacring civilians" in order to lay the groundwork for direct military intervention.

When the imperialists saw that they were not succeeding with their agents, including Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, they began openly discussing military intervention.

They formed an alternative government to Gaddafi under the name of the "National Transitional Council"(NTC). This so-called national council, full of collaborators, appealed to their imperialist masters for help to stop Gaddafi's alleged "civilian massacres."

On 19 March 2011, a conference was held in Paris with 28 NATO member countries, including French President Nicolas Sarkozy, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, British Prime Minister David Cameron, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, and other representatives. In this conference, a military attack on Libya by air, sea, and land was decided. The command of the attack was given to the U.S. Africa Command's General Carter Ham.

The imperialists are known for giving bombastic names to such attacks… The U.S. called its attack the "Odyssey Dawn Operation, "the UK the "Ellamy Operation, "Canada the "Mobile Operation, "and France the "Harmattan Operation."

The imperialists were practically racing against each other to overthrow Gaddafi and plunder Libya. The collaborating AKP government, at first, criticised NATO's involvement in Libya by asking, "***What is NATO doing in Libya?*** "but later joined the attack with 7 planes, 5 ships, and a submarine.

The decision to attack Libya was made on March 19 at the Paris Conference, but the imperialists had already surrounded Libya from all directions by air, sea, and land with all their forces long before that.

The military vehicles sent by the imperialist forces to "save" the Libyan people from Gaddafi's dictatorship and to "bring democracy and freedom" were:

- U.S.: 90 planes and 1 ship
- France: 33 planes and 1 ship
- United Kingdom: 17 planes and 2 ships
- Italy: 16 planes and 4 ships
- Canada: 11 planes and 1 ship
- Netherlands: 7 planes and 1 ship
- Spain: 6 planes and 2 ships
- Norway: 6 planes, Denmark: 4 planes
- Greece: 2 planes and 1 ship
- Turkey: 7 planes, 5 ships, 1 submarine
- Bulgaria: 1 ship; Romania: 1 ship

From 19 March 2011 to October 20, warplanes and ships dropped thousands of tons of bombs on the Libyan people.

Human rights monitoring organisations had been propagating for days that Gaddafi's forces were massacring civilians. In NATO bombings, thousands of people, including Muammar Gaddafi's children and grandchildren, were killed. Although Gaddafi called for a ceasefire on May 1, NATO forces and their allied militias continued their massacres. All of Libya's cities were bombed from the air, land, and sea, and official buildings, banks, institutions, and especially the cities resisting the occupation, were destroyed and looted, aside from oil wells.

Despite the imperialists' full-scale attacks from the air, sea, and land, and despite the passage of months, breaking the resistance and toppling Gaddafi's regime was not easy. As the resistance in Libya prolonged, the imperialists began spreading news that "Gaddafi and his family had fled the country." They

waged a psychological war. The UK Foreign Secretary claimed that Gaddafi had fled to Venezuela and urged the public not to resist.

However, Gaddafi addressed the people live on February 23, saying: "*I have not fled anywhere. I am in Tripoli. Do not believe the news channels belonging to rogue dogs.*"

Before the imperialists began their attack, Gaddafi had already issued a message stating: "Libyans are ready to die for their country! You will regret intervening in Libya. Libya belongs to Libyans, not to you."

When Omar Mukhtar4 fought against Italian imperialism, he had said: "You may kill us, but you will have to fight our grandchildren."

Under Gaddafi's leadership, the Libyan people resisted imperialism and its collaborators for eight months. In those eight months, alongside the destruction and devastation of the country, 60, 000 Libyans were killed.

On 20 October 2011, Gaddafi's convoy was bombed by fighter jets while in motion. He was captured in the city of Sirte and handed over to collaborating militias. He was subjected to brutal torture and lynched by these militias. His body, showing signs of vile torture, was specially displayed to intimidate all resistance groups. On 25 October 2011, it was announced that his body had been buried in an undisclosed location in the Libyan desert.

The imperialists claimed they would "liberate" the Libyan people from Gaddafi's dictatorship and bring democracy and freedom. After Gaddafi's regime was overthrown, the collaborative government they established adopted Libya's pre-independence monarchy flag as their own. The military commander of the collaborators, General Haftar, declared himself the "Caliph."

It will not be difficult to predict how events unfolded after Gaddafi's regime was toppled. We will address these developments under a separate heading.

The imperialists, after toppling Gaddafi's regime and having him lynched and killed, began to openly threaten Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, saying: "***Syria is next. You either leave Syria or we will do to you what we did to Gaddafi.***"

Bashar al-Assad, like Libyan President Gaddafi, responded: "***Syria is my homeland; either I will die as a martyr, or I will not surrender my homeland to the imperialists***."

Notes Written in History

A portion from Muammar Gaddafi's speech at the United Nations:

Muammar Gaddafi's speech at the Arab League Summit in Syria, following the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the execution of Saddam Hussein, reveals why Gaddafi's regime was targeted by the imperialists.

"What is the reason behind the destruction of Iraq, the invasion, and the killing of millions of Iraqis? Our American friends should answer this question. Why Iraq? What is the reason? Was Bin Laden Iraqi? No, he wasn't. Were those who attacked New York Iraqis? No, they weren't. Were those who attacked the Pentagon Iraqis? No, they weren't. Were there weapons of mass destruction in Iraq? No, there were not. Even if Iraq had chemical weapons, countries like Pakistan, India, the U.S., France, the UK, Russia have nuclear bombs. Should all these countries be destroyed? Then let's destroy all countries with weapons of mass destruction.

4Omar Mukhtar (c. 1858–1931): Libyan anti-colonial resistance leader who led the armed struggle against Italian colonial rule in Cyrenaica. He was captured by Italian forces and executed by hanging on 16 September 1931.

A foreign force invades an Arab country and hangs its president. And we sit on the sidelines and laugh at it. Why haven't they launched an investigation into Saddam Hussein's execution? How could an Arab leader, from a country in the Arab League, be hanged like that? I am not talking about Saddam Hussein's policies or the differences we had with him. We all had political disagreements with him, just like the disagreements we have now. Except for sitting in this hall together, we share nothing. Why is there no investigation into the execution of Saddam Hussein?

While an Arab leader is hanged, we sit in our corners, why? ***Maybe one of you will be the next one to be hanged.*** *America fought against Khomeini with Saddam Hussein. Saddam was their friend. Dick Cheney was Saddam's close friend. Donald Rumsfeld was also Saddam's friend when he was the U.S. Secretary of Defence. In the end, they sold Saddam out and hung him. You are all America's friends. Let's not say 'you,' let's say 'we.' But America may one day hang us too.*

We are enemies of each other. I am sorry to say this. We hate each other. We deceive each other. We secretly rejoice at the suffering of one another. We set traps for each other. Our intelligence agencies set traps for each other instead of for our enemies. We are enemies of each other. One Arab is the friend of another Arab's enemy. We are meeting in an Arab country, Syria. But Syria's relations with Iran, Russia, and Turkey are thousands of times better than its relations with other neighbouring Arab countries. Libya's relations with Italy are a thousand times better than with its neighbours Tunisia and Egypt. This is the situation of the Arabs!"

Words of Omar Mukhtar, inscribed in history:

"We will never surrender. Either we win, or you will fight us with our next generations. As for me, I swear that I will live longer than my executioners."

Italian Officer: "What would you say if the Italian government, in its great magnanimity, spares your life and you promise to spend the rest of your life in peace and tranquillity?"

The Desert Lion: "I swear, until you leave my homeland, I will never stop fighting you and your group. If death is the end, then welcome... And I swear to God, who knows the hearts of men, if my hands were not tied, even in my old and exhausted state, I would not hesitate for a second to fight you with my bare hands."

As he went to the execution platform, Omar Mukhtar said to the crowd: "Children, you should remember us as strong, brave, firm people who never gave up. You should not see us crying. You will continue our fight."

Notes Written in History

Below, we present writings from the Yürüyüş magazine after the fall of Gaddafi's regime, regarding the process…

Imperialism Will Not Win in the Middle East!

Twenty-one years ago, imperialism launched a major assault in the Middle East. The largest military buildup in human history was made in the Gulf. All imperialists were united in this attack. This was because, after the victories of national liberation struggles, the impact of the Palestinian

revolution, and the progressive governments under the influence of the Soviet Union, the Middle East had long ceased to be their "farm."

However, the aim of this huge military buildup was not limited to the Middle East. It was ostensibly aimed at Saddam's regime in Iraq. Shortly after, bombs would rain down on the Iraqi people, killing nearly a hundred thousand Iraqis. But the threat was to all the peoples of the world. The warning was aimed at all forces that wanted to resist imperialism.

The 1990-91 attack continued in the early 2000s with outright occupations. Sometimes only Iran, sometimes Iran, Syria, and sometimes as many as 22 countries were targeted by imperialism.

However, resistance and war do not stop.

With the collapse of the socialist system, imperialism, which fantasized about entering one end of the world and coming out the other, crashed into the wall formed by the resistance of the people.

That "massive" power was unable to break the resistance in Iraq or Afghanistan.

That "massive" power failed to subdue Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries, and patriots in Turkey, Colombia, Palestine, Nepal, India, Russia, Bulgaria, or other countries of the world.

Imperialism still publishes "terrorist lists" today. Imperialism is still at war with the people in Libya and Syria. This is the result of the resistance.

In Libya and Syria, the "democratic imperialism" delusions have once again been shattered. What happened in Libya and Syria shows that imperialism's nature has not changed at all—it is still genocidal, plundering, occupying, and conspiring.

Imperialist states have been bombing Libya under NATO's umbrella since March 19. They openly support collaborator groups and impose surrender on Libyan leader Gaddafi and the people. Similarly, in Syria, they are imposing surrender on the Assad government and the people. Imperialist collaborators inside Syria are also being openly supported.

*The AKP government is fully serving imperialism. The Erdoğan administration, which used to call Assad our friend, now accuses him of dictatorship and tells him, "**make reforms or leave**." The AKP's actions do not stop there. In both Libya and Syria, the AKP has acted as the executor of imperialism's plans, supporting them economically, politically, and militarily. For instance, it has been reported that weapons used by imperialist collaborators in Syria were smuggled through Hatay. Similarly, in Libya, British imperialist agents were caught red-handed.*

According to documents published recently in the Washington Post, since 2006, the U.S. government has been providing $6 million in financial support to organise the "opposition" in Syria. All of this is perfectly in line with the character of imperialism. It would be surprising if they hadn't done these things.

By openly supporting collaborators, inciting uprisings, and exploiting the people's resentment toward petty bourgeois dictatorships, imperialism is trying to force all peoples who refuse to submit to it to give up.

While Libya and Syria continue to be bombed and besieged, and while the world remains "silent," no effective mass response has been developed. Libya is being bombed, and conditions for open occupation are being created, while Syria's siege is being tightened. Yet the world remains silent.

*This silence has many **ideological and organisational** causes. On the European level, the fact that democratic opposition is largely under the influence of the bourgeoisie is one of the reasons for this silence. This influence is why, after some European imperialist countries resolved their contradictions with the U.S. over the invasion of Iraq, mass protests stopped.*

From an ideological standpoint, the leftist misunderstanding lies in believing that imperialism genuinely wants to dismantle dictatorships.

*The theories of **"democratic imperialism"** led many left-wing factions to side with imperialism. These factions viewed events in Tunisia and Egypt from the bourgeois perspective and, in Libya and Syria, fell into a larger mistake by legitimising imperialist occupation.*

The imperialist assault and siege in Syria and Libya cannot be justified under any circumstances. While the authoritarian nature of Syria's government might be a separate topic of discussion, the imperialist assault on the country is not about reforming a "repressive regime." It is directly about securing imperialist interests. For example, why does Syria have no U.S. military base? Why, for instance, is health and education free in Libya? Why hasn't Libya's oil been fully opened to imperialist plundering?

The collaboration in Syria (and Libya) is not a democratic opposition to the authoritarian regime, but a collaborationist opposition financed, organised, and incited by imperialism. This opposition cannot be supported. Instead, the resistance of the Libyan and Syrian people against imperialism must be supported.

The people of Libya and Syria should not be left alone in their struggle against imperialism. All revolutionary, progressive, and patriotic forces worldwide must stand with the people of Libya and Syria.

Revolutionaries, progressives, and patriots must view the events in the Middle East not through the eyes of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie, but through the eyes of the people and, above all, revolutionaries.

Imperialism imposes its standards, its culture, and its worldview on every aspect of life. All facts and events are presented from their perspective. We must reject this.

The reality lies in Marxism-Leninism.

The reality is the ongoing and relentless class struggle around the world.

(Yürüyüş, 26 June 2011, Issue 274, pages 4-5)

Notes Written in History

AKP is the Enemy of the People of the Middle East!

*"**182nd Squadron (Atmaca), which participated in air operations against PKK targets in Northern Iraq, has been assigned to NATO's operation in Libya. It was learned that the squadron would be going to the Sigonella Base on Sicily Island in Italy in a few days**." (Cumhuriyet, 21 June 2011)*

What will the 182nd Squadron do in Libya? It is very clear that they are not going to help the Libyan people. They have been assigned to NATO's "operation" in Libya. No one is unaware of the purpose of NATO's "operation" in Libya.

*The 182nd Squadron, which massacred the Kurdish people in Turkey, has now been given the task of massacring the Libyan people. At this point, it does not even matter if the 182nd Squadron directly bombs Libya or not. Because Turkey is an accomplice and defender of this massacre. Currently, there are **six warships and seven warplanes** from the oligarchy's army in front of Libya, in addition to those who will be sent.*

This partnership in the attack on Libya summarises the AKP's policies in the Middle East. Like in Libya, in all developments related to Syria, Palestine, and Afghanistan, the AKP has stood against the people.

The AKP is an accomplice and supporter of massacres, occupations, and wars waged against the people. They are the spreaders of imperialism's lies, ***the agents of imperialism****.*

In nine years of AKP rule, there has not been a single decision made for the peoples of the Middle East. What they have done regarding Libya and Syria is exactly what the imperialists wanted.

While the AKP is an administration that has no limits in its collaboration, it has always tried to conceal this side, appearing as a friend of the people.

*Erdoğan, who said "****they are our brothers****" about Libya and Syria, never hesitated for a moment to dig the graves of the people he called his brothers. In reality, he is not the friend of the people; he is their enemy. He is not a friend to the people of Palestine, Syria, Libya, or Afghanistan. Wherever imperialism's interests are, the AKP is there.*

AKP is deceiving the people of the Middle East!

*On the election night, celebrating his "****victory,"*** *Erdoğan spoke as though he were the* ***"protecto****r" of Syria, Jerusalem, Gaza, Beirut, and all the Middle East, even though he immediately disregarded everything he had done.*

*Of course, while making that speech, he was in the airs of a "****global leader" and "regional leader.****" This is the image they are trying to create for Turkey.*

*Turkey is a "****regional leader****" country. And it is "****leading the entire Middle East****" … They want the peoples of the Middle East, starting with our own people, to believe this lie. By making the people believe in these lies, they will appear as "****friends****" while secretly stabbing them in the back, and imperialist policies will be implemented insidiously.*

In reality, during the nine years of the AKP's rule, it has followed ***an American-friendly*** *line in the Middle East. Whatever the U.S. interests demanded, they did it, they acted accordingly. From Erdoğan to Abdullah Gül to Ahmet Davutoğlu, all AKP members, at every opportunity, have defended American policies as if they were their own ideas.*

*Erdoğan openly stated, "****I am the co-chair of the Broader Middle East and North Africa Project****." With these words, he supported the imperialist attacks on the people and declared that he is a voluntary agent of BMENA.*

Despite all these clear facts, due to the AKP's particularly demagogic maneuvers against Israel and the Iraq invasion, there have been mistaken evaluations about the AKP, and it has been perceived differently. Several factors play a role in this:

Firstly, in the Middle East, the AKP is ideologically seen as an ***"Islamist party,"*** *and its collaborationism is overlooked.*

*Secondly, there is the belief that the AKP opposed American imperialism's invasion of Iraq, that they "****did not pass the motion****" for the invasion.*

*Thirdly, the fact that while secretly maintaining relations with Israel, Erdoğan's public "****showdowns****" with Israel have influenced the public's perception.*

In reality, things are the opposite. The Incirlik airbase was opened to the full extent for the Iraq invasion. Incirlik was used in attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq. Today, a new Incirlik base is being established in Izmir to be used against the Libyan people.

The AKP is so collaborative that it funds the expenses for the attacks on Libya with the money collected from the taxes paid by the Turkish people, using their hard-earned money, the products of their labour.

*Among the 14 countries participating in the attack on Libya, Turkey is ranked fourth in terms of spending, with "****daily expenses of $300, 000 and monthly expenses around $10 million****."*

The money taken from the people's pockets is used to bomb and massacre the Libyan people. The Libyan people are left without food and medicine, and efforts are being made to keep Libya under siege with warships and fighter jets so that they cannot resist imperialist attacks.

AKP is a model of imperialism!

In its editorial, the New York Times praised Turkey for its collaboration and applauded Erdoğan. Back in 2004, the New York Times had also said:

"Erdoğan is strongly pro-Western... America has strong interests in Erdoğan's success."

The imperialist publication noted seven years ago that Erdoğan was a loyal collaborator, and today, it continues to applaud Erdoğan's servitude.

*In reality, Erdoğan is not a friend of the Syrian people; he is a loyal collaborator of America. Don't be fooled by his inflated rhetoric. He is like a street dog, fed by a few "**scraps**" thrown at him.*

By threatening Syria, stirring up refugee flows, setting up camps, demanding more concessions from Bashar al-Assad, and playing his role, Erdoğan is fulfilling his duty.

*The role of the AKP is exactly this. To give a show of force, to threaten the people of the Middle East for imperialism's interests, while pretending to be their "**friend**" and "**brother**."*

AKP may be a model of imperialism in the Middle East, but its true face as an enemy of the people will eventually be exposed, and all the peoples of the Middle East will see the AKP for what it truly is.

(Yürüyüş, 26 June 2011, Issue 274, pages 6-7)

Notes Written in History

Imperialism Targets 22 Countries in the Middle East Today, It Aims to Take Control of Libya and Syria! But What About Tomorrow?

Imperialists must pull their bloody hands out of Syria and Libya!
The Middle East belongs to the peoples of the Middle East!
Fighting against imperialism is both justified and legitimate!

The Middle East has always been a region that imperialists wanted to control and dominate. Therefore, imperialist plots, invasions, and attacks in the region never ceased.

Previously, the region was dominated by British and French imperialists, but after the Second World War, control shifted to the United States, the gendarme of the system.

As the U.S. maintained its control over the region, it relied on reactionary Arab regimes. Since the 1950s, Iran, Israel, and Turkey were used as loyal puppets of the U.S., serving imperialist interests against the people of the Middle East.

*Over the decades, there have been some changes in the region, both positive and negative. But the one unchanging thing is the persistence of the U.S. imperialists in continuing their exploitation and plunder policies in the region, alongside the **resistance** that no attack has been able to eradicate.*

Within the framework of BMENA, the imperialists set the target of "changing the leadership" of 22 countries and making them entirely dependent on themselves. Their attacks are currently focused on Syria and Libya.

Of course, these attacks are not limited to Afghanistan and Iraq as they were in the past, and they are not limited to Syria and Libya today. After the open occupation of Iraq, imperialism, with

its aircraft carriers, hundreds of thousands of soldiers, and “smart” bombs, once again confronted the people of the Middle East.

The tens of thousands of soldiers amassed for the occupation of Iraq also served as a threat and intimidation against Iran and Syria.

The open occupation of Iraq was, in this sense, not just an attack on the Iraqi people, but an attack and open threat to all the peoples of the Middle East.

The occupation of Iraq was essentially a message from the imperialists: "Either the governments will be the way I want, or your fate will be like this."

Undoubtedly, the turning points of these attacks were the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Contrary to the lies told by the imperialists, these invasions were not carried out overnight. The invasion of Iraq, in particular, followed years of psychological warfare, embargoes, and blockades.

Those who look at the United States as a force that will democratize the Middle East and “free it from dictators” are mistaken. Those who defend this should see that in over fifty years of American imperialist intervention in the Middle East, not a single country or people has received democracy, peace, or justice!

Set a Goal, Then Attack! The strategic goal of the imperialists in the Middle East was the establishment of BMENA and the shaping of 22 countries according to their wishes. Any country that does not fully align with imperialist interests, or that acts as a puppet for imperialism, becomes a target for ideological, psychological, and military attacks.

This conflict continues in various countries, but it has become more intense and taken a direct military form in two countries today. The ongoing bombing of Libya and the siege of Syria demonstrate where this conflict has reached.

The imperialists have set their target on overthrowing the governments of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and Bashar al-Assad in Syria and replacing them with their own collaborators. As the attacks and invasion threats continue, while Libya is bombed every day, this imperialist intervention is defended as something normal. These distorted, invasion-justifying thoughts are constantly presented in television programmes and bourgeois press.

To make it clearer, one example is enough. On 21 May, during a programme, journalist Bilal Çetin and other participants discussed Libya for weeks without mentioning the bombing of Libya even once, without asking, "Why are you attacking Libya? "They solely blamed Libya and Gaddafi throughout the programme.

The issue is not just that a few journalists hold this view. The aim is to make this understanding dominant across the entire society.

An understanding that does not see the right of a people whose country is being bombed, threatened with division and occupation, to resist, and instead sees the invasion and bombing of Libya as legitimate, is being propagated.

Undoubtedly, the source of all these is the imperialists. The Obamas, Rasmussens, Sarkozys, who have instilled collaboration deep into the bones of people like Bilal Çetin, are the ones behind these ideas.

During the days when many were discussing Gaddafi's "dictatorship" in Libya, NATO Secretary General Rasmussen stated, “The attacks on Libya will increase for three months.” This meant that nothing would remain standing in Libya.

This meant more death, more massacre, and more Libyans becoming refugees on the roads. This is the reality! The reality is that the Libyan people are in a circle of fire. These are the real truths that the imperialists try to hide.

In Syria, there is not a single U.S. soldier or U.S. base.

Libya did not want its oil to be looted by imperialist monopolies.

When Gaddafi came to power in 1969, Libya, with a per capita annual income of $60, was one of the poorest countries in the world. Today, Libyans are among the richest people in Africa, with the highest standard of living in the Arab world. Most families own houses and cars.

The healthcare system is completely free. Education is also free.

There is zero unemployment in Libya.

In short, these are the reasons why these countries have been put in the line of fire. The lies of the imperialist powers, along with their inciting media, attempt to portray attacks and occupations as "legitimate."

The result of occupation is clear in Iraq. Even the collaborators in Iraq can no longer hide the truth. The Speaker of the Iraqi Parliament has revealed that the U.S. stole Iraq's entire wealth, including oil revenues.

Like Iraq, Iran, North Korea, and later Libya and Syria, the imperialist attack campaign has involved everything from lies to blockades, embargoes, and bombings. The goal is the establishment of imperialist dominance and the protection of the interests of imperialist monopolies.

Terrorism Demagoguery and Lies!

The U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq were based on the policies of establishing world domination, referred to as the "New World Order." This process dates to the early 1990s.A t that time, after the counter-revolutions in socialist countries, socialist countries ceased to be a force against imperialism. It was also a period when national liberation struggles, and popular movements were in decline.

U.S. imperialism, alongside its aim to establish itself as the sole world power, also sought to seize the rich underground resources of the Middle East and control its markets to solve future crises.

The name of America's world domination, the New World Order, in the Middle East was BMENA. BMENA was the imperialist project to establish hegemony in the Middle East, led by the U.S.

After the attacks on 9/11, when the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon were struck by hijacked planes, the imperialists used this event as a pretext for action. The real terrorists, the U.S., declared all progressive, revolutionary, and socialist countries and organisations, as well as all Islamic organisations fighting against imperialism, as "terrorists."

They published "terror lists" and justified attacks, blockades, and embargoes on the pretext of a "war on terror." They attempted to target Iran, North Korea, Cuba, Libya, and Syria with this demagoguery.

Soon, it was admitted that the so-called "war on terror" was nothing more than a series of lies, and that the real goal was occupation, attacks, subjugation of peoples, the looting of countries' resources, changing governments, and redrawing borders.

Since 1990, the lies and policies of imperialism in the Middle East have not changed. Those who invaded Afghanistan and Iraq yesterday are now attacking Libya and Syria with lies, blockades, and the use of collaborators.

Just as the issue of "Saddam being a dictator" and the possession of "chemical weapons" were not the true reasons for the invasion of Iraq, today, the reasons for the attacks on Syria and Libya are not about "Assad using tanks on his people" or "Gaddafi being a dictator."

In reality, no imperialist cares about the people or the problems facing these nations. If they did, they would not have supported fascist coups in dozens of countries where fascist dictators massacred tens of thousands of people.

If they truly cared, they would not have drenched the peoples of Algeria, Vietnam, China, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and many other countries in blood. "Human rights", "freedom" and "democracy" are just window dressing for them. They have always been used as pretexts for invasion and attack.

Yesterday, when they invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, they did so for imperialist interests, and today, the reasons for the attacks on Syria and Libya are the same. Only the countries have changed.

Once again, it is lies, embargoes, and blockades!

In the invasion of Iraq, imperialists did not just prepare their planes, tanks, and soldiers. They also used lies and psychological warfare, which were even more deadly than the uranium bombs they used.

For months, the imperialists spread lies and demagoguery to pave the way for the invasion. CIA conducted a full psychological war. Everything, from Saddam's nuclear weapons to his alleged support for Al-Qaeda, was fabricated, defended, and justified by the U.S.

One of the lies was about Iraq trying to purchase uranium from Niger. This was based on fabricated claims by U.S. collaborators like Iyad Allawi and Ahmed Chalabi (who called for the U.S. to invade Iraq and later became part of the first puppet government after the invasion). These claims were later proven false.

Later, the false claims about "chemical weapons" were used in UN meetings, with live broadcasts to the world. But the initial impact was what mattered, and that was what the imperialists sought.

Today, the same lie campaign continues for Libya and Syria.

Despite the large military attack in 1990-91, imperialism could not force Iraq to submit. Instead, it imposed the most murderous embargo in history. Iraq was kept under siege and isolation for years with food and medicine embargoes. Even countries that sold essential goods to Iraq and imperialist companies were blacklisted. They kept Iraq without medicine, food, and starving for years. They confiscated Iraq's oil revenues.

*As a result of this embargo, more than half a million children died. A journalist had asked U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright: "**We've heard that half a million children have died in Iraq. This is more children than were killed in Hiroshima. Was it worth paying this price?**" The American murderer responded, **"We think the price was worth it."***

Today, the same campaign of lies continues regarding Libya and Syria. The lies about Syria were intensified months ago, after the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, with the aim of reducing and eliminating Syria's influence over Lebanon. The UN reports on Hariri's assassination were far from legal investigations and were intended to complete the imperialist siege on Syria.

The United States had previously accused Syria of supporting resistance in Iraq. Now, with the activation of collaborators in Syria, news about massacres, such as women having their breasts cut off, are following one another.

*All of this is being used to make an imperialist attack on Syria seem legitimate. Neutralizing Syria means creating conditions for U.S. imperialism to more easily implement plans in Lebanon and Palestine. This is the other aspect of the attack on Syria. **The attacks on Libya and Syria are not legitimate in any way, in any form.***

(Yürüyüş, 26 June 2011, Issue 274, pages 8, 9, 10)

The Peoples of the Middle East:
If We Cannot Expel Imperialism and Its Collaborators from Our Lands, What Awaits the People Is More Exploitation, More Hunger, More Oppression...
The Only Way to Liberation Is Resistance.

*They said, "Baghdad has fallen." Iraq was occupied not only by the armies of America's collaborators, but also by its media. For hours, even days, they showed a group of collaborator looters pulling down the statue of Iraq's President Saddam Hussein to the whole world. "**Looting is freedom,"** said America: For days, they showed the plundering of Iraq. Our bourgeois media wasn't far behind; although they couldn't send the Turkish soldier, the collaborator bourgeois press entered Baghdad alongside its masters. One headline read, **"Baghdad fell in 21 days."** Another said, "The end of the dictator." A third wrote, "An era has ended." A scoundrel like Hürriyet's Editor-in-Chief Ertuğrul Özkök belittled Saddam, saying, "He should have shot a bullet for honour."*

*With the invasion of Iraq, America declared its empire to the world: **"We hope that Iran, Syria, and North Korea have learned from Iraq,"** it said.*

*It didn't take long for Israel, America's watchdog in the Middle East, to continue with the threat, saying **"The Palestinians must learn from Saddam's end."***

The threats, the bombs falling on the heads of the Iraqi people, and the imperialist media's bombardment of lies were not in vain, of course. America, while declaring its empire, is intimidating all the people of the world. It is sending a message to countries that do not submit to its policies: Don't resist, it says. If you resist, I will do to you what I did to Saddam, I will burn, destroy, and loot your country just like I did Baghdad...

*The same ultimatum was given by the oligarchy in 2000 to revolutionaries in prisons. "**If you resist, I will do to you what I did in Ankara's Ulucanlar prison..."** (10 revolutionary prisoners were massacred in 1999) they said. We resisted. We didn't surrender. On 19 December 2000, the oligarchy attacked the prisons as if occupying a country's land. They massacred 28 revolutionary prisoners. Just like in the invasion of Iraq, spokespeople for the oligarchy made statements with a "victorious commander" tone, saying, **"They must have learned that they cannot cope with the state."***

*F-type prisons were opened, and we were thrown into solitary confinement cells. But we continued to resist. In 2003, when Baghdad was occupied, we were still resisting. When the pro-American media said, "Baghdad has fallen," we sai**d: "Baghdad falls, but rises again! This fire will never be extinguished!"***

***Baghdad can be destroyed; from its ruins, the people will create dozens of Baghdads. Baghdad can be destroyed, but from its ashes, it will be reborn. Iraq can be occupied; the flag of resistance against occupation will continue to wave in the hands of the people.** (Ekmek ve Adalet, Issue: 56, 13 April 2003)*

The imperialist media and its collaborators were again on "campaign": On the morning of August 22, they reported, "Rebels have taken Tripoli, Gaddafi's three sons are held by the rebels, Gaddafi is missing..." Al Jazeera television said Gaddafi had fled to Tunisia. The pro-AKP newspaper Sabah headlined, "Next in line to fall."

Our American puppet Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu made the first statement, saying, ***"What's happening in Libya should be a lesson for the other leaders in the region."***

Puppet-like servitude was so ingrained that even before anything was certain in Libya, our embassy's flag in Libya was changed. Davutoğlu rushed to Benghazi to hand over 100 million dollars to the collaborators.

The next day, it became clear that nothing had been resolved in Libya. Saif al-Islam Gaddafi, one of the sons of the dictator, said in a statement: "The resistance continues; we will resist until the end."

Not long after, it became clear that everything the imperialist and collaborator media had said and written was a lie. NATO gave Gaddafi an ultimatum: "Surrender or die." Gaddafi responded, "I will fight until the end."

Under the NATO umbrella, imperialist states decided to attack Libya by sea and air on March 19, citing the "protection of civilians" as their reason, claiming that Gaddafi was massacring his own people. For the past six months, bombs have been raining down on the Libyan people. Almost no building in the capital Tripoli has been unaffected by NATO's bombs. Thousands have been killed. On August 22, when the imperialist media reported, "Gaddafi has been overthrown, the Libyan people are now free," they also reported that 3, 000 people had died in Tripoli within 24 hours during the clashes. This is the kind of "freedom and democracy" imperialism brings to the people.

Could the prime minister of a single imperialist country, or a collaborator neo-colonial country, say, ***"I will fight until the end"?***

Imperialist banditry will not be able to subjugate the people of the Middle East!

The imperialists are acting like total bandits. Since the beginning of the so-called "Arab Spring," under the BMENA, they have been overthrowing small-bourgeois governments in the Middle East and Africa that refuse to bow to them, those that obstruct their exploitation policies. They tell these governments, "Leave the power and we will spare your life," while threatening, "If you resist, we will kill you, slaughter your people, and destroy your country..." This is what they did in Libya: BANDITRY. They massacred thousands. What they did in Libya is now being used as a threat to Assad in Syria. They say, "If you don't want to end up like Libya, leave your country and people."

Is this the kind of ultimatum that can be accepted? Can such a demand be justified? Only imperialists and their collaborators can make such an ultimatum. And only they, faced with this kind of demand, will pack their bags and flee, betraying their country and people. Because they have no homeland. Their homeland is their money vault. When their money vault is at risk, they run away with it. To them, the people don't exist. The people are just slaves to be exploited.

The demands of imperialism and its collaborators can never be seen as legitimate. The issue is not the nature of the Gaddafi regime in Libya or the Assad regime in Syria. Imperialists and their collaborators, such as the Turkish oligarchy, have no right to speak one word about "democracy, rights and freedoms, or the safety of the people." It is they who turn the world into a bloodbath. In our country, the oligarchic dictatorship must first answer for the blood it has shed. They are the ones who have turned our country into a nation of mass graves. Hundreds of people missing in custody, thousands executed, thousands of unidentified bodies, burned, destroyed, and abandoned villages... The leaders of the oligarchy open their mouths and say, "We killed 40, 000 terrorists." Forty thousand people were slaughtered in this land.

The word "puppet" is insufficient to describe what President Gül, Prime Minister Erdoğan, and Foreign Minister Davutoğlu have done. Imperialists and oligarchic dictatorships are no more democratic than the small-bourgeois dictatorships in Libya and Syria.

In Libya and Syria, using the contradictions among tribes, beliefs, and various peoples, they openly support the collaborators they have created, calling them "the opposition" in the name of "democracy." They provide arms and financial support. According to their own international laws, this is interference in a country's internal affairs. It is illegitimate. This is banditry. What democracy are you talking about? It's pure hypocrisy.

For decades, imperialists have been in relationships with the dictators and monarchies that collaborated with them. For decades, they exploited the Arab people through collaborating kings and dictators. The imperialists' problem is not with dictatorship; it's whether the governments in power align with their policies or not.

Now, all leaders who stand up to imperialism, like Gaddafi in Libya and Assad in Syria, are being threatened.

Gaddafi says, "I will resist until the end," and Assad says, "I will not accept imperialist demands." The imperialists may be able to topple the Gaddafi and Assad regimes, but they cannot end the resistance of the Libyan and Syrian peoples or the resistance of the world's peoples. Even if they temporarily subdue the people, as long as exploitation and oppression continue, the people will rise up again and resist.

Look at history: Imperialists may achieve temporary successes against the resistance of the people, but they can never achieve victory. History does not record any instance where imperialists won against the resistance of the people.

Libya's own history is an example of this. Imperialist Italy massacred tens of thousands of Libyans in an attempt to suppress the Libyan people's independence struggle. They captured the leader of the resistance, Omar Mukhtar, and executed him in front of the people. However, despite having the most powerful, modern weapons, the imperialists could not escape the inevitable end in the face of the Libyan people's heroic resistance.

In every war waged against the people, the imperialists have created their collaborators. During the War of Independence, the Ottoman dynasty, whom today's AKP praises as their "ancestors," surrendered without putting up any resistance. They declared those resisting imperialist occupation in Anatolia as "traitors" and issued execution orders. But neither the seven imperialist powers nor the collaborating Ottoman dynasty could escape defeat in the face of the War of Independence.

The Libyan people, having paid a heavy price to win their independence from Italian imperialism, now find themselves betrayed by collaborators within their ranks. This is shameful for the Libyan people, who won their independence at great cost.

Imperialism does nothing for the benefit of the people. There is a great illusion among the people of the Middle East. There has never been a place in the world where imperialists have brought democracy, peace, freedom, or prosperity to the people. Everywhere they go, they bring massacres, exploitation, hunger, and oppression.

Today, famine and drought in Somalia are being discussed. The reason is said to be drought. Drought has always existed in Somalia. But famine and scarcity came with imperialism. There were periods in Somalia when socialist economic policies were applied. The drought existed then too, but there was no hunger. Babies didn't die from hunger. When imperialists entered Somalia, exploitation, massacres, famine, and oppression followed.

The living standards of the Libyan people were among the highest in the world. In education, healthcare, housing, it was the same.

It has been less than a week since the words "Gaddafi has been overthrown." Now all the imperialists, including the collaborator AKP, are discussing how many billions of dollars in contracts will fall to whom in Libya. After the imperialists begin to roam the streets of Libya, it won't be long before Libya's situation becomes like that of Somalia and other African

But the resistance of the people, just like Iraq's and Afghanistan's, will continue.

The people of the Middle East cannot live in the oppressive, unjust, and exploitative system created by imperialists and their collaborators. If we cannot expel imperialism and its collaborators from our lands, we will only experience more hunger, more oppression, more injustice, more death. The only way to liberation is resistance. It is only through resistance that the peoples of the Middle East can gain their freedom.

Yürüyüş (28 August 2011, Issue 283, Pages 4-5)

Notes Written in History

T. Erdoğan's Middle East Tour
THE CALIPH OF THE U.S.: TAYYIP!

Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan carried out a Middle East tour from September 12 to 15, visiting Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya. After this tour, Erdoğan went to Washington for the UN meeting and met with President Obama.

The imperialist media, especially AKP media, highly praised Erdoğan's Middle East trip. Here are some headlines from AKP media:

"Erdoğan received an enthusiastic welcome in Egypt," "Thousands of Egyptians welcomed Erdoğan," "The convoy struggled to move forward."

Some newspapers went even further, commenting: "Cairo is standing for Erdoğan," "Cairo's streets echoed with Erdoğan's name."

Not only AKP media but also U.S. media showered Erdoğan with praise. The Financial Times referred to Erdoğan's visit to Egypt as being "welcomed like a rock star."

Despite all the exaggeration, only a small crowd, which could be described as modest, welcomed Erdoğan. "When I started sharing my impressions of Egypt in our newspaper, I wrote on September 14, yes, there was great affection for Erdoğan on the streets of Egypt. Whether you count from the right or the left, the number of those showing this affection was around 500." Erdoğan, while addressing Egyptians at the airport in Arabic, received a response from them saying, "Erdoğan, the saviour of Islam, the beloved of Allah." On the streets and in meeting halls, slogans like "Caliph Erdoğan" were shouted.

This Caliphate is Fake! This Caliphate is Imperialism's "Caliphate"!

What does a caliphate mean? To whom is it addressed?

A caliph is someone who acts as a deputy to the Prophet in fulfilling Allah's commands, the ruler of Muslims.

This caliphate has nothing to do with the real caliphate or Erdoğan's imperialist-caliphate. What kind of caliphate is this? Erdoğan has turned our country's soil into an imperialist base, a headquarters for America.

From these bases, planes have dropped bombs on the people of the Middle East. With sanctions, hundreds of thousands of Iraqi children have died because of American imperialism, to which Erdoğan has provided full support.

What kind of caliphate is this? Erdoğan turned our lands into a command post for the imperialist occupation of Muslim Iraq.

What kind of caliphate is this? Erdoğan makes our people NATO soldiers, and Afghan people killers, in the war against Muslim Afghanistan.

What kind of caliphate is this? Even during Ramadan, Erdoğan said nothing while NATO bombed the Libyan people. He, together with NATO, bombed Muslim Libya into ruins and made it open to imperialist plunder. He paved the way for Libya's colonisation.

What kind of caliphate is this? Erdoğan says, "We are with our Palestinian brothers from A to Z."

Yet, he does everything America wants, the main supporter of Israel, and makes deals with Israel.

What kind of caliphate is this? The same game is being played in Syria and Iran. Just as they turned Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya into targets for imperialist plunder and exploitation, they now try to do the same in Syria and Iran.

Palestine is the bleeding wound of the Middle East. It is the weak point of the Middle East. Erdoğan knows the sensitivity of the Arab peoples toward the Palestinian issue. Like the collaborationist Arab governments, the Turkish oligarchy has also exploited the Palestinian issue for political gain. Now Erdoğan's AKP is playing the same game. AKP media says: "In Tunisia, the Prime Minister harshly warned Israel, 'Israel won't be able to do whatever it wants in the Eastern Mediterranean. Our frigates, our assault boats, will be there.'"

"We are with our Palestinian brothers from A to Z," says Erdoğan.

However, he doesn't speak about the real recognition of the right of Palestinians to have a state or their right to self-determination, which are denied by America, Israel, and European imperialism.

Look at what he said:

"Revolutions should not be with blood... In real democracy, the people's will prevails, and we should respect the will and ideas of the people, but this should not be abused. Revolutions should not be by killing people; they should happen through thoughts, ideas, and ideals reflected by the vote of the people." The caliph Erdoğan also told the Tunisians, "Make good use of this opportunity."

Erdoğan has learned very well from his imperialist masters. Burn, destroy, bomb, shed blood, do not recognise the people's will, do not follow any laws, invade countries, and change regimes... Then say, "Revolutions should not be with blood," and "Real democracy is when the people's will is recognised."

The translation of these words is as follows: bow to imperialism's world order! Do not go beyond the borders of the system! Be content with what is given to you...

"Erdoğan Made History in Libya"

AKP media reported Erdoğan's Libya visit with the headline:

"The world's attention was on Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya throughout the week... Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's historic trip, which started with a warm welcome in Egypt, frightened French President Nicolas Sarkozy... and this led to an unexpected visit to Libya by Sarkozy, just to overshadow Erdoğan's North Africa tour." (Saadet Oruç, Star newspaper, 19 September 2011)

AKP media described the visit of France's President Sarkozy to Libya as a "complete hegemonic struggle," while Erdoğan's visit to Libya was not explained in such terms. Erdoğan's visit to Libya, Tunisia, and Egypt was supposed to be for noble purposes, according to the media.

Everything was for the sake of covering up the truth, wrapping it up in fine words.

“Prime Minister Erdoğan’s visit to Benghazi coincided with an important day in Libyan history. On 16 September 1931, Omar Mukhtar, who had fought bravely against the Italians during the defence of Libya, was executed after being captured by the Italians. The opening of the Omar Mukhtar monument in Benghazi was scheduled for that day, and Erdoğan participated in the ceremony.”

The bones of Omar Mukhtar, his comrades, and those who gave their lives for Libya’s independence are turning in their graves.

This situation is pure ignorance and arrogance. Libyan collaborators, who sold their homeland to imperialists, are now erecting a monument in memory of Omar Mukhtar, who was executed 80 years ago for his resistance to imperialist Italy, hand-in-hand with a neo-colonial prime minister, the lackey Erdoğan.

This monument is not Omar Mukhtar’s monument. It is a monument to collaboration. It is a monument to shame.

Erdoğan spoke to the Libyans in Benghazi, saying, “Turkey will always be with the Libyan people.” Just the day before, he was saying the same thing to Gaddafi. As soon as Gaddafi became an obstacle to imperialism’s goals, Erdoğan did not hesitate to sell him out. Now, he speaks of brotherhood with the Libyan people, but the truth is, Erdoğan will sell anyone who stands in the way of imperialism.

The measure of Erdoğan’s brotherhood is “imperialist servitude.”

During his visit to Libya, Erdoğan gave what AKP media described as “historical messages.”

What were these “historical messages” from Erdoğan?

He called on Gaddafi supporters, saying, “Embrace your brothers. Bloodshed is not suitable for us.” Frame these words... They are the words of a collaborator...

He also told Syrian leader Assad, 'Those who oppress their people cannot stand.'

He also gave this message to the collaborating Libyan administration: 'Do not give any credit to those who make plans over the underground wealth.'"

The collaborationist morality is non-existent. Erdoğan, who cooperates with the bloodiest imperialist state in the world, is nothing but lies when he says, “Bloodshed is not suitable for us.”

Tayyip says, 'Hug those who occupy your country, bomb your people, and sell your homeland.' He is telling them to do what he himself did. 'Spilling blood does not suit us, ' he says. For those who see American imperialism, the most bloodthirsty state in the world, as a friend at every opportunity, this statement is nothing but a lie and demagoguery.

Is this why the Libyan collaborators were trained by Special Forces against the Libyan people?

Erdoğan's visit to Libya almost turned into a show. The day before Erdoğan's visit, the heads of France and the UK, Sarkozy and Cameron, visited Libya, which led to a verbal duel between them. AKP media claimed that Erdoğan had frightened Sarkozy and Cameron, while stating that Erdoğan was greeted by thousands in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, whereas the French press referred to Erdoğan's visit as "posing."

They are saying, 'I went first, then you went.' To use a common expression, they tried to "show off" by displaying the crowds they had gathered or failed to gather and tried to "outdo" each other.

The reality is how they fought to plunder Libya. France and the UK are in Libya for their own imperialist interests. They are not hiding this.

So, on whose behalf was Tayyip Erdoğan in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya? On whose behalf did Tayyip Erdoğan speak? Whose interests was he defending?

The AKP media and imperialist world media ignored these questions. They ignored these questions as if the prime minister of an independent, democratic country had gone on a trip to

neighbouring countries. As if he had gone on a trip to develop relations based on mutual respect for sovereignty, for his country's interests, without harming the interests of those countries.

However, the truth is clear. Tayyip Erdoğan went to Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya on behalf of Obama, on behalf of America. And he went on behalf of the collaborating monopolies he took along. As a result of this trip, collaborating monopolies made 850 million dollars in business deals. And the last stop of the trip is America, Obama. He will report back to his imperialist master.

Obama and Erdoğan's meeting agenda was clear: the Middle East, Terrorism, the Missile Shield, Israel, and Palestine...

Obama speaks, and Erdoğan will implement it.

Imperialism's "Model Country": Turkey!

Imperialism's "Caliph": Erdoğan!

Imperialism's servitude, sovereignty on behalf of imperialism, and sub-contractorship are presented as "caliphate."

New-colonialism is presented as "regional leadership."

Colonialism, collaborationism, and servitude are hidden, and worse, they are legitimised.

The AKP government has been the most prominent collaborator of American imperialism in BMENA, which aims to reshape the Middle East to serve imperialist interests.

This is about removing obstacles to American imperialism's goals and destabilising countries from within, making them open to imperialist intervention and occupation.

This is, as seen in the examples of Libya and Syria, the destabilisation of the country through collaborators, the attempt to strip the country's government of its legitimacy both internally and externally, and to make the country open to imperialist foreign intervention and occupation.

It is about changing the leadership of a country in favour of American imperialism.

It is to take control of a country that has not fallen under the control of imperialism through economic, political, and military embargoes and pressures, and turn it into a new colony of imperialism.

Imperialism uses collaborators to implement its plans, which is the essence of neo-colonialism.

These collaborators are necessary to cover up imperialist occupation.

Collaborative army, collaborative governments, powers, collaborative media, collaborative oligarchy...

On the surface, the flag of that country is flying, its army, its parliament, and its governments are in control. However, in reality, the ones in power are the IMF, NATO, the World Bank, and America; it is imperialism.

The imperialist collaboration that has continued since the 1950s has reached its peak with the AKP under the leadership of Tayyip Erdoğan.

In 1996, it was reported in the media and the American press that the U.S. leadership selected the duo of Gül and Erdoğan as the leaders who would govern Turkey in the next 20 years.

Erdoğan himself has not hidden his role as a collaborator. In June 2005, he openly stated, "We are playing a role in the BMENA," and later confirmed Turkey's leadership in the project

On 16 November 2005, after an AKP Central Executive Board (MYK) meeting in Ankara, the Prime Minister stated to the press:

"Foreign Minister Gül will meet with U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in Bahrain to discuss the BMENA. We are co-chairing this project, and we will continue to do so."

"Regional leadership" is a consolation for collaboration. There is no leadership; there is servitude, there is subcontracting for imperialism. It is about threatening the people and those who do not bow to the imperialist order, on behalf of Obama and America.

This is what Tayyip Erdoğan did in Libya, Tunisia, and Egypt. This is the meaning behind his calls to the Assad regime in Syria and the Iranian government.

The placement of the missile shield on our land and the opening of our lands to imperialists in the wake of the Arab Spring is also a part of this.

Our people, and the people of the world, will not accept this collaboration, this servitude, and this treason.

The people of the world will not bow to the imperialist system of exploitation and oppression, and they will not accept it.

(Yürüyüş, 25 September 2011, Issue 287, Pages 11, 12, 13)

Notes Written in History

America's Proxy in the Middle East, The Tool of Imperialism: The AKP

During a United Nations General Assembly meeting in the United States, in a meeting between Erdoğan and Obama, Obama specifically thanked Erdoğan for his support in Afghanistan and Libya, highlighting his contribution to the Arab Spring.

So, why this "thank you"?

Did Erdoğan do everything in the Middle East for Obama?

Leadership in the Middle East, caliphate, sultanate... For whom did Erdoğan carry out his Middle Eastern tour?

Whose Prime Minister is Erdoğan?

These questions were answered when Prime Minister Erdoğan went on his "Arab Spring tour." We said that Erdoğan, in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, was speaking on behalf of America, using Obama's words. Not a single word in Erdoğan's speeches during his Middle East tour was his own. Even columnists in the bourgeois press expressed their surprise when Erdoğan spoke about "secularism, "noting that Erdoğan, who had a case filed against his party for threatening the secular order, was defending secularism in the Middle East. However, this too was hypocrisy, as they knew that every word spoken by Erdoğan was what America wanted him to say.

During his "Arab Spring tour, "Erdoğan conveyed Obama's wishes to the peoples of Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and the collaborating governments, and after completing his mission, he went to America to report back. In America, he reported to Obama and, before returning to the country, announced new instructions from Obama: Turkey would impose sanctions on Syria. Syria's airspace would be closed, arms sales and passage through Turkey would be blocked. Additionally, it was announced that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was working on new sanctions.

The imperialist Financial Times newspaper wrote that Erdoğan's Syria policy "brought Turkey a step closer to the U.S." Both AKP media and imperialist media praised Erdoğan's speeches during his "Arab Spring tour" and at the UN General Assembly. They placed him among the world leaders. Undoubtedly, these praises were a recognition of Erdoğan's success in collaboration. Bringing "Turkey a step closer to the U.S." was a step toward servitude. The "Arab Spring tour" once again revealed who Erdoğan's Prime Minister is, on whose behalf he travelled in the Middle East, and whose words he spoke. Erdoğan no longer hides these relationships. By stating that the "Arab Spring" tour was a step taken together with the U.S., he says, "Recently, our visits to Egypt, Tunisia,

and Libya, and beyond, our cooperation in Afghanistan and the evaluation of developments in Iraq, these are all steps we have taken together."

The AKP uses this domestically to strengthen its power by stirring up nationalist and chauvinistic sentiments with the rhetoric of "regional leadership" and "model country." As for the sympathy of the Arab peoples, they make use of the "support" they give to Palestine in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli issue, which they consider a common cause, following America's Middle East policies, and their "showdown" with Israel.

The term "joint" here is a demagogic attempt to hide the fact that they are America's tool. What "joint" steps has Turkey taken with America in Afghanistan and Iraq? Since the beginning of the occupation of Afghanistan, America has used Turkey as a war base and the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) as a tool. The Muslim nature of the TSK is of special importance in convincing the other countries supporting the occupation to accept the imperialist invasion. Obama's thanks to Erdoğan are for this special role.

America, just like in Afghanistan, is using the AKP government for the entire Middle East and Africa under BMENA.

America and other imperialist powers' long-standing policies of plunder, exploitation, and oppression in the Middle East and Africa, conducted through collaborative monarchies and dictatorships, have aroused hatred and anger among the people. Because of this, imperialists cannot carry out their policies as they wish. The role assigned to the AKP government here is to use its Islamic identity to make imperialist exploitation policies acceptable to the Muslim peoples of the Middle East.

The AKP also uses this rhetoric of "regional leadership" and "model country" domestically, stirring nationalist and chauvinistic sentiments to consolidate its power. As for the sympathy of the Arab peoples, they express it through their "support" for Palestine in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli issue, aligning with America's Middle East policies, and engaging in a "staged fight" with Israel.

*Yes, it's a staged fight between AKP and Israel. This fight is not independent of America's Middle East policies. Erdoğan, during his Middle East tour, stated in an interview with Al Jazeera in Egypt, "**We are not in favour of unnecessary tension with Israel**." So, what is the "necessary" tension? The "**necessary"** tension is to serve imperialist policies.*

*The **"necessary"** tension is to align the peoples of the Middle East with American and Israeli policies.*

*Erdoğan's remarks against Israel in Egypt were in line with these policies: "**We don't think Erdoğan will cross the line**, "they said. Yes, there is a measure to the Israel-AKP conflict. This measure is America's long-term interests, and those of Israel, whose interests align with those of America in the Middle East. The "fight" on the surface serves Israel's long-term interests. The staged fight also conceals the AKP government's cooperation with Israel. Israel's interests are protected by the AKP government. The missile radar system that is to be set up in our country to protect Israel is one of the most concrete examples of this.*

Looking at AKP media's propaganda, they claim that as a result of AKP's Middle East policies, Israel is becoming isolated in the region and the world. This is a baseless and false propaganda. Is there any imperialist state that says "lift the embargo on Israel" in the Middle East or Palestine? Not a single one. Are there any Arab countries, except for Iran, Syria, Lebanon, and the former Gaddafi regime, that openly oppose Israel? No! The countries that do oppose Israel are the ones America and other imperialists are attempting to overthrow. The collaborationist AKP is playing the role of a proxy in the overthrow of these regimes. The staged fight is designed to hide this proxy role.

Looking at the recent policies of the AKP government, Prime Minister Erdoğan works like Obama's servant. Foreign Minister Davutoğlu works like America's agent, travelling wherever America needs him in the Middle East, the Balkans, Libya, and beyond. This shows that the AKP government is first and foremost the government of America, and then of the collaborating oligarchy.

Erdoğan, whose Prime Minister, are you?

Look at AKP's Middle East policies: Is there any policy in which Israel objects? No! Israel was among the first to celebrate the invasion of Iraq and the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. In Libya, when Muammar Gaddafi's regime was overthrown, Israel was one of the happiest. In Syria, Israel will also be one of the happiest if the Assad regime is overthrown.

Until recently, Bashar al-Assad was one of Erdoğan's closest allies. Today, Erdoğan, who says "we have nothing left to discuss with the Assad regime, "was the first country to impose sanctions on Syria after cutting diplomatic ties with the regime. This is what collaboration is. This is servitude. All of Erdoğan's decisions regarding the Assad regime have been taken within the framework of this collaborationist relationship.

The role of the AKP government and Prime Minister Erdoğan in this collaboration is very special. America, which could not implement its Middle East policies alone, nor with other imperialists or with Israel, is carrying out these policies with the AKP government and Erdoğan. Obama is thanking Prime Minister Erdoğan for this.

*Literally, our country is a bloodbath. Not a single voice against the AKP is allowed. It is said that 1400 members of a legal party will be arrested, and hundreds of BDP members are detained and arrested. All of this is either ignored or reported in small pieces in the bourgeois press. Direct orders are being given. Threats are being made." Do not propagate terrorism", they say. Journalists ask about police stations being raided, bombs exploding, teachers being kidnapped. They are scolded. "**Do not allow these questions to propagate terrorism,** "they say. If not asked, if not spoken about, if not reported, they think the truth will disappear.*

However, the same bourgeois press reports in great detail about Syria and Libya. Television stations broadcast for minutes images, often unclear, taken with mobile phones, calling them "the oppression of Assad."

Prime Minister Erdoğan hides the oppression and massacres he applies to his own people and gives "lessons on democracy" in the Middle East. The bourgeois press has become AKP's press. They don't write a single thing against the AKP. They don't ask, "What kind of democracy is this? "They don't ask, "Whose Prime Minister, are you? "

If they did write, if they asked, Erdoğan's words about Syria, Libya, Egypt, Tunisia, and the peoples of the Middle East would be proven false. The truth of fascism in our country would be revealed. It would become clear that Turkey is being used as America's tool in the Middle East.

The collaborationist AKP government is the tool used by America as a proxy in the Middle East. The people of Turkey will not become the tools of the collaborationist AKP. The peoples of the Middle East are our brothers. We will not allow our homeland to be used as a war base against the peoples of the Middle East.

(Yürüyüş, 2 October 2011, Issue 288, Pages 4, 5)

Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Iran

Imperialists, Along with Their Collaborators, are Pitting the People of the Middle East Against Each Other! They Are Occupying Countries and Changing Their Governments

The 3rd Eyüp Baş International Symposium Against Imperialist Aggression and for the Unity of Peoples was held in Istanbul!
Oppressed Peoples of the World: Let Us Unite Against the Murderous Imperialism!

The Eyüp Baş International Symposium Against Imperialist Aggression and for the Unity of Peoples was first held on 26 December 2009.

In 2009, Iraq was under the occupation of the United States. In Afghanistan, the Afghan people were being slaughtered by the imperialists and their collaborators under NATO's umbrella, as they are today. The imperialists and their lackeys continued to exploit, oppress, and kill the people of the world in blocks. Hunger, poverty, misery, and oppression were growing around the world every year. When comparing today to three years ago, we can see how serious this growth has become. After the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, we saw how the imperialists tore apart Libya in 2011, under the guise of "democratisation, "and how they caused the people to turn against one another.

While the imperialists and their collaborators were brutally attacking the people of the world, we, as the People's Front, organised this symposium, based on the importance of the international unity of all forces against imperialism.

One of the most important outcomes of this symposium was the call to strengthen this unity.

The second symposium took place between February 25-27, 2011.

During this period, the winds of imperialism, called the "Arab Spring, "were blowing in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Jordan, Yemen, and other countries. In fact, these winds were not blowing naturally; they were being stirred up by imperialist powers.

For decades, the people in the Middle East had been under the exploitation and oppression of dictatorial regimes. The anger against these dictatorships was being used by imperialists under the guise of "democratisation". In Tunisia and Egypt, dictators who had been collaborators of imperialism for decades were overthrown. However, in their place, the Muslim Brotherhood, which had previously opposed imperialism in some form but now cooperated for power, came to rule.

In Libya, the regime of Gaddafi, which had resisted imperialist policies, was forcibly overthrown. Under NATO's umbrella, the imperialists and their collaborators killed 40, 000 people within six months. Libya's cities were destroyed, burned, and obliterated. The imperialists did all this in the name of "liberating" Libya from the "dictator" Gaddafi and "democratising" it. Now, in power, there are Islamist groups serving imperialist interests.

In the same way, for about a year, the imperialists have been trying to overthrow the Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad and replace him with the pro-imperialist Muslim Brotherhood. Collaborators in Syria are openly being armed, and step by step, the conditions for military intervention to overthrow the Assad regime are being created.

Similarly, Iran is under siege, with imperialists trying to create internal conflicts through sanctions and pressure under the pretext of nuclear weapons.

The United States, along with other imperialist powers, is trying to reshape the Middle East and North Africa through BMENA.

*When the second **Eyüp Baş International Symposium Against Imperialist Aggression and for the Unity of Peoples** was organised last year, one of the most important topics of discussion was the imperialist role in these events. Especially, representatives of organisations from the Middle East participating in the symposium were evaluating the developments as a "revolution, "without considering the role of imperialism. They claimed that these were major developments for the people of the Middle East.*

Likewise, reformists, opportunists, and Kurdish nationalists in our country, swept up by the imperialist "Arab Spring" propaganda, also viewed these events as "revolutions". They saw them as "hope."

When the reality of imperialism is not understood, such evaluations and misconceptions are inevitable. Now, it is said that the "Arab Spring"has turned into a "winter."

No, such a transformation does not exist.

While the people's reaction to hunger, poverty, and the oppression of dictatorships was genuine, the movements were, from the beginning, under the control and support of imperialist powers. Imperialists have been able to present themselves as "saviours" bringing "democracy and freedom" to the people of the Middle East by pretending to support their legitimate demands.

Today, no one believes in the lies of the "Arab Spring", "democracy" and "freedom" anymore. The imperialists are openly redrawing the borders of the Middle East. And, as they did in Afghanistan and Iraq, they are not invading these countries directly with their own soldiers. They are using their collaborator lackeys as pawns. They are stirring up sectarian, religious, and national differences among the people of the Middle East to make them fight each other.

As a result, the imperialists, along with their collaborators, are acting with total lawlessness in the Middle East. They are imposing submission on the people of the world through the Middle East.

In such a process, the 3rd Eyüp Baş International Symposium Against Imperialist Aggression and for the Unity of Peoples is of even greater importance.

During this period, when imperialists and their collaborators are attacking all fronts, the task of revolutionary, left-wing, socialist organisations and parties is to strengthen the unity of their peoples against imperialist aggression.

Peoples of the World! Imperialism is the chief enemy of the people.

Expecting "democracy" or "freedom" from imperialists is the greatest illusion of the oppressed. The imperialists have never done anything in favour of the people anywhere in the world. The imperialists are the ones who have killed, exploited, and starved millions of people worldwide.

Imperialism is still what it was at the beginning of the century. Those who claim that imperialism has changed or ignore its role or expect "democracy and freedom" for the people from it, are objectively collaborating with imperialism. Because imperialists rely on such understandings to justify their exploitation and cruelty.

Unless imperialism's open or hidden occupation ends and independence is achieved, the people can never be free. Unless the fascist governments, which are collaborators of imperialism, are overthrown, there will never be democracy for the people. If we want independence and freedom, we must grow the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle against imperialism and its collaborators.

To those who call themselves revolutionary, left-wing, socialist, communist, progressive, or patriotic: Imperialism is the chief enemy of the people.

Those who resist imperialism are the friends of the people. We must be clear about who our friends and enemies are. Otherwise, mistakes are inevitable.

We must support the Assad regime, which resists imperialism, defends its homeland, and refuses to submit. The imperialists are resorting to every vile conspiracy to overthrow the Assad regime, including creating sectarian conflicts with the help of agents and collaborators.

The imperialists, who are encircling Iran under the pretext of nuclear weapons, are the criminals. We must support Iran, which resists imperialist siege.

The only way for all oppressed peoples is to unite and fight against the chief enemy. The Eyüp Baş International Symposium Against Imperialist Aggression and for the Unity of Peoples is an important step in this direction.

LET US UNITE, LET US FIGHT, LET US WIN!

(Yürüyüş, 4 March 2012, Issue 306, Pages 4-5)

SECTION 2

The Imperialist Attack on Syria, The Unmasking of the "Arab Spring" Deception, and the Collapse of the "Moderate Islam" Policy of BMENA

The "Arab Spring" in Syria began on 26 January 2011. The government made concessions such as the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the removal of some regional governors. As a result of these concessions, the mass protests came to an end. However, the imperialists' work in Syria was far from over.

Despite the embargo and sanctions that had been imposed on Assad's government since before the "Arab Spring", Syria had still not reached the point that imperialists desired. In other words, Syria had not signed agreements that would make it a part of the imperialist market.

The "Arab Spring" presented an unprecedented opportunity for the U.S. to overthrow the Assad regime. The mass protests had quickly concluded due to the government's concessions, but the U.S. did not stop there, using the legitimacy gained by supporting the people's demand for democracy during the "Arab Spring" process.

The imperialists were determined to overthrow Assad and bring "democracy and freedom" to Syria. To achieve this, they began exploiting sectarian, religious, ethnic divisions, and historical conflicts in Syria, as they had done in Libya.

The most useful tools for this purpose were again jihadist organisations. Through these groups, they attempted to continue street protests in Syria. However, these groups, whose ideological roots were mainly formed in Libya against Gaddafi's regime, did not gain widespread support in Syria and did not develop as intended.

After the fall of Gaddafi's regime in Libya, the activities of jihadist groups in Syria began to increase. This was because the imperialists openly stated that Syria was next in line and began moving the militias from Libya to Syria.

With the experience gained in Libya, they thought they could overthrow the Assad regime quickly. They even predicted, "In so many months, Syria will be free". At that time, Turkey's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Davutoğlu, threatened by saying, "We will pray Friday prayers in Damascus in six months", trying to outdo their imperialist masters.

While they had managed to push back the "Arab Spring" process in Libya, the situation in Syria had shifted. Now, they were deploying their armed and allied jihadist militias. These militias began to set off tons of bombs in hotels, police stations, military buildings, government offices, schools, and crowded public squares, killing dozens, sometimes hundreds, of people every day.

The imperialist media either ignored these massacres or used them for psychological propaganda, claiming that the "resistance groups" (the pro-imperialist militias) had taken control of various areas.

Meanwhile, through collaborators like Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, they continued diplomatic efforts to force Assad to leave the country. During this process, Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan worked like a servant of Obama.

Groups like Al-Nusra, Al-Qaeda, Islamic Jihad, as well as jihadist groups from Chechnya, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia, gathered in Syria. The imperialists, using these groups, created a proxy army called the Free Syrian Army (FSA). They began filming the beheadings of Syrian soldiers, police, militia members, and civilians who were supporters of Assad, broadcasting these gruesome images to intimidate the population. Millions of people began fleeing the country, and Turkey opened its borders, setting up refugee camps. While the imperialists used these camps to justify their attacks as "rescue from Assad's oppression, "they also used them to train their FSA mercenaries.

The Collaborators Formed the Syrian Interim Government

While imperialists and their collaborators were organising jihadist militias under the name of the Free Syrian Army to overthrow the Assad regime, they were also working to establish a Syrian Interim Government under the banner of the Syrian Opposition and Revolutionary Forces Coalition as an alternative to Assad's government.

The Syrian Interim Government was established on 11 November 2012, in Doha, Qatar. They made Al-Hatib, the leader of the Umayyad Mosque, the head of the government.

However, despite the fact that they had already given Assad's regime an expiration date, they had not been able to overthrow him. The Syrian people continued to resist. Despite the support of over 60 countries, led by the U.S., the Assad regime did not fall. However, the Interim Government, created by the imperialists, could not maintain a stable leadership either. The head of the Interim Government would change within months, and the list of leaders is as follows:

- Maaz El-Hatip, 11 November 2012
- George Sabra, 22 April 2013
- Ahmet El Cerba, 6 July 2013
- Hadi El Bahra, 9 July 2014
- Khaled Khoja, 4 January 2015
- Enes El Ebda, 5 March 2016

These individuals, who were appointed as the president or prime minister of the Interim Government, were either tribal leaders, clerics, or collaborators who had left Syria years ago and settled in imperialist countries. These people had never set foot on Syrian soil but were appointed as leaders.

As a result, the imperialists and their collaborators realised that they could not achieve their goal. They started searching for justifications for direct military intervention, resorting to the lie that "Assad is using chemical weapons."

The resistance also shattered the imperialists' "moderate Islam" policies. It became clear that breaking the resistance through "moderate Islam" propaganda and overthrowing the Assad regime was not possible.

The massacres carried out by the jihadist groups organised under the FSA further invalidated the imperialist narrative of "Assad terrorising the people." Groups like Al-Qaeda and Al-Nusra spread videos of beheadings, rapes, and mass killings to the world.

Assad's "chemical weapons" were actually found in the hands of the Al-Nusra militants in Adana. Tensions grew among the jihadist groups as their internal rivalries and conflicts over power increased.

As the imperialists' own creation, groups like Al-Qaeda and Al-Nusra, began to grow beyond their control, ISIS emerged, declaring the "Islamic State of Iraq and Sham"(ISIS). With the weapons and material support they received from the imperialists, ISIS took control of large areas in Syria and Iraq, committing mass killings. These atrocities were used by the imperialists to justify further intervention under the pretext of fighting ISIS.

The so-called "Coalition Forces", consisting of the U.S. and European imperialists, and their collaborators, attempted to create the conditions for direct intervention in Syria by forming the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) using their proxy groups. Following ISIS's attacks on the Yazidis in Iraq and

on Kurdish self-administered areas in Syria, the U.S. used the PKK-PYD to justify direct military intervention in Syria.

The U.S. began using PKK-PYD as ground forces in Syria under the pretext of fighting ISIS.

Following U.S. airstrikes, Russia and Iran became direct supporters of the Assad regime.

The aim of this section is not to provide a detailed history of the Syrian war, but rather to highlight the following points: Imperialists can devise all kinds of plans and projects to implement their policies. They can attempt to carry out these policies through direct occupations, like in Iraq and Afghanistan, or by exploiting popular dissatisfaction with the regime, as seen in Egypt and Tunisia, or through collaborators like in Libya. However, the crucial factor is the resistance that gains the support of the people against these policies.

The imperialists tried every strategy and attack possible against Syria. However, despite all its shortcomings and mistakes, the Assad regime has continued its determination to resist. The interim governments set up by the imperialists, and the militias organised under the FSA, proved ineffective against this resistance.

The "moderate Islam" policy, which gained traction during the "Arab Spring, "collapsed with the resistance of both Gaddafi in Libya and Assad in Syria.

The resistance of Gaddafi and Assad against imperialism dismantled the foundations of "moderate Islam" policies in places like Egypt and Tunisia. This collapse of the "moderate Islam" policy has brought about the failure of this entire approach.

Therefore, the Muslim Brotherhood brought to power in Egypt and Tunisia in 2011 was overthrown in a U.S.-backed coup in Egypt in 2013.

Tayyip Erdoğan's BMENA "moderate Islam" policy has collapsed in Syria with the resistance of the Syrian people. Thus, the AKP government in Turkey, which was once considered a "model country" by the imperialists, has completed its political lifespan in the eyes of the imperialists.

After the June uprisings in Turkey (30 May 2013), the imperialists stopped backing Erdoğan's government.

Erdoğan, who had supported the U.S.-backed coup against Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi in 2013, saw his own end as well. His support for Morsi was fundamentally an effort to protect his own regime, as the U.S. had already begun efforts, through its partner Fethullah Gülenists[5], to remove the AKP from power. The corruption files related to the AKP presented by the Gülenists in 2013 and the coup attempt of 15 July 2016, were the result of these efforts.

Ultimately, the decisive factor has been the resistance in Syria. The resistance in Syria has undermined the U.S.'s Middle East policies.

IT IS NOT A "PROXY WAR, "IT IS A WAR OF IMPERIALISM

The wars ongoing in Libya, Syria, and Yemen are often referred to as "**proxy wars**" by various groups, especially by those who claim to offer "neutral" or "objective" assessments.

In other words, while there are prominent groups fighting in the wars in Libya, Syria, and Yemen, they are essentially fighting on behalf of other imperialist powers behind the scenes, and for their interests. For example, in Syria, collaborationist organisations are fighting on behalf of the U.S.-EU imperialists, Turkey, and Arab countries, while Assad's regime resists with the support of countries like Russia and Iran, and in defence of regional interests. Similar assessments are made about Libya and Yemen as well. This is a perspective that refuses to acknowledge imperialist aggression in the name of neutrality or objectivity. It is also a perspective that fails to recognise the significance of resistance.

[5] The Gülenists refers to followers or supporters of Fethullah Gülen, a Turkish Islamic cleric and the leader of the Gülen Movement, also known as Hizmet (meaning "service"). The movement is a transnational religious and social organization with a focus on education, interfaith dialogue, and civic initiatives.

The imperialist strategy of the United States was established before the 2000s. The core of the strategy, after the collapse of the socialist bloc, was to take over countries that had not yet been subjugated and to dominate those that were not fully controlled. Iraq was the target. The Great Middle East and North Africa Project, with its various sanctions and justifications, was already in place, and then came the 9/11 attacks, shifting the priority to Afghanistan.

During the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, no country opposed the U.S. intervention. Neither Russia, nor Iran, nor Syria, nor others raised objections. Even countries on the U.S. target list remained silent to avoid becoming a target themselves.

When NATO decided to attack Libya on 19 March 2011, in Paris, no serious objections came from Russia or Iran, beyond merely expressing concerns. Similarly, when imperialists threatened Assad with, "Leave Syria, or we will do to you what we did to Gaddafi," no one openly sided with Assad's regime.

However, as Assad showed determination to resist, his government began to receive open support from Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah in Lebanon. The resistance and determination of the Assad regime to survive were what brought these countries into the fold.

To break the issue down:

The Imperialist Attack on Syria Has No Justification

1. The intervention of U.S.-EU imperialists and their collaborators in Syria and their demands for Assad to step down have no legitimacy. Those who label Assad a "dictator" and demand that he leave his country cannot claim to be more democratic than Assad's government. The bloody history of the coalition forces led by the U.S. would make Assad's regime appear benign in comparison. The targeting of Syria is not about Assad's dictatorship but rather a part of the U.S.'s larger Middle East project. Turkey's fascist regime, along with the Arab kings and emirs, have no right to lecture Syria on "democracy". They have no authority to demand Assad's resignation.

The So-Called "Opposition" Groups Are Collaborators of Imperialism

2. It is clear that the groups and organisations labelled as "opposition" in Syria do not act in the interest of the Syrian people but are rather tools of imperialist policies. No justification can legitimise their collaboration with imperialism.

The Syrian People Resist for Their Homeland and Their Future

3. The Syrian people's resistance is a just and legitimate struggle against the imperialist attacks and the betrayal of their collaborators. The Syrian people are fighting for their homeland. Whether it is under Assad's leadership or another leader, the fact that they are defending their country does not change. After defeating imperialist attacks, the Syrian people have the right to decide their own future. To view this resistance merely as a struggle to maintain Assad's power and to label him as "another dictator" is to approve of imperialist aggression and ignore the imperialist policies in the region.

The U.S. justified its invasion of Iraq by claiming "Saddam was a dictator". Lies were created about chemical weapons. However, no lie can justify the U.S. invasion of Iraq or any other country. Moreover, after Saddam was overthrown and killed, the Iraqi people continued to resist.

The main contradiction in Syria is between the imperialists and their collaborators on one side and the Syrian people on the other. The imperialists, through their collaborators, have invaded Syria's land and robbed it of its independence. The Syrian people's primary task is to expel the imperialists and collaborators and reclaim their independence. The only legitimate war is the one fought for this purpose. Afterward, the Syrian people themselves should decide how they want to live.

The defeat of Syria's resistance would mean the victory of imperialism. If Syria is divided and fragmented, all the countries in the region would be under threat. Furthermore, the U.S. has already declared that Iran, Syria, and North Korea are next on its target list. The resistance of the Syrian people against imperialism and its collaborators is therefore a struggle that concerns the future of all peoples in the region. It determines their fate.

Just as the Iraqi people's resistance reversed U.S. imperialism's dreams, the resistance of the Syrian people will undo the Great Middle East Project. For this reason, the war of the Syrian people is not a "proxy war, "but a war for their homeland and for the future of the people of the Middle East.

4. The term "proxy war" in Syria is often used because Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah have supported Assad's regime in the country to safeguard their own interests. However, let us be clear: Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah are not attacking Syria. They are opposed to imperialist intervention in Syria. Hezbollah's alignment with Syria's resistance is essential for its own future.

Hezbollah's Support for Syria's Resistance Is Necessary for Its Own Future

Hezbollah is the only anti-imperialist force in the region that does not compromise with imperialism or Israel. Its future is intertwined with the future of Syria's resistance. It cannot stand by while Syria fights for its survival.

If Iran Does Not Stand by Syria's Resistance, the Next Target Will Be Iran Itself!

Iran's support for Syria's resistance is justified and legitimate. It is clear that Iran is the next target of the U.S. after Syria. In fact, Iran is already under heavy sanctions and attacks. If Iran had supported the Iraqi people during the U.S. invasion of Iraq, as well as the people of Libya and Syria, today's wars might not have occurred. Iran's engagement in Syria is therefore not just a matter of supporting a neighbouring country, but a necessity to secure its own future. If Iran does not support Syria today, it will be too late when the war reaches its own borders.

For Imperialists, the "Big Prize" Is Russia; Russia's Resistance Is Justified and Legitimate

One of the fundamental reasons for considering the Syrian war as a "proxy war" is the fact that Russia is on the side of Assad.

That is to say, it is argued that if the U.S. and EU imperialists are supporting the opposition groups, Kurdish nationalists, and radical Islamist organisations in the region for their geopolitical interests, Assad is also fighting for the regional interests of Russia and Iran.

In other words, the war has ceased to be a fight of the Syrian people and is now being fought for the "imperial" interests of these powers. This view is mistaken. It legitimises U.S. imperialism's policies in the region and closes its eyes to the reality of imperialism.

It is not Russia attacking Syria, but the U.S.-EU imperialists, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia, along with other local collaborators. These local collaborators, having been created, trained, and armed by imperialists, are the proxies used by the U.S. and EU imperialists.

Viewing Russia's involvement as another "imperial" power opposing the U.S.-EU imperialists is a misinterpretation. This is not an inter-imperialist conflict. The Syrian resistance is a fight of the Syrian people for their homeland. Of course, the Syrian resistance concerns all countries that are targets of U.S.-EU imperialism.

The main target of the U.S. and EU imperialists is Russia. With its vast land, 150 million people, and huge, untapped natural resources, Russia is an unparalleled market that the U.S. and EU imperialists want to exploit.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and EU imperialists swarmed to plunder Russia, Central Asia, Eastern Europe, and all countries that broke away from the bloc. Within the first decade, these countries were openly looted.

Libya and Syria are two countries that were part of the Socialist Bloc and, after the collapse of the Bloc, were unable to fall under the political and economic domination of U.S.-EU imperialists. In the 1990s, they broke up and plundered Yugoslavia for this purpose. Similarly, Iraq is a country that was not fully plundered due to the rule of the petty bourgeois dictator Saddam Hussein.

The real aim of the U.S.'s BMENA is to reorganise the Middle East and North Africa in such a way that imperialists can plunder them freely, without encountering any resistance, after the collapse of the Socialist Bloc.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia went through an extensive period of looting during the Gorbachev and Yeltsin eras. However, after Putin came to power in the early 2000s, the looting was halted, and Russia quickly stabilized, standing on its own feet again. Once it regained its strength, Russia started to rebuild its political, economic, and cultural relationships with the former Soviet republics, especially in the Middle East and North Africa.

Countries like Turkestan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, which were part of the Soviet Union and are now part of Turkic republics, have been targeted for exploitation by imperialists through Turkey’s proxies and especially with the help of U.S. agents like Fethullah Gülen. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, imperialists flocked to these countries to plunder them, with the aim of turning them into neo-colonies.

After the Soviet Union's collapse, countries such as Armenia, Georgia, and Ukraine also experienced social, political, and economic chaos, which imperialists took advantage of to plunder them. These countries, having shared historical and economic ties with Russia, are under constant pressure from imperialists to keep them under their influence.

Through Putin's leadership, Russia, despite all efforts by the U.S. and EU imperialists to prevent it, has been restoring its relations with these countries based on the historical, social, political, and geographical ties that have existed since the Soviet period.

For U.S. and EU imperialists, these countries are not only lands to exploit and loot but also strategically significant areas they are encircling in their quest to swallow the "big prize, "Russia. This is evident in incidents like the attempt to bring Georgia into NATO and the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, which are primarily about tightening the encirclement of Russia.

Syria's resistance against the U.S.-EU imperialists is of great importance to Russia. Russia must stand with the resisting Syria, as Syria's resistance is tied to Russia's own resistance. Russia's resistance in turn disrupts the imperialist plans in the Middle East. Moreover, countries surrounding Russia, such as the Turkic republics, Georgia, and Armenia, are part of the Broader Middle East and North Africa project. Russia’s support for Syria is a means to prevent the spread of imperialist influence that could eventually threaten its own borders. If Russia did not support the Syrian resistance, Iran would be the next target, and then Russia itself.

Therefore, Russia’s involvement in the Syrian war, supporting Assad’s government, is a necessary and urgent act to prevent future conflict within its own borders.

None of the actors supporting Syria’s resistance — not Hezbollah, Iran, nor Russia — pose a direct threat to U.S. or EU imperialists. However, they are obstacles to imperialist interests. This is why Syria’s resistance must be supported, as it stands as a counterforce to imperialism's policies of exploitation and pillaging.

Turkish Oligarchy’s Intervention in Syria is Unjust: It is an Interference with Syria’s Sovereignty

From the outset, Turkey has been used as a proxy by the U.S. and EU imperialists. The aim of the imperialists is to overthrow Assad's government and replace it with a pro-imperialist regime, using Turkey as a tool. However, as Syria's resistance grew stronger, new contradictions emerged, and alliances shifted according to these dynamics.

The conflict between the Kurdish forces in northern Syria and Turkey has made it impossible for Turkey to be used as the sole collaborator for the imperialists. The U.S., using Kurdish nationalists, has effectively occupied Syrian territory, especially areas where Kurdish forces have established control.

The AKP government in Turkey, citing the threat to its borders, has used radical Islamist groups as tools to occupy and control parts of Syrian territory.

Turkey's claim of "border security" is a cover for occupation, and it is unjust. Turkey can address its security concerns within its own borders, not by invading Syria. Furthermore, Turkey's main contradiction in Syria is with the Kurdish forces. The real objective is to limit Kurdish influence in the region and prevent the formation of a Kurdish state. Using radical Islamist groups as allies, Turkey continues its occupation of parts of Syria. Turkey must withdraw from Syrian territory.

The Kurdish Nationalist Movement PKK-PYD's Collaboration with the U.S. is Illegitimate

Since the beginning of the process, Kurdish nationalists have adopted a so-called 'neutral' stance by claiming to be in a 'third space, ' rather than aligning themselves against imperialist policies as an oppressed people. The rhetoric of 'neutrality' by Kurdish nationalists is incorrect. In a process where imperialists aim to divide and plunder Syria through their collaborators, claiming 'neutrality' is actually covertly taking the side of the imperialists. It is simply waiting for an opportunity to openly take a side. Indeed, Kurdish nationalists have chosen a side when the appropriate opportunity arose.

During the intensification of imperialist attacks in Syria through collaborators, the Syrian state forces were forced to withdraw their military from the regions where Kurds lived. The Kurds then established their own governance under the name of 'self-administration' in these areas. This could be seen as the natural right of the Kurds. However, it is incorrect to think this way while ignoring the reality of imperialism.

While people in Syria are being pitted against each other on the basis of religions, sects, and nationalities, the creation of an independent Kurdish state is impossible. In such a process, the primary contradiction for the Syrian people is to stand against imperialist aggression, to unite with all the people who resist in order to expel the imperialists from the country. Without collective resistance from the Syrian people, none of them can free themselves or determine their own destiny. Otherwise, it is inevitable that they will be used by the imperialists. In other words, they will become the collaborators of imperialism. No justification can legitimise collaboration with imperialism.

The Kurdish nationalist movement's collaboration with the U.S. in Syria has nothing to do with the right to self-determination. It is surrendering the fate of the Kurdish people to U.S. imperialism. This harms not only the Kurdish people, but also all Syrian, Middle Eastern, and global populations.

Dividing People by Religion, Sect, Ethnicity, or Tribe is Wrong: The Common Enemy is Imperialism...

The fundamental contradiction lies between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples of the world.

People refers to all those who are exploited, including the working classes and the oppressed masses, and excludes the exploiters, such as capitalists, landlords, usurers, and traders.

Races, nationalities, religions, and sects are not decisive. The fundamental contradiction is between the people and the exploiting monopolies and their alliances.

Imperialists divide people by race, ethnicity, religion, sect, and tribe to exploit and control them. By fostering divisions, they prevent the oppressed from uniting against their true enemy — imperialism.

When peoples fall into this trap of imperialism, they no longer see imperialism as their main enemy. Instead of fighting against it, even though their country has been invaded and plundered, one of the sides collaborates with the imperialists and sees the other as the enemy.

This was the case in the Balkans after the collapse of the socialist system.

At the beginning of the 'Arab Spring, ' the people rose up shouting, 'Justice, work, bread, freedom.' In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood was brought to the forefront. In Libya, dozens of religious groups were organised separately and armed. Tribes were turned into collaborators, and Berbers and Arabs were divided. While the imperialists, who sought to fragment their country, remained unseen, the people massacred each other, destroying and turning their own countries into ruins.

During the invasion of Iraq, the biggest supporters of the United States were the Kurds and Shia Arabs. The Kurds justified the U.S. occupation of their country by claiming, "Saddam oppressed and killed us". The Shia Muslims, on the other hand, argued, "We are the majority, Saddam represents only 40% of the population, and the minority is ruling the majority. This is dictatorship, "and cooperated with the U.S. Iraq was devastated by the U.S., and hundreds of thousands of Iraqis were killed, while millions fled the country.

In Syria, the population has also been divided along religious, sectarian, and ethnic lines. Dozens of militant groups were created. The opponents of the Assad regime, consisting mostly of Sunni Muslims, argue that a country like Syria, where only 12% of the population are Alawites (a sect of Shia Islam), cannot be governed by the Alawites, and that they should rule instead.

Kurdish nationalists, with the support of the U.S., are trying to establish their own state in Syria, while the country is being torn apart. Meanwhile, imperialists manage to avoid losing a single soldier as they divide and pit the Syrian people against each other based on their religions, sects, and ethnicities. Over the course of ten years, hundreds of thousands of Syrians have killed each other with weapons supplied by the imperialists. About 6.5 million Syrians have fled their country, and another 5 million are displaced within Syria.

For ten years, all of Syria’s resources have been redirected towards the war. Its oil, underground and surface wealth are being exploited by the imperialists. They justify all of this by claiming that they are removing Assad's regime to bring democracy, freedom, and prosperity to the Syrian people.

The outcome is clear: the enemy of the Syrian people is imperialism. The imperialists are the ones dividing the people of Syria based on religions, sects, ethnicities, and tribes, and using these groups as collaborators. This division based on religious, sectarian, and ethnic lines is a result of the imperialists' actions. They are the ones exploiting the people. The fundamental contradiction for the people is imperialism. Without uniting and fighting against imperialism, the people cannot free themselves.

Conclusion:

1. The resistance of the Syrian people under Assad’s leadership is a legitimate fight for their country and future, and no reasoning can undermine its legitimacy.
2. Hezbollah, Iran, and Russia’s support for the Syrian resistance is just and rightful, as they are standing against imperialism, which threatens their own futures as well.
3. The U.S. and EU imperialists have no legitimate right to intervene in Syria. Their aggression is unlawful.
4. Therefore, the attacks by the U.S.-EU imperialists and their local collaborators on Syria are also unlawful.

Notes Written in History

The Biggest Lie of Imperialism: "DEMOCRACY"

In one of the Wikileaks documents, a report from the American intelligence agency before the invasion of Afghanistan stated:

"To gather support for NATO's role in Afghanistan, media coverage should focus on the plight of Afghan women..."

And so, it was done. Before the invasion, both the imperialist media and the bourgeois media in our country carried days of stories about Afghan girls. They reported how Afghan girls were imprisoned in veils, tortured, and murdered. One Afghan girl even made the cover of The New York Times. Afghanistan "had to be cleansed of terrorists and saved."

Under the NATO umbrella, with the support of 42 other imperialist and collaborator countries, America invaded Afghanistan to "save Afghan girls and bring democracy and freedom." Over the ten years following the invasion, we've read numerous reports of American and other occupying soldiers raping hundreds of Afghan girls.

Before the invasion of Iraq, the imperialist media ran stories for months about Saddam Hussein being a dictator who oppressed his own people and possessed biological and chemical weapons that posed a threat to the entire world. America invaded Iraq to "liberate the Iraqi people from dictator Saddam and save the world from the threat of chemical and biological weapons." Since the invasion, over a million Iraqis have been killed. The tortures and rapes by American and other imperialist soldiers—Abu Ghraib Prison alone is evidence enough.

At the beginning of 2011, actions expressing the people's anger against dictatorships in Tunisia and Egypt were also supported by the imperialists under the guise of "democracy and freedom." Dictators who had ruled for over 30 years were removed from power. Sharia law was imposed in Tunisia, and a military junta took over in Egypt.

Libya's leader Muammar Gaddafi, unlike the dictators of Tunisia and Egypt, did not leave power. Under the pretence of "democracy and freedom," NATO and its collaborators killed 60, 000 Libyans in seven months and ousted Gaddafi from power. He was lynched and murdered. The coalition of collaborators brought to power in Libya declared that they would govern the country under Sharia law.

In Morocco, the Muslim Brotherhood was brought to power. The common characteristic of the Muslim Brotherhood members placed in power is their collaboration with America. They comply with America's Middle East policies.

The imperialists also want "democracy and freedom" in Syria. For months, we've been reading and watching news from the imperialist media about "dictator Bashar al-Assad's oppression" of the Syrian people. However, the news presented to us is a complete barrage of lies. The entire world is being deceived with these lies. The imperialist media does not report the news; instead, it creates a basis for legitimising imperialist aggression and paving the way for the occupation of Syria.

Serdar Akinan, who was in Syria during the initial stages of the protests, described what he witnessed in his article published in Akşam newspaper on November 28. He wrote:

"None of the foreign and independent news agencies reporting to the world about the events in Syria were writing these stories based on what they directly witnessed on Syrian soil."

Akinan also shares another story that went unnoticed by the imperialist and bourgeois media:

"Pierre Piccinin, a professor of political history and science, who entered the Syrian capital Damascus on a tourist visa and travelled to various cities in the country, pointed out that the French news agency AFP had reported that a protest against the Assad regime in the capital involved HALF A MILLION demonstrators, even though at most 10, 000 people participated. He criticised Western media for producing reports that did not reflect the truth. Piccinin emphasised that the French news agency AFP

and the Italian news agency ANSA sourced their information from an organisation called the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR). He noted that this organisation was backed by a political group based in London and headed by Rami Abdel Rahman, an opponent of the Assad regime, who was allegedly a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and had connections with the organisation.

"Piccinin also claimed that videos about anti-Assad protests in Syria, which were published on YouTube, were uploaded by SOHR. He stated that in many videos from various cities in Syria, close-up shots were deliberately chosen to make groups of protesters, often numbering no more than 5, 000, appear as if they were part of a massive crowd."

(Akşam, 28 November 2011, Serdar Akinan)

There is no journalism or reporting here. Instead, there are scripts prepared in imperialist headquarters. Lies are being served to the entire world from there. The fabrication of the "Arab Spring" continues as the biggest imperialist lie in history, disguised under the rhetoric of "peace, democracy, freedom, human rights, national and minority rights." Through these lies, imperialists not only cover up their own terror, oppression, and hostility toward the people but also attempt to justify every act of aggression and terror they commit, as if they are bringing democracy and freedom to the world.

What right do the imperialists, and their collaborating lackeys have to demand anything from Syria, let alone sanctions?

"Peace"? What peace?

Is there a single war in the past century in which imperialists did not have a hand?

Who has turned the world into a sea of blood and killed tens of millions of people, if not the imperialists?

"Democracy"?

What democracy? Democracy for whom? In a world where the people are drowned in blood, coups are engineered by imperialists, and juntas are brought to power, what democracy are you talking about? Yes, there is democracy for the bourgeoisie. A democracy so robust that they claim the right to change the governments and borders of countries that do not conform to their exploitative order. But for the people, there is no democracy—only dictatorship.

"Freedoms"? What freedom?

In a world of exploitation and imperialist occupations, what freedoms are you talking about? "Peace, democracy, freedom, human rights, national and minority rights" are the biggest lies and hypocrisies of imperialism.

Imperialists and their lackey collaborators have no legitimate right to make demands from Syria! Look at the hypocrisy: On November 27, with the votes of 19 out of 21 member states of the Arab League, a decision was made to impose "economic sanctions" on Syria. Turkey is not a member of the Arab League, yet AKP's Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu attended the meeting as America's spokesperson. The American lackey Davutoğlu supported the Arab League's decisions, stating, "We must do everything in our power to end the suffering inflicted by the Syrian regime on its people."

While 19 collaborator Arab states were making sanction decisions against Syria in Egypt's capital, Cairo, and America's courier Davutoğlu was talking about "ending the suffering inflicted by the Syrian regime on its people," protests against the pro-American junta were ongoing in Tahrir Square with hundreds of thousands participating. Over 50 demonstrators were killed in Egypt in the past week. One protester was run over by an armoured vehicle. In Saudi Arabia, the deaths of people killed by the police are not even reported. The uprising in Bahrain, where the police rain bullets on people, also goes unreported. In Pakistan, NATO warplanes killed 28 soldiers. We did not see a single condemnation of these events in the imperialist press. Yet they continue to talk about "oppression" in Syria.

THE SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON SYRIA BY AMERICAN SERVANTS ARE ILLEGITIMATE!

For imperialists and their collaborator servants to speak of "oppression against the people" is sheer hypocrisy. Because they are the very enemies of the people. They are the ones oppressing and killing the people.

Let's set aside the collaborator Arab states. America's courier Ahmet Davutoğlu has no right to talk about "oppression against the people."

Our country has the highest number of political prisoners in the world. It is among the top countries with the most imprisoned journalists. Every demand from any segment of the people who do not align with the AKP is suppressed through pressure and terror. There is deep censorship. Any news not praising AKP policies is banned.

While tear gas bombs are thrown at earthquake survivors in Van, and people are forced to endure the freezing winter in plastic tents, reporting on the suffering of these people is also prohibited. The AKP's governors do not allow journalists to meet with earthquake victims, disregarding all laws and rules. Only journalists they approve of can publish news about staged "happy scenes" approved by them.

The legal commission of the BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) stated in a report that 4, 531 people have been detained in the past nine months, with over 2, 000 of them arrested. Last week, in a terror operation targeting Abdullah Öcalan's lawyers, 74 people, most of them lawyers, were arrested. The terror of arrests and detentions targeting the Kurdish people continues. And all this is being done by the AKP, which talks about "oppression against the people."

"Oppression," you say?

The history of the oligarchic state is a history of oppression against the people of Anatolia.

"Oppression," you say?

The AKP's nine-year rule is built on oppression against the people.

"Oppression," you say?

The corpses of guerrillas killed by chemical weapons in Kurdistan's mountains under AKP rule remain unidentified in the morgue of the Malatya Forensic Medicine Institute.

How hypocritical is it that the bourgeois media writers who ignore the AKP's oppression against our people claim to care so much about the Syrian people, talking about "Assad's oppression against his people"?

Revolutionaries, patriots, and the people must stand against all invading and annexing dominant forces attacking the Kurdish people and the peoples of the Middle East. And primarily, they must focus on imperialism, as it is the root cause of all the problems and conflicts in the Middle East and Kurdistan. Imperialism's presence in the Middle East is the main reason for the exploitation of the region's underground and surface resources and the denial of freedom to its people.

Our people! do not be deceived by imperialist lies.

The greatest lies of imperialists and their collaborators are "democracy and freedom." When they say "democracy," understand it as ***fascism****. When they say "freedom," look at Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya. Look at our country, which has the most political prisoners in the world. Think the opposite of whatever imperialists and their collaborators say. You will never be mistaken; you will never be deceived.*

(Yürüyüş, 4 December 2011, Issue 297, pp. 4-5)

Imperialists, Get Your Bloody Hands Off the Middle East and the Kurdish People!

The Middle East Belongs to the Peoples of the Middle East!

The collapse of socialist states in the early 1990s meant new markets for imperialists to plunder. From the Middle East to the Caucasus, from the Balkans to Africa, imperialists launched a massive war of plunder under the pretence of "democracy and freedom". Led by America, the imperialists sowed division among peoples of different nationalities and beliefs who had lived together peacefully for decades under socialism. Then, they intervened as "saviours, "establishing numerous new puppet states they could easily exploit.

This assault by imperialism continues most intensely in the Middle East and North Africa. After the occupation of Iraq, the United States declared its intention to restructure the governance and borders of 22 countries in the region as part of BMENA.

The resistance of the people in Iraq and Afghanistan against occupation disrupted America's imperial ambitions announced after the invasion of Iraq and slowed its aggression. However, U.S. policies in the Middle East did not change; only its tactics adapted to circumstances. Learning lessons from the resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. now uses internal contradictions within regional states and its long-time collaborators, like Turkey and Arab states, as proxies instead of direct occupations.

At the beginning of 2011, the people's anger at hunger, poverty, and oppression in Tunisia expressed itself in mass protests against a collaborative dictatorship. Yet, these protests, lacking revolutionary leadership and organisation, were soon brought under the control of the imperialists. Exploiting the people's anger toward dictatorships, the imperialists supported demands for "democracy and freedom, "fostering and directing mass protests to serve their Middle East policies.

From the very beginning of this process, which the imperialists dubbed the "Arab Spring, "it was clear that these developments were under the control of imperialism, serving America's BMENA. We wrote that the imperialists, led by the U.S., were reshaping the Middle East.

The Left, in the face of developments in the Middle East, was completely confused. Even with the support of imperialism, it advocated for the overthrow of dictatorships in the Middle East and the future of democracy and freedoms.

This is not a new situation for the reformist and opportunist left. The left, which lost faith in power, has believed since the early 1990s that imperialism has 'changed.' They argued that democracy and freedoms in the 'unipolar globalizing world' would be brought by the imperialists. Not only in our country but across the world, revolutionary and national liberation organisations that were fighting armed struggles laid down their weapons and entered into reconciliation with imperialism. Democracy was clearly expected from the EU and the U.S.

In our country, ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) and PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) form the most concrete and characteristic examples of this understanding in practice.

Today, it is not surprising that Kurdish nationalism, reformism, and opportunism are still unclear in the face of imperialist policies in the Middle East.

At its core, there is a lack of confidence in its own ideology and the people.

The solution is expected from imperialism

From the very early days of protests in Egypt, writer Alaa al-Aswany, who was involved in the movement, stated in a BBC interview:

"The revolution was turned into an 'overt coup' by the military to establish a 'Mubarak-less Mubarak regime.' We viewed toppling Mubarak as merely the first phase of the revolution. However, for them, deposing Mubarak was simply a necessary final step to ensure the continuation of his regime without him."(Quoted by Nilgün Cerrahoğlu, Cumhuriyet, 29 November 2011).

This truth was evident from the start. Imperialists, using their collaborators, exploited the people's anger for their regional policies. While continuing their rhetoric about "democracy and freedom, "the imperialists revealed their true intentions in Libya and Syria.

In Libya, the imperialists overthrew Gaddafi's government and are now plundering the country's wealth. Syria is next in line.

It is impossible to formulate correct policies without clarity regarding imperialism.

Imperialism's nature has not changed. As Lenin identified, imperialism remains the same in its fundamental characteristics.

The primary contradiction lies between imperialism and the oppressed peoples of the world.

The imperialist assault in the Middle East is merely another manifestation of this contradiction.

Imperialists cannot resolve their market issues solely through military means. Their war against the people unfolds across various domains: military, economic, political, and psychological. They temporarily set aside their internal contradictions to unite against the peoples' struggles. Under the guise of "anti-terrorism, "they delegitimise these struggles and justify their attacks on the people.

Since the collapse of the socialist bloc, imperialists have sought to suppress and subdue governments and organisations resisting them, often resorting to mass killings of hundreds of thousands. From open occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq to inciting ethnic conflicts in the Balkans and the Caucasus, to massacring tens of thousands of Tamil guerrillas in Sri Lanka, to assassinating revolutionary leaders in Colombia, imperialism employs every possible method to crush resistance.

Imperialism burns, destroys, and massacres without any need to conceal its terror. Events such as the killings of FARC leaders, the massacre of revolutionary prisoners in Turkey on December 19, the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, and the lynching of Gaddafi are intended as warnings to all who dare challenge imperialism.

The United States blatantly declares: "I have interests everywhere in the world. No one will stand in my way, and my presence must be accepted globally."

We must expose this reality without obfuscation or euphemism.

The true terrorists are the imperialists and their collaborators

While the terror of imperialism and its collaborators continues most openly around the world, and while the state's terror in our country is now visible to almost every segment, the declaration of the leaders of the peoples of the Middle East as dictators is in line with the policies of imperialism and fascism against revolutionaries.

You may not like the path or tactics followed by a political structure, the people, the nation, or even those opposing imperialism and fascism. You may find it wrong. But as long as these organisations, groups, peoples, and nations continue to resist imperialism and fascism, they are on the SIDE OF FRIENDSHIP.

Friendship means a careful relationship, especially unity in the face of the enemy. Those who go beyond this are the ones who have sided with the regime. The Terror of the Imperialists and their Collaborators is an indisputable fact! In the face of this terror, the struggle carried on, even with right or wrong tactics, is LEGITIMATE. Just because someone made a mistake or we don't adopt their tactics, we do not see them in the enemy's ranks. In a friendly manner, with our revolutionary responsibility, we explain the correct revolutionary line through criticism and ideological struggle.

Anyone who says, 'I am on the side of the people, I am against imperialism and state terror' must stand by this legitimate struggle. Moreover, they must move beyond dry, abstract words and transform into solidarity, support, and even power and action alliances.

Those who do not oppose imperialism, fascism, and their terror with all their strength and do not support the struggle against this terror, their thoughts on peace, democracy, human rights, and democracy are fake.

(Yürüyüş, 4 December 2011, Issue 297, p. 6, 7, 8)

Imperialists and Their Lackeys' Sanctions Are Illegitimate!
Withdraw Your Bloody Hands from the Middle East

Our People! All the Peoples of the World!
The sanctions imposed by American lackeys in Syria are illegitimate!
Imperialists want to invade Syria with imperialist lies.
Imperialists and their collaborators, withdraw your bloody hands from Syria!
The Middle East belongs to the peoples of the Middle East.

Our people! All the peoples of the world!
This attack is not just an attack on the Syrian people.
It is an attack on all the peoples of the Middle East and the world!
We will not be the killers of the peoples of the Middle East!
Let's not allow the brotherly Syrian people to be slaughtered!

Syria is one of the countries where imperialist aggression is currently focused.

Aware that their murderous, anti-people face is exposed, imperialists, unlike in Iraq and Afghanistan, want to seize Syria by using internal and external collaborators.

The reason for imperialist aggression is undeniably clear: to fully control the Middle East, to control Middle Eastern oil. In other words, the essence of the intervention is the ravenous desire for exploitation. Imperialists and their spokespeople do not even try to hide these intentions.

The tools to legitimise the aggression are the lies and demagogies: "Blood is being shed," "crimes against humanity are being committed", "human rights are being violated", "the people are being oppressed."

The scenario is simple yet effective: Collaborators are recruited from within the country, or created if none exist, and with the uniforms of that country's military, "resistance" and "rebels" are created. The country is destabilised, the people are incited against each other, and a civil war atmosphere is created.

A second encirclement is established by involving collaborators outside the country. These countries become bases for collaborators. If that's not enough, imperialists intervene directly with their own forces to complete the occupation. This was done in Libya, and now the same scenario is being implemented in Syria.

For imperialists, all methods are acceptable; under the guise of psychological warfare, lies, deception, and demagoguery are free to use. To invade a country and exploit its people, they would go to any lengths. They kill hundreds of thousands, millions, without any distinction of age, gender, or background.

"The Syrian Foreign Minister Walid Moallem, during today's press conference, also published images of security forces who lost their lives in attacks by Syrian armed opposition groups. However, foreign media outlets that broadcast the press conference cut their live broadcasts upon seeing these images." (Hürriyet, 28 November 2011)

The American Lackeys Who Kill People Have Imposed Sanctions on Syria

The history of imperialism is a history of massacres, occupations, looting, and exploitation. The history of European and American imperialism, and all imperialists, is filled with countless crimes against the people.

The lackeys of imperialism, the collaborators, are the killers of their own people along with the imperialists.

These murderers, by calling the Assad regime in Syria a "perpetrator of crimes against humanity", "continuing to spill blood", impose sanctions, make threats of intervention if the regime does not surrender to imperialism.

The United Nations (UN), which has become an institution of American imperialism, is one of the main instigators of the attack on Syria. The UN commission's investigation report, which was recently released, states that the Syrian government has "committed crimes against humanity."

In the bourgeois media, the report mentioned: "The UN Independent Syria Investigation Commission expressed deep concerns over crimes against humanity in different areas during the investigation period in Syria. The Commission interviewed 223 victims and witnesses. The Commission, which was formed in August, also acknowledged the existence of a group called the 'Free Syrian Army,' which conducted armed attacks against the Syrian army and security forces. The Commission called on opposition groups to respect international human rights law." (Hürriyet, 28 November 2011)

The report's actual target is not just these so-called "opposition" groups but the Assad regime in Syria. Just like all other sanctions, the purpose of the report is to increase pressure on the Syrian government and people to create the groundwork for imperialist intervention.

The European Union (EU) foreign ministers also announced that they would meet in Brussels to discuss the latest situation in Syria. The EU meeting is expected to tighten sanctions targeting Syria's oil and financial sectors. France also invited Turkey to join this meeting.

Undoubtedly, the Turkish oligarchy, the AKP government, will take pride in France's invitation. However, this invitation clearly only means encouraging Turkey to attack the Syrian people, to pat it on the back.

Indeed, the collaborating Turkish oligarchy was the first country to implement sanctions against Syria.

An Imperialist Collaborator Institution: The Arab League

One of the important institutions in the siege of the Syrian people and the Assad regime by imperialists is the Arab League. Like the Turkish oligarchy, the AKP government, the Arab League is more royalist than the king. The Arab League, by imposing the heaviest sanctions on Syria in its history, has shown its role as a servant of imperialism.

The Arab League's sanctions on Syria include:

- *Travel bans and asset freezes for top Syrian officials.*
- *Suspension of investments in Syria.*
- *Freezing relations with the Syrian Central Bank.*
- *Limiting economic relations to the trade of foodstuffs only.*
- *Stopping flights to Syria.*

Imperialism and Its Lackeys' Sanctions Are Illegitimate

The Arab League initially called on Syria to "stop the violence, withdraw troops from cities, and accept 500 observers, including military experts." Syria rejected this imperialist-driven, unjust call. After three days, a new meeting was held in Cairo with the participation of Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, and the Arab League approved the heaviest economic and political sanctions in its history against Syria.

Twenty-two Arab countries attended the meeting, and 19 voted in favour of sanctions. Iraq and Lebanon, two of Syria's neighbours, opposed the sanctions.

"Qatar's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Hamad Bin Jassim, who chaired the Arab League meeting, said that if the Arab countries fail to resolve the Syrian crisis, foreign intervention might occur. Bin Jassim added, 'All our efforts aim to prevent this intervention. However, we are not receiving positive signals.' He also announced that sanctions would begin to be implemented immediately and called on the Syrian government to 'end the massacres, accept international observers, release detained opposition

members, and withdraw tanks from the streets.' Bin Jassim stated that if these proposals were accepted, the sanctions would be lifted."(Akşam Newspaper, 28 November 2011)

Ahmet Davutoğlu, a spokesperson for the collaborating Turkish oligarchy, stated after the meeting, "We hope the Syrian government understands our message, and the problem is solved within the family. We don't want the sufferings of Iraq and Libya to happen in Syria." This once again revealed his servile mentality and role as a tool of imperialism.

They are trying to subjugate the regime of a country, the people of a country with threats, blackmail, and embargoes.

They are openly telling them to sell out their homeland and values. What they said to Gaddafi, they are now saying to Assad.

The so-called 'Free Syrian Army' collaborators, along with the imperialists and their lackeys, are feeding and inciting them to attack the Syrian people. The lackey AKP government says, ***'We can no longer tolerate the spilling of blood****.' The United States has sent an aircraft carrier to the waters off Syria. The imperialists and their lackeys are trying to create justifications for attacking Syria with lies.*

Sanctions are meant to pave the way for imperialist aggression and colonialism. They are not legitimate. The phrases "we can no longer tolerate the bloodshed" from those who shed the blood of the people are nothing but fraud. They are not legitimate in any sense.

Once again, we call out to the imperialists and their lackeys:

The Middle East belongs to the peoples of the Middle East.

Withdraw your bloody hands from the Middle East!

Withdraw your bloody hands from Syria!

(Yürüyüş, 4 December 2011, Issue 297, Pages 12-13)

SECTION 3

BMENA

What is BMENA?

BMENA, also known by its full name, 'Partnership for Progress a**nd a Common Future with the Region of the Broader Middle East and North Africa', is a U.S. project.**

The project spans a wide geography, stretching from Morocco and Mauritania in the west to Central Asia and Mongolia in the east, from the Caucasus and Turkey in the north to Arab countries and Somalia in the south. The project gained prominence, particularly after the invasion of Iraq in 2004. However, some sources cite the September 11 attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon as the reason for its preparation.

BMENA is a project of the U.S.'s strategy for global empire.

The **"Project for the New American Century"(PNAC),** an organisation established in New York in 1997 to "enhance U.S. global leadership, "prepared a report in September 2000. The report's contributors included figures like D**ick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, and Paul Wolfowitz.** The report has been described as the manifesto of the envisioned American empire.

The "RAND Corporation, "which provides strategic R&D services to the U.S. and CIA, published a report titled **"Civil Democratic Islam: Partners, Resources, and Strategies"**. This report categorised Muslim countries and outlined what the U.S. should do to control these nations. The report also highlighted that Turkey, among Muslim countries, is the closest example of "**Democratic Islam"**, attributed to its secularism. However, it noted that due to Kemalist and various ideological movements, Turkey does not look favourably upon the U.S.

Graham Fuller, who previously served as the South Asia national intelligence chief for the CIA, was also a research writer at the RAND Corporation that produced the report. Fuller was also one of the proponents of supporting the Fethullah Gülen movement during this period.

From the Report: Partners, Resources, Strategies

The CIA's strategy institution, RAND Corporation's report titled **"Civil Democratic Islam: Partners, Resources, and Strategies"** divides Muslims globally into four groups: Fundamentalists, Traditionalists, Modernists (Moderate Islam), and Secularists. These groups were analysed based on their perspectives on fundamental issues in Muslim countries, including human rights, democracy, freedoms, women's rights, criminal law, education, religious reform, and their views on imperialists. The findings are summarised as follows:

1. **FUNDAMENTALISTS:**
   Represent a militant, expansionist, and aggressive interpretation of Islam. They reject democratic values and Western culture. They harbour hostility, particularly towards the U.S. They advocate for an authoritarian state system based on strict Islamic moral and ethical values. Supporting this group, **except for tactical considerations**, is not an option.

2. **TRADITIONALISTS:**
   While they adhere strictly to Islamic rules, they are not militant or aggressive. Although more moderate than fundamentalists, they do not fully embrace contemporary democracies or Western values. This group is not suitable as a model or transitional vehicle for democratic Islam. This group should best be approached **by maintaining a peaceful appearanc**e.

3. **MODERNISTS (Moderate Islam):**
   Actively seek comprehensive changes in the rigid understanding and practices of Islam today. While they accept the practices of Prophet Muhammad's era as fundamental, they recognise that the social and historical conditions of that time are no longer relevant.
   Their core values include the supremacy of individual conscience, equality, and a society based on freedom. These values align with contemporary democratic principles. They also desire for the Islamic world to be part of globalisation. For these reasons, Moderate Islam is **the most suitable example and primary vehicle** for democratic Islam.

4. **SECULARISTS:**
   Support separating religion from state affairs in the style of Western democracies, confining religion to the private sphere. Politically and ideologically, they are the group closest to the West. However, secular groups often adopt semi-democratic or authoritarian structures, frequently embracing **leftist and aggressive** nationalist ideologies. As such, they do not see the U.S. as a friend and, in some cases, harbour **intense anti-American sentiment**. Additionally, they are not considered a credible group by Islamist circles. For these reasons, **secularists are not ideal as permanent allies.**

After analysing the general characteristics of Islamic groups, the report outlines steps for the U.S. to control Islam as follows:

1. **Support Moderate Islam First:**
   This includes providing financial support, creating leadership models, and cultivating leaders suitable for these models. (In our country, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is seen as a product of this project - Bn.)
2. **Criticise the Flaws of Traditionalists:** However, support them against fundamentalists.
3. **Combat Fundamentalists:**
   This includes exposing their illegal activities, highlighting negative examples of their violent acts, and preventing their glorification.
4. **Selectively Support Secularists:**
   Encourage the perception of fundamentalism as a common enemy and dissuade nationalist and leftist groups from forming anti-U.S. alliances.

CIA's RAND Corporation Report on the Fethullah Movement

In the report's assessment of Turkey, fundamentalists included the Germany-based *"Kaplancılar."* (Kaplan supporters) In 2005, the leader of *Kaplancılar,* Metin Kaplan, was arrested in Germany and extradited to Turkey.

Fethullah Gülen, however, was identified as one of the leading figures of Moderate Islam. Influenced strongly by mysticism, his philosophy is based on tolerance for differences and renouncing violence, which particularly appeals to youth.

To prevent opposition from Russia, the project did not include the Caucasus and Central Asian countries within Russia's sphere of influence, such as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan. However, they were associated with the project. Collaborative administrations were already established in Georgia and Armenia, and since the 1990s, the U.S. has been operating in other Turkic republics through *Fethullah Movement*.

Since its inception, *Fethullah Movement* have been used by the CIA in our country to counter revolutionary movements. After the collapse of the socialist bloc, they were employed in Turkic republics, Russia, and regions of the Balkans with Muslim populations. In the mid-2000s, Russian President Putin

declared that *Fethullah Movement* were directly working on behalf of the CIA and ended their activities in Russia.

After Fethullah Gülen settled in the U.S., he carried out missionary activities within the framework of BMENA across the Middle East, North Africa, and even in Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia and Indonesia, through schools, hospitals, and other economic institutions.

Graham Fuller's Special Attention to the Fethullah Movement

Graham Fuller, who played a significant role in the preparation of BMENA, served as the CIA's "National Intelligence Officer for Near and South Asia". Between 1977 and 1983, he worked in Turkey and later became the CIA's Chief of Middle East Operations. Over a total of 14 years, he operated in Turkey, the Middle East, and Muslim countries in Central Asia. Fuller published his thoughts and claims regarding Muslim countries and political Islam in his book The Future of Political Islam.

Fethullah Gülen, who was highlighted in the RAND report as a prominent moderate Islamist, is also extensively discussed in Fuller's *The Future of Political Islam*.

Regarding Gülen, Fuller states:

"***One of the most important goals of American foreign policy should be to encourage a liberal Islamic reform that is essentially Islamist but also modernized. For this purpose, the Nur movement, and particularly Fethullah Gülen, should be supported***." Fuller also emphasises that Gülen represents a liberal Islamist movement capable of influencing BMENA, citing his network of 236 schools in Turkey, 280 schools abroad, approximately 200 religious foundations, and 211 commercial companies.

Under the scope of BMENA, the *Fethullah Movement* were tasked by the U.S. to conduct economic, political, and cultural activities within Muslim countries around the world under the framework of Moderate Islam. Within BMENA, the *Fethullah Movement* acted as informal coalition partners during the period from the rise of the AKP to power until 2013. During the first 10 years of AKP rule, they were complicit in all crimes committed against the public.

Countries Included in BMENA

When BMENA was announced, U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice named 22 countries as part of the project. However, in subsequent meetings and statements, the number of countries included exceeded 22.

At the 2004 G8 Summit, the following countries were announced:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Cyprus, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Somaliland, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, and Yemen.

Additionally, there are countries not officially part of BMENA but associated with it, including **Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.**

Additionally, U.S. President George W. Bush, although not directly addressing the project, stated in some of his speeches that countries such as **Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Ghana, Gambia, Albania, and Bosnia-Herzegovina** were not included in the scope of the project but could participate if they wished.

Most of the governments of the countries included in the project were already under U.S. influence. However, the real challenge was the people of these countries. Even though Turkey, for example, has been a U.S. neo-colony since 1950, surveys conducted in the 2000s showed it as one of the most anti-American countries.

When it was announced that the borders and governments of 22 Middle Eastern countries, including Turkey, would be changed, there was significant backlash in Turkey. This caused debates even within the state, resulting in Turkey initially being removed from the project. However, shortly thereafter, Turkey was re-included in the project as a "**model country."**

The U.S. began introducing Turkey to Middle Eastern countries as a "**secular, democratic, Muslim country**" and a model of "**moderate Islam**." However, due to the reaction from Kemalist factions opposed to Turkey being labelled a "model country", Turkey was later referred to as a **"democratic partne**r" during U.S. discussions, particularly at the ambassadorial level.

Partners in BMENA Share the Financial Burden, Not the Project

The U.S. set aside debates about naming and focused on finding collaborators to share the project's financial costs. The countries that accepted sharing the financial burden, and could not say no to the U.S., included **Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Jordan, Bahrain, and Algeria**. In this way, the U.S. transferred the financial cost of its imperialist project to its collaborators.

At the G8 Summit held in Sea Island, Georgia, on July 8–10, 2004, under the chairmanship of U.S. President George W. Bush, a declaration was issued stating that BMENA was broadly accepted. It was decided that a mechanism called the "Forum for the Future" would be established and that the "Democracy Assistance Dialogue" for Broader Middle East and North Africa countries would be co-chaired by Turkey, Italy, and Yemen.

The U.S. also introduced BMENA at the NATO summit held in Istanbul on June 28–29, 2004. At this summit, it was decided that "social and economic" methods, in addition to the use of force, should be employed in the fight against terrorism.

We aim to briefly summarise the development of BMENA from the perspective of the U.S. and its collaborators, shedding light on subsequent developments and the core essence of the project.

In October 2004, the U.S., continuing its efforts within the framework of BMENA, lifted the military embargo it had imposed on Pakistan as a reward for its support of the project. This demonstrated that as long as a country aligned with U.S. interests, there was no problem with it arming itself. However, if it opposed U.S. interests, it would be labelled as a "terrorist" or "terror-supporting" country and subjected to economic and military sanctions.

In September 2004, offices named "**Middle East Partnership Initiative Offices**" were opened in **Jordan** and **Tunisia**. These offices were not idle; during the "Arab Spring", the groups directing the public's anger were notably in harmony with U.S. imperialism, likely a result of the services these offices provided in "Democracy Assistance and Dialogue."

Furthermore, in 2004, strategic pressure on Iran increased, while Libya was forced by NATO to join the **"Mediterranean Dialogue."** Some sanctions were imposed on Syria, and the U.S. increased its pressure on Sudan.

Claims that the U.S. intervened in Libya and Syria due to their violent responses to the public's democratic demands during the "Arab Spring" neglect the fact that both the Gaddafi and Assad regimes had been subjected to various economic sanctions, threats, and pressures since 2004.

BMENA and its true purpose: Reshaping countries within the project's scope economically, politically, militarily... entirely according to imperialist interests.

If we set aside the rhetoric such as "fighting terrorism", "democratisation", "common future", and "progress", the true goal of BMENA is to reshape the countries within its scope and those associated with it according to imperialist interests. Most of these countries are already governed by collaborators of the United States. However, countries like Libya, Syria, and Iran are those that have not yet been transformed into collaborators. Some countries in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and North Africa were once part of the socialist bloc, but after its collapse, they remain territories over which full control has yet to be established. Another main goal of BMENA is to counter the growing anti-American sentiment among the populations of these countries.

BMENA imposes integration with the imperialist market in various forms, from open invasions to constitutional reforms. This imposition remains an ongoing process.

When this process is interrupted or imperialist demands are rejected, the "force" method is employed. In countries like Tunisia and Egypt, this has involved undermining regimes through groups referred to as "opposition", leading to symbolic changes in leadership. In Libya and Syria, however, "opposition" groups have been armed, escalating to provocative and military attacks against the non-compliant and resisting leaderships of Muammar Gaddafi and Bashar al-Assad.

BMENA was officially announced during U.S. President George W. Bush's tenure in 2004. However, the project dates back further, as it is part of the U.S. imperial strategy developed after the collapse of the socialist system.

The initial target of the project was Iraq. Using the 9/11 attacks as a pretext, Afghanistan was invaded first, leaving Iraq for later.

After the invasion of Iraq, the growing resistance, the rise of anti-American sentiment among the people, and the organisation of anger under radical Islamist groups brought policies like "moderate Islam" to the forefront. According to a report by the RAND Corporation, one of the U.S.'s key allies in BMENA, moderate Islamists are the most important partners in this project.

A Comparison: From the Marshall Plan to BMENA

The following excerpt is from the 101st issue of Ekmek ve Adalet (*Bread and Justice)* magazine, dated 7 March 2004:

"*What is being said about how BMENA will be implemented is reminiscent of Turkey's neo-colonialization process. Through credits and support under the Marshall Plan, imperialism penetrated our country, which, following this step, became a country unable to take a step economically, politically, or militarily without imperialism's consent.*

The goal of BMENA is to transform the Middle East into a capitalist market and promote free market economies. The envisioned process includes the following: countries accepting America's 'reform' impositions will receive imperialist support in the form of credits, aid, and resources. The establishment of NGOs and their support, the development of collaborative media, and embedding imperialist standards, particularly in law and other aspects of the superstructure, are some of the detailed measures within this framework."

Another Form Of Invasion: BMENA

BMENA, adorned with countless lies, involved the U.S. appealing to other imperialist powers for the continuation of the invasion of Iraq under the UN or NATO umbrella. This was a clear indication of the invasion's failure. The U.S., which carried out the Iraq invasion without regard for anyone, intended to declare absolute dominance in the imperialist camp. Yet, it was forced to step back in the face of resistance.

The U.S.'s calculations did not pan out. The Iraq invasion was meant to pave the way for American imperialist dominance from the Middle East to Asia and the Caspian Sea. However, the plan failed, as it did not account for the people's reality. The resistance forced this reality upon the imperialists.

*For the peoples of the Middle East, BMENA is even more insidious and dangerous than the overt occupation it is disguised as under the guise of "change" and "democratisation." It resembles the Marshall Plan and Truman doctrines of the 1960s, which transformed Turkey into a neo-colony of imperialism, adapted to modern times. (Ek*mek Ve Adalet (Bread *and Justice) magazine, 6* June 2004, Issue: 111)

BMENA Is Not a Done Deal: THERE ARE THE PEOPLE!

BMENA remains on the table of imperialists and their collaborators for now. But what will happen in real life? How will the peoples of the Middle East respond to the occupation disguised as "democracy"?

First and foremost, as with all imperialist desk-drawn projects, there are contradictions among them. To date, they have armed and trained groups, forming armies out of them. In this respect, the resistance in Syria has also marked the failure of BMENA's "moderate Islam" policies.

In Egypt and Tunisia, the Muslim Brotherhood movement, which they themselves brought to power as "moderate Islamists", had to be replaced by them.

The failure of "moderate Islam" as a policy has also rendered the AKP and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the most critical collaborators of the U.S. in the Middle East since 2013, politically obsolete. The visibly conflicted situation between Erdoğan's government and imperialist forces stems from this.

While the U.S. continues its programmes targeting Islamic countries in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Far East under its "Eurasian Control Strategy", the contradictions with despotic, reactionary Middle Eastern regimes and fundamentalist groups in these regions persist.

However, far more significant than these contradictions are the PEOPLES.

Imperialism may define exploitation zones "from the Middle East to China", draw maps, and devise plans. Yet, these lands are not unclaimed.

The answer to what will happen to BMENA on Middle Eastern soil lies in Iraq and Palestine. The peoples of the region will draw strength from these two focal points of resistance and resist American colonialism with greater power than ever before.

With its massive military power, the U.S. has been brought to its knees in Iraq. The peoples have, for now, stopped the American empire targeting Iran and Syria in Iraq. Since the 1990s, when the U.S. was portrayed as invincible, it has faced its most significant blow yet. Iraq proves to the whole world that no plan or project can succeed against the peoples.

*BMENA means new Iraq examples. Collaborators may wait eagerly, American sympathisers may enthusiastically discuss it, and the U.S. may find individual collaborators in different countries. Yet, all these efforts are destined to collide with the reality of peoples and their resistance." (Ek*mek ve Adalet (Brea*d and Justice) maga*zine, 7 March 2004, p. 101)

These evaluations are based on the reality of peoples, interpreted through the lens of Marxism-Leninism. At the time they were made, BMENA was still under discussion by the U.S. and its collaborators.

Everything described above has come to pass. As part of BMENA, the U.S. created collaborators in individual countries, exploited the people's aspirations for "democracy, bread, justice, and freedom", replaced symbolic collaborators, imposed sanctions and embargos on some, instigated provocations, and devastated nations through direct military assaults. However, despite all this, they have still failed. The peoples' resistance remains an obstacle to their policies. The dominance of U.S. and EU imperialism over the peoples of the Middle East is far weaker today than it was before.

Today, although the peoples of the Middle East lack leadership that can lead them to salvation, their **resistance** alone is a beacon of hope. It is sufficient to disrupt imperialist policies and projects.

Predictions and Actions of BMENA for the Future

1. Bringing Palestinian Resistance to the Negotiation Line

The U.S. is aware that one of the main reasons for the rise of extremism is the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which, if resolved, would bring significant **credibility** to the U.S. in the Islamic world. This, in turn, would increase voluntary participation in BMENA. Therefore, the first political step to be taken under BMENA framework would be to initiate intense diplomacy to end the Israeli-Palestinian

conflict. The death of Palestinian President Arafat and the election of Mahmoud Abbas, known for his moderate stance, created an important opportunity for this step.

In this context, Turkey, under the rule of the AKP, became the U.S.'s largest ally. In 2004, during the period when the Iraqi resistance was growing through martyrdom, the Palestinian resistance also entered a new intifada process. At this point, the U.S. involved the AKP to bring the Palestinian resistance to the negotiation line. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his advisor Ahmet Davutoğlu initiated intense diplomacy with Hamas, particularly with the radical Islamist faction of Hamas, led by Khaled Meshaal, who was brought to Turkey, and the first roadmap for peace and compromise was outlined.

As Syria and Libya were turned into bloodbaths by imperialists and their collaborators, Hamas' silence transformed into collaboration with Israel and the U.S. The AKP's show of solidarity with the Mavi Marmara and the appearance of "conflict" with Israel were all in line with BMENA policies.

2. **Establishing a Moderate Islamic (Collaborative) Government in Iraq**

In the report, predictions regarding the post-war resistance in Iraq gradually taking on a radical Islamic character were noted. If this resistance were not broken, the moral boost from defeating the world's only superpower, the U.S., would inspire global terrorism. Understanding this, the U.S. intensified both military and police measures to break this resistance while simultaneously accelerating the creation of a democratic regime based on "Moderate Islam" in Iraq.

Indeed, in 2005, during the ongoing occupation, the U.S. established a puppet government to re-colonise Iraq.

However, Iraq's democratic structure did not align with the U.S.'s projects. The U.S. divided the Iraqi people along Sunni-Shiite sectarian lines and Arab-Kurdish nationalism to topple Saddam Hussein. They used Shiites and Kurds against Saddam, whom they presented as a Sunni ruler.

The U.S. aimed to create a "moderate Islamic" collaborator government in Iraq, but the foundation of this "Moderate Islam" is Sunni. Yet, the Sunnis fought against the Shiites, and the Kurds focused on their own separatist policies.

The U.S. created a mixed Sunni-Shiite-Kurdish collaborative government, but this had no effect on breaking the Iraqi resistance. The so-called "radical" resistance grew stronger. The "Moderate Islam" model for a collaborative government led to Shiites gaining control of Iraq's government. However, Shiites, divided along sectarian lines, acted more under the political influence of Iran than the U.S., which was seen as their enemy.

Ultimately, BMENA's predictions for Iraq did not come to fruition.

3. **Bringing "Moderate Islamists" to Power in Muslim Countries and Strengthening Them if in Power**

A comprehensive "Economic and Social Aid Plan" was prepared and implemented for target countries that voluntarily supported BMENA (Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Jordan, Bahrain, and Algeria), with the participation of the G-8 countries. This plan also targeted countries that were hesitant about participating in BMENA (Pakistan, Oman, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt), aiming to promote and empower "Moderate Islam" in these countries.

Indeed, under this framework, the U.S. lifted the military embargo on Afghanistan and began to integrate Afghanistan into BMENA as a voluntary participant.

Looking at the political developments in these countries over the last 20 years, we can see how BMENA's predictions have been implemented step by step.

For instance, in Turkey, the Fethullah Gülen movement, seen as "moderate, "was used against revolutionaries since the 1970s. In the late 1990s, the Welfare Party, led by Erbakan, which had criticised the West, was shut down, and the foundations for the AKP were laid with the 28 February process. The founders of the AKP, from Erdoğan to Abdullah Gül, are part of this project. In fact, even before the AKP

was established, Erdoğan, Gül, and others had expressed their message that they had "shed the national view shirt" and were now "moderate Islamists". Erdoğan travelled to the U.S., obtained approval to establish the AKP, and then founded the party.

The U.S. gave the AKP the greatest support to bring them to power and to maintain "Moderate Islamist" leadership after they took office.

The support from the U.S. in economic, political, and military spheres was exactly in line with creating the "Moderate Islamic model country" envisioned in BMENA.

In the early years of the AKP rule, they used democratic, human rights, and freedom rhetoric under the EU harmonisation laws to legitimise themselves. With the help of U.S. and EU support, the AKP won the support of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeois intellectuals, and even the reformist and opportunist left, as well as Kurdish nationalists.

In the second term of AKP rule, the U.S. carried out operations such as "Ergenekon, "weakening the military and systematically removing the power of secularist forces. These steps helped create the "Moderate Islam" model that the AKP and Fethullah Gülen coalition needed.

Throughout this process, the AKP and Erdoğan, as the co-leader of BMENA, were used by the U.S. as a key servant in the Middle East and North Africa.

4. Replacing Worn-Out Collaborators in BMENA Countries

Preserve Monarchies and Emirates Symbolically and Create Collaborative Governments in Line with the Spirit of Neocolonialism.

BMENA aimed to target oil-rich totalitarian and theocratic regimes (such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates) by preserving symbolic monarchies or emirates, similar to the system in the UK, while pressuring them to transition to parliamentary democracies. The U.S. would increase its support for political, economic, social, and educational reforms in the region.

As foreseen in BMENA report, the so-called "Arab Spring" process was an attempt to change the regimes of these oil-rich "totalitarian and theocratic" countries by utilising the reactions and desires of the people. The goal was to reduce the power of the kings and emirs in these countries to symbolic positions, similar to the role of the monarchs in the UK. However, this was not achieved. In Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, and the Emirates, kings and emirs were brought into line under the guise of partial reforms, but rather than being reduced to symbolic roles, their existing positions were maintained.

5. Iran, Syria, and Libya: Key Targets for Regime Change

BMENA report predicted that countries like Iran, Syria, Libya, and Sudan, which were labelled as supporting terrorism or rogue states, would have their theocratic or oppressive regimes overthrown, replaced by democratic regimes based on moderate Islam. NATO would be included in this effort through intense ideological pressure and action programmes.

This programme, which could even include military intervention, sought to force Libya, which had recently been approaching the West, to join NATO's "Mediterranean Dialogue, "and to "bring Syria to heel" through severe sanctions.

As anticipated, U.S. pressure on Sudan intensified. Libya was forced into NATO's "Mediterranean Dialogue, "while Syria was subjected to sanctions, economic, and political pressures. However, it wasn't until the "Arab Spring" in 2011 that these efforts began to materialize.

The “Arab Spring” process created the most suitable opportunity for Syria, as envisioned by BMENA.

Although Iran was a more immediate target according to BMENA report, they were unable to achieve the desired results in Iran. Iran has been under complete economic, political, and social siege along with BMENA. Heavy sanctions and economic restrictions were applied and are still in effect. Counteractions, assassinations, and massacres were carried out against the leaders. Before the Arab

Spring, the people of Iran were attempted to be incited through imperialist NGOs. During the Arab Spring, except for small-scale protests, they were unable to achieve their desired outcomes. Despite numerous threats, they did not dare to carry out a military intervention. This is because Iran has far greater economic, military, and human resources potential compared to other countries in the Middle East. Iran's centuries-old governance tradition, established state structure, anti-Americanism created by the pressures and sanctions, and the growing anti-American resistance across the entire Middle East prevented any direct military assault.

For these and similar reasons, after toppling the regimes in Libya and Syria through military interventions, the imperialists wanted to return to Iran. In Libya, they overthrew Gaddafi's regime and created a puppet government, but the Syrian resistance nullified all of the imperialists' projections within the scope of BMENA.

The Libyan and Syrian resistances first invalidated the "Arab Spring" demagoguery. In Libya, they succeeded in toppling Gaddafi's regime. However, in Syria, the Assad government's refusal to surrender and its resistance forced the imperialists to resort to more violence and terror tactics.

For this, the power they would use as collaborators had to be radical groups, not "moderate Islamists." And in both Libya and Syria, they began to use as many radical groups as they could, which they had attempted to prevent from developing through "Moderate Islam." They armed them, trained them, and formed armies with them. In this regard, the Syrian resistance also marked the failure of BMENA's "Moderate Islam" policies.

In Egypt and Tunisia, they had to change the "Moderate Islamist" Muslim Brotherhood movement, which they had brought to power themselves. The failure of "Moderate Islamism" led to the end of the political lifespan of the U.S.'s most significant collaborator in the Middle East and North Africa, the AKP (Justice and Development Party) and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Since then, Erdoğan's government has fallen into a position where its political lifespan in U.S. Middle East policies is considered over. This is the fundamental reason behind the visible conflict between the imperialists and the AKP government since 2013.

6- **Eurasian Control Strategy**

As part of the U.S.'s "Eurasian Control Strategy, "while continuing with programmes initiated in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Far East countries in the Islamic world, efforts will be made to prevent the regimes in these areas from turning into or embracing radical Islamic character.

BMENA's predictions on this matter have largely failed. Of course, they have done everything possible to reach their objectives, but the realities of the people do not conform to the plans and projections prepared at the table.

The "Eurasian Control Strategy" is essentially the U.S.'s strategy to encircle the Russian Federation. The resistance of the people in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and Syria has made it impossible for the imperialists to leave the Middle East. During this process, the Russian Federation has strengthened its economic and political ties with surrounding countries, and the U.S.'s encirclement strategy has been thwarted. Radical fundamentalist groups in these areas are being used in Syria and Libya.

The U.S. has not abandoned its strategy of encircling Russia by creating collaborative governments in surrounding countries. The continuous expansion of NATO towards Russia's borders, the efforts to bring its collaborators to power in countries like Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and Armenia, and the policies it seeks to implement through them are products of this strategy.

Thoughts and Predictions about Turkey in BMENA Report

1. Despite objections from the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) and various segments, Turkey is the "model country" for "Moderate Islam" in the project. Therefore, direct or indirect economic aid

and investments to Turkey will continue to increase, but these investments will be of a nature that will increase dependence on the U.S.

2. Within the oligarchic state structure, the TSK, in its current form, was an obstacle to creating the "Moderate Islam Model". They brought the army to the desired line with the Ergenekon operations and placed it at the service of the AKP.

3. The U.S. has used the AKP government extensively both internally, against the Turkish people, and externally, against the Muslim populations in the Middle East and North Africa.

4. The U.S. wanted to create a strong "moderate Islam model" for BMENA. Through all kinds of support—economic, political, psychological, etc.—they have created the desired "model" with the AKP government.

5. With policies such as "EU harmonization laws, democratisation, openings, and the resolution process, "they succeeded in incorporating Kurdish nationalists, reformist-opportunist leftists, Alevi organisations, and small-bourgeois intellectuals, who should have been in opposition, into their policies.

What They Couldn’t Achieve

1. Since BMENA's predictions did not account for the reality of the people and their resistance, while the predictions initially appeared to be successful, in the long run, the people's resistance became the decisive factor. For example, with the resistance of the Syrian people, BMENA's "moderate Islam" policy failed. Therefore, the AKP government, which was created and strengthened as a model for "moderate Islam, "started to obstruct BMENA policies due to its "expiration". The U.S. tried to change the AKP, just like it did in Egypt and Tunisia. However, through all the support they gave the AKP over the ten years of its rule, they had strengthened the AKP government to the point where they could not change it whenever they wanted. They could not create alternatives to the AKP and were left with a collaborator they did not prefer. The imperialists’ attempts to use the Gülenists to change the AKP—starting with corruption operations and leading to the coup attempt—served only to strengthen the AKP and extend its rule.

2. The "moderate Islam model" they wanted to create in Turkey as part of BMENA is increasingly turning into radicalism.

3. Anti-imperialist, anti-American consciousness among the peoples of Turkey people has grown stronger, and anger is intensifying.

4. Although the Kurdish nationalist movement, the reformist-opportunist left, and others aligned with imperialist policies and were used as collaborators in Syria, they were unable to subdue the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movements, who refused to align with imperialist policies. The revolutionary movement remains a real obstacle before imperialism and its collaborator oligarchy. The true representative of the people’s growing anger against both imperialism and the collaborating oligarchy is the revolutionary movement. The U.S. has failed to neutralize or co-opt this revolutionary movement within the system.

The AKP, America's Mouthpiece and Proxy in the Middle East

Ottoman heritage... model country... the big brother of the region... regional leader... all of these are nothing, but terms used to cover up the AKP's collaboration and subcontracting to the United States in the Middle East.

Since the beginning of its rule, the AKP has pursued an American-aligned policy in the Middle East. Just the fact that Tayyip Erdoğan took the title of "Co-President" in the American-backed BMENA is enough to show this collaboration. Moreover, the AKP did not stop at this level of collaboration; all AKP leaders, from Abdullah Gül to Erdoğan, have repeatedly stated that they "share the same goals as America."

The source of the misunderstanding about the AKP in the Middle East is primarily influenced by three elements: ***First****, the ideological misjudgement that AKP is an "Islamist" party;* ***second,*** *and one of the most critical turning points, is the misconception that AKP opposed American imperialism's invasion of Iraq and refused the "motion" to allow American passage; and* ***third,*** *the supposed defiance of Israel.*

AKP, especially in relation to these three issues, has skilfully utilised the misconceptions about it, spreading the image that its activities in the region are anti-American and anti-Zionist in nature.

However, the reality is the exact opposite.

Every step the AKP takes in the region, every word it says, is not anti-American, but pro-American. Both Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan's and Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's visits to the Middle East are portrayed as Turkey's initiatives in the region. Of course, the AKP has its own plans—plans suited to a neo-colonial country and a collaborating party—but all its activities and diplomacy are framed within the parameters set by the U.S. Otherwise, the AKP could not even set foot in many Middle Eastern countries.

AKP's Position on Israel and Palestine

AKP's criticism of Zionism, particularly expressed by Tayyip Erdoğan and Bülent Arınç, has echoed strongly both in the Turkish people, who historically sympathize with the Palestinian cause, and in the broader Middle East. Calling Israel "genocidal, "criticizing it for "massacres, "and Erdoğan's "One Minute" outburst at Davos, suddenly popularized him in the Middle East.

However, behind these gestures:

1. *Economic, political, military, and technological relations with Israel continued, and all previously made strategic and tactical agreements remained in effect. Although the two countries seemed to be at odds on the surface, not a single agreement had been annulled.*
2. *Supporting U.S. projects in the Middle East meant, in fact, supporting Zionism.*

The image that AKP presented through these few stances was beneficial to both the AKP and America. The AKP used this to conceal its collaboration, while the U.S. utilised the AKP's increasing influence in the Middle East to advance its own policies.

It is impossible for any country to take a true stand against Zionism without taking a stance against American imperialism. The AKP's stance on Zionism is merely superficial and cannot become a strategic stance. In fact, despite harsh words against Israel, they have not taken any diplomatic, economic, or military action against Israel; even during the Mavi Marmara massacre, they minimised the event.

A misconception about the AKP also lies in its rhetoric about Iran and its nuclear weapons. The AKP, in saying, "Why is it only Iran that has nuclear weapons, we should look at others in the region,

"supposedly refers to Israel. However, this is merely demagoguery. AKP would never argue that countries could possess nuclear weapons outside of imperialist control. According to AKP, the control of imperialism is unquestionable, and Iran must accept this. The essence of AKP's relationship with Iran, as they themselves have stated, is to "transfer Western ideas to Iran and bring Iran to a reasonable point." They have even told Iran to learn from Iraq's experience. AKP speaks to Iran in the language of the U.S.

Similarly, AKP's stance towards Syria has been to push the petty-bourgeois dictatorship of Syria towards compromise with imperialism. After a meeting with Obama, Erdoğan met with President Assad in Syria and advised him to "learn from the uprising in Egypt."

The Refusal of the Motion and the Reality of Invasion Partnership

*At the onset of its rule, the AKP had to consider the deeply ingrained beliefs of its base regarding the invasion of Iraq. It was crucial to mitigate potential backlash from its supporters, who might react strongly to the notion of a "Muslim government collaborating in an imperialist assault". Similar to how the Özal administration engaged in negotiations during the Gulf War with the idea of "**giving one and taking three,** "the AKP aimed to secure the largest possible share while acting as a partner in the invasion of Iraq.*

However, the AKP's miscalculation was its belief that a collaborator could negotiate but might not be able to see such negotiations through to the end. Consequently, even though the parliamentary motion did not pass under those circumstances, the AKP later fulfilled America's every request—AND MORE.

In January 2004, during his visit to the United States, Tayyip Erdoğan himself addressed representatives of major corporations at a meeting. Responding to questions from these representatives about "why the motion [to allow U.S. troops in Turkey] didn't pass", Erdoğan explained:

"The motion didn't pass, but everything else that was requested was done."

He further elaborated:

"The U.S. requested the opening of an air corridor. What was conveyed to us was solely the need for an air corridor. When asked whether there were any requests regarding land or sea, Mr. Powell stated that only the opening of the air corridor was necessary, and we granted that permission."

This statement contains not a single word opposing the invasion of Iraq; instead, it represents full partnership in the occupation. The AKP essentially said, "As long as you ask, we will lay Anatolia at your feet." Indeed, Anatolia was placed under the bloody boots of imperialism, allowing hundreds of thousands of American soldiers to pass through its lands.

From the Baghdad Pact to BMENA Co-Presidency

To understand the role Turkey and the AKP have played in the Middle East, we must look back to the Baghdad Pact and CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation), which were established in the aftermath of Turkey's neo-colonial status.

In parallel with Turkey's new colonisation after the 1940s, the Turkish oligarchy and military were tasked with guarding U.S. interests in the Middle East. Turkey would be the "front line" against the Soviet Union.

On 24 February 1955, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and the UK formed the Baghdad Pact, with the U.S. joining as an "observer" but essentially controlling the pact.

The Baghdad Pact solidified cooperation between reactionary fascist regimes in the Middle East, intervening in all progressive movements and suppressing revolutionary struggles.

The first intervention was against the progressive Ba'athist regime in Syria. In October 1957, Turkey's military amassed along the Syrian border for an occupation attempt, which was halted by a stern response from the Soviet Union.

In 1958, after an anti-imperialist government took power in Iraq, Iraq left the pact, and the remaining countries formed CENTO The U.S. became more involved in CENTO. Although CENTO

dissolved in the 1980s with the Iranian Revolution, the relationship between the Turkish oligarchy and imperialism has remained strong to this day.

For over half a century, Turkish governments have been opposed to all progressive developments in the Middle East, intervening on behalf of imperialism and using Incirlik Air Base against progressive countries.

For over half a century, Turkey, alongside Israel, has been one of the main pillars of American imperialism in the Middle East. While countries like Iran and Iraq have shifted away from imperialism, Turkey's oligarchy has maintained its role. The AKP, despite different rhetoric and occasional harsh statements against Israel, continues to follow the same trajectory. Because everything the AKP does, "different" or not, is ultimately in service to American imperialism.

Israel serves as a military threat element on behalf of the U.S. in the region; however, due to its current position as an invading power, it cannot carry out policies on behalf of the U.S. This role has been undertaken by the AKP.

The AKP's role as co-president of BMENA shows that the CENTO agreement between Turkey and the U.S. is still in effect, and BMENA aims to crush progressive movements and bring the entire Middle East under greater imperialist control.

*In 2004, the American New York Times wrote: **"Erdoğan is strongly pro-Western... America has strong interests in Erdoğan's success."***

Tayyip is America's ally. That is the bottom line. He stands with the Mubarak regime, not the people of Egypt. However, if America doesn't want Mubarak, neither does he. In AKP's Middle East policy, America's will prevails.

What Brotherhood?

Last week, during a ceremony for the construction of a dam, Tayyip Erdoğan, while speaking about the clearing of minefields, said: "We said there could be no minefields between brothers."

But he didn't say: "The monopolies wanted those lands, so we began clearing the mines for them". Yet that's the truth. What brotherhood? Were they not thinking of brotherhood for the past half-century as those mines were being planted?

Let's take a look at the oligarchy's history of "brotherhood":

- *When the Baghdad Pact was being formed, Syria refused to join. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes sent a message: **"If you continue with this mindset, it will end badly... Tell your leaders, I'll send two divisions into Syria and turn it upside down."***
- *When imperialist-Zionist forces intervened in Egypt, Turkish Foreign Minister **Fatih Rüştü Zorlu** stated: **"Had they joined the Baghdad Pact, they wouldn't be in this position today."***
- *In 1957, imperialism declared Syria to be under the control of "international communism". Turkey massed troops on the border of its "brother" Syria.*
- *In the summer of 1958, the collaborator King Faisal of Iraq was overthrown, and the Turkish oligarchy began preparing for intervention in Iraq.*
- *In 1958, the U.S. sent troops to Lebanon. These occupying soldiers were deployed from Incirlik Air Base in Turkey.*
- *From 1990–91, the entire imperialist world encircled Iraq through massive military buildup in the Gulf. Following this, Iraq was bombed for weeks, with tens of thousands of Iraqis killed. Some of the planes bombing Iraq took off from Incirlik Air Base.*
- *In January 1999, aligning with the U.S.'s policy to impose a "new world order" in the Middle East, the Turkish oligarchy threatened Syria with war.*
- *In 2003, during the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Anatolian lands, airspace, and ports were used by the occupiers.*

There's no real self-critique of massacres. If there were, it would look like this.

***Donald Rumsfeld**, U.S. Secretary of Defence during the Iraq invasion—though "Secretary of Offense" would be more accurate—has now written a book titled Known and Unknown. In it, he supposedly confesses and offers a "self-critique": "After the Abu Ghraib scandal, not resigning was a mistake."*

In his account, there's no acknowledgment of a "mistake", "sin" or "crime" in the killing of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis during the invasion. There's no remorse for the Iraqi children killed by cluster bombs. He isn't troubled by the existence of torture chambers like Abu Ghraib either. His regret is solely about not resigning after the scandal came to light. That's his "confession."

Rumsfeld's "self-critique "is reminiscent of another former U.S. Defence Secretary, Robert McNamara, who served during the Vietnam War. McNamara also wrote a book years later and admitted a "mistake". As recounted by Eduardo Galeano in Upside Down (p.3738):

"One of the architects of the Vietnam War, Robert McNamara, admitted in his book that the war was a mistake. But it wasn't a mistake because it was unjust, having killed over three million Vietnamese and 58, 000 Americans. It was a mistake because the U.S. continued the war knowing it couldn't win. The sin was in the defeat, not the injustice."

When we say there's no self-critique for massacres or invasions, we base this on a class reality. When an American official makes a "confession, "it's like this: They regret not the torture, but the failure to hide it better. (Yürüyüş Magazine, 13 February 2015, Issue 255, p 6, 7, 8)

Notes Written in History

The AKP: A Tool of Imperialism and an Enemy of All Oppressed Peoples!

As the AKP enters its 9th year in power, it stands out with two primary characteristics. It can be said that these two traits define the class nature and policies of the AKP:

1. *The AKP has become a staunch party of imperialism, developing dependency relationships that other establishment parties would not dare to undertake, fulfilling all the demands of the imperialists without hesitation. Throughout its years in power, the AKP has shown no limits in its collaboration.*
2. *The AKP, with the support it receives from imperialism and domestic monopolies, relentlessly attacks the people, organising fascist assaults without restraint. In this sense, hostility toward the people has become another defining characteristic of the party.*

To summarise the AKP during its years in power: it is a collaborative, exploitative, and authoritarian party that perpetuates fascism.

The AKP is a Product of the National Security Council's February 28 Operation

The AKP is the Islamist party of the reactionary, anti-communist, and anti-people policies that have turned our country into a neo-colony of American imperialism since the 1940s. Therefore, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has embraced Adnan Menderes of the 1950s and Turgut Özal of the post-coup era (1980s), emphasising that they are his predecessors.

The AKP as an Enforcer of Fascism

On 17 December 2004, negotiations for Turkey's entry into the EU were officially opened under the AKP's government. By promoting the illusion of democratisation tied to EU accession, the AKP misled and co-opted certain groups. While enacting these laws, it also incrementally escalated attacks on the public by introducing police-friendly regulations.

Throughout its rule, the AKP has applied unrestrained fascist terror against the people. Massacres, torture, mass detentions, and arrests have continued unabated. Both Adnan Menderes and Turgut Özal were pawns of imperialism, playing key roles in surrendering the country to foreign powers without hesitation. Erdoğan, with his own reactionary, anti-communist stance, considers them role models.

While the AKP follows this legacy, it is also a product of the February 28 intervention by the National Security Council (MGK). The MGK fractured the Islamist Refah (Welfare) Party, led by Necmettin Erbakan, into two factions and neutralized both.

Under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, one faction branded itself as "reformist, "which essentially meant adapting to the system. The MGK shaped and moderated both factions to make them more compatible with the system. Following the split, the so-called "reformist" faction gained more power than anticipated and was subjected to further "adjustments". Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül had to "prove" that they had changed, drawing closer to the boundaries set by imperialism and the MGK. Their claim to have removed the "National View" identity was not merely rhetoric but an acknowledgment of their alignment with the system.

From its foundation, the AKP has consistently demonstrated its commitment to the system and the interests it serves. It has even gone further, fulfilling the demands of all imperialist powers without exception.

The AKP: A Collaborative Party that Defends the System

The AKP has proven to be a fervent defender of the oligarchic system. Its importance to imperialism and domestic monopolies lies in this very role. It ruthlessly implements exploitation policies, impoverishing the people while allowing imperialist monopolies to plunder the country's factories. At the same time, it has managed to channel public anger and dissatisfaction with the system back into it, preserving the status quo.

While the AKP was presented as a "new" and "untainted" party to the public, it became a focal point for many. The votes the AKP has received and the support it has garnered reflect widespread dissatisfaction and anger toward the system. The place where the people's great anger and dissatisfaction with the system can express itself is in revolutionary struggle. However, the revolutionary struggle has not yet been able to organise this discontent or turn it into a broader movement, leaving it to be exploited by the oligarchy.

The AKP plays a crucial role in redirecting public anger into manageable channels. It appeals to millions with its apparent "Islamist" identity, while simultaneously pacifying discontent through a culture of handouts.

As highlighted in Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) Magazine, Issue 17:

"This role of deflecting anti-capitalist, anti-fascist sentiments into reactionary channels is vital for the system. The AKP is a party that defends the system with all its fundamental policies and ideologies. It has no objections to capitalism, imperialist dependency, or fascism."

Since its establishment, the AKP has pursued policies against the people and revolutionaries, playing this role consistently. The reality underlying this is its aggressive policies, even surpassing the repressive conditions of the 12 September 1980 fascist coup, to protect the system.

The AKP government continues to sustain isolation practices in prisons, allows the deaths of sick prisoners, and targets all segments of society with its attacks to this day. While acknowledging the 'Kurdish reality' on one hand, it simultaneously applies unchecked fascist terror against the Kurdish people, aiming to crush the dynamics of resistance within the populace.

The AKP: A "Model" Offered to Oppressed Peoples

As an enemy of the people, the AKP is a party established with the endorsement of imperialism. It received approval from American imperialism at its founding and draws its power primarily from the U.S. and European imperialism.

With support from the U.S., the AKP has crushed and silenced its opponents, relying on imperialist backing in intra-oligarchic conflicts. For example, its "Ergenekon trial" was supported by imperialism.

The AKP's political orientation is fundamentally pro-American. This worldview drives its approach to foreign policy, economics, social issues, and its policies against the people. Its external policy is dictated entirely by imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism.

The AKP's leader, Erdoğan, openly declared, "I am responsible for marketing my country." This reflects the party's eagerness to allow the country to be plundered by imperialist monopolies.

As part of the U.S.-driven BMENA, the AKP has been given a "gendarme" role in the region. Simultaneously, it has been presented to oppressed peoples as a "model" of "moderate Islam" in contrast to "radical Islamist movements". Erdoğan's declaration, "I am a co-chairman of the Broader Middle East and Middle East Project", confirms this reality.

As a result, the AKP and Erdoğan have mobilised for imperialist policies against the oppressed peoples of the Middle East and North Africa. From Afghanistan and Iraq to Libya and Syria, the AKP has acted in line with imperialist directives, threatening the peoples of these countries on behalf of imperialism.

While acting as a gendarme for imperialism in the Middle East alongside Israeli Zionism, the AKP has also maintained a facade of being at odds with Israel, portraying itself as a "friend" of the Palestinian people.

From Abdullah Gül to Erdoğan, from Ahmet Davutoğlu to Ali Babacan, almost all key AKP figures have been mobilised for U.S. interests. The AKP does not have an independent foreign policy; its every move aligns with imperialist orders.

Through its internal and external policies, the AKP has safeguarded the system of oligarchy and imperialism. This is why it exists in power. ***(Yürüyüş, 8 May 2011, Issue 267, pp. 44-45)***

Notes Written in History

AKP is Also an Enemy of the World's People

The AKP is an enemy not only to the people of Turkey but also to the people of the world. This is because it is a collaborator of U.S. imperialism in the region. The United States had announced plans to change the governments of 22 countries in Africa and the Middle East under BMENA. U.S. former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated in 2004 that ***"the borders of 22 countries, from Morocco to Pakistan, will change".*** *The AKP plays a leading role as co-chair of this project. The AKP is a partner in crime with the U.S.!*

The governments of these 22 countries obviously wouldn't change easily or spontaneously. The U.S. attempted all methods to overthrow these governments. In Tunisia, Egypt, and other places, they used the contradictions between the people and the existing authorities to carry out their plans. In Jordan, they attempted the same method but didn't get the desired result.

Subsequently, an operation began with "rebellions" and sieges led by collaborators, including military attacks against Libya and now Syria.

The AKP government and the army play an important role in these attacks. They work on behalf of the U.S., deliver threats, enforce sanctions, and use military capabilities within NATO.

During the actions in Egypt, Prime Minister Erdoğan addressed Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak: "Mr. Mubarak, we are mortal, not eternal.... We will only leave with our shrouds... Take the first step for the peace, security, and stability of Egypt."

Just before NATO's attack on Libya, Erdoğan virtually issued an ultimatum, stating: "Gaddafi must take the historic step. The best way to exit under the current circumstances is to return the authority to its rightful owner... Libya is not the property of the family... We ask the Libyan leader to step down and leave the country for his own future and the future of Libya."

Looking at these statements, let's not think that the AKP cares about the people of Egypt and Libya or truly makes such warnings for the benefit of the peoples. Does Erdoğan make such statements against the governments of other countries where there is oppression?

*In 2003, **Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir**, responsible for the deaths of 300, 000 people and the displacement of 2 million in the Darfur region of Sudan, visited Turkey in January 2008. This murderous dictator was warmly received by President Abdullah Gül and Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan at Çankaya.*

Sit at the same table with the killer of 300, 000 people and then join NATO in attacking and imposing sanctions on Gaddafi, who provided the highest living standards and free healthcare for his people in Arab countries!

What is the difference between these two situations? Why support one while attacking the other?

Because the collaborating oligarchy adjusts its stance according to the interests of U.S. imperialism. It is not about personal stance. Moreover, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia had been in power for 23 years, and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt for 30 years. Why are these peoples now suddenly seen as valuable?

Let's ask a more current question: Why did the AKP suddenly begin helping Somalia?

Returning to the main point, Prime Minister Erdoğan, as co-chair of BMENA, is conducting relations on behalf of the imperialists in the Middle East and Africa. Under the guise of aid, the AKP is trying to create new relations, aiming to present itself as a "model" in the eyes of the people of the Middle East and Africa.

*The AKP declared 2005 as the "**Year of Africa**" and between 2005 and 2008, it provided $12 million in "humanitarian aid" to Africa, especially to Ethiopia and Sudan. Additionally, $50 million was allocated for development projects in Africa. Visa requirements were lifted for approximately 30 countries, and 12 new embassies were opened in Africa. The trade volume with Africa increased from $5.5 billion in 2003 to $12.8 billion in 2007.*

Berat Albayrak, Erdoğan's son-in-law, managed Çalık Group, which built a 125-story building in Sudan, earning $68 million, and Sudan Telecom's building, which earned another $30 million. It is clear that the commercial relationships established, along with the official visits, serve as a tool for defending the interests of monopolies.

Through the AKP, imperialism imposes its policies on the oppressed peoples of the world. While carrying out this mission, the AKP also fills its own pockets. In capitalism, nothing is done for free. Those who now remember the starving Somali people and use them for show must have their own interests at heart.

Until yesterday, relations with Syria were good; now they are threatening Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Erdoğan says, "We see the developments in Syria as our own internal issue". Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu is going to Syria to threaten Assad on behalf of U.S. imperialism.

The AKP is an enemy of the world's people. When evaluating AKP's policies, we must remember that it is a collaborator of imperialism and cannot act outside of imperialist interests.

(Yürüyüş Magazine, 21 August 2011, issue 282. p: 27)

SECTION 4

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE “ARAB SPRING” AND THE BMENA

The "Arab Spring" Is a Process Gradually Prepared Under BMENA

Up to this point, we have repeatedly emphasised the relationship between the "Arab Spring" and BMENA. The "Arab Spring" is a product of BMENA.

Even before BMENA was made public, CIA experts meticulously planned the policies to be pursued under the initiative—what actions would be taken in which countries, how and when they would be carried out, and with whom and which forces would be utilised.

After BMENA was announced to the public, its implementation began. The process known as the "Arab Spring" was systematically prepared within the framework of BMENA through every form of support provided to the forces considered allies by the United States, including special meetings, conferences, organisations created under the guise of NGOs, embargoes, and sanctions.

On 11 December 2004, at a meeting held in Morocco under the name "**Forum for the Future,** "U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell stated that "change would not be imposed from outside, "claiming that it would start internally within countries through social and economic progress. He argued that political and democratic reforms should be carried out hand in hand with developed countries and described demands for reform in the region as "encouraging". At this forum, the foundations for establishing a fund of approximately $100 million for SMEs [6] were laid. Discussions also included incentivizing aid and supporting education and literacy campaigns.

What Does Colin Powell Say?

Reflecting on lessons learned from the overt occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, he said:

- Change will not be imposed from outside, meaning no overt occupations would occur.
- Change will be facilitated by creating collaborators within the country.
- Economic aid and loans will increase countries' dependency.
- Under the guise of political and democratic reform, national laws will be aligned with imperialist interests.
- Organisations established under the guise of NGOs will be used.
- Campaigns orchestrated through funds allocated to these NGOs will make imperialist powers appear as advocates of "democracy, freedom, and prosperity."
- NGOs will soften anti-imperialist sentiments among local populations.
- NGOs will create "opposition" against governments they aim to replace.
- NGOs will conduct education and literacy campaigns in a way that serves imperialist interests.
- NGOs will foster a public reconciled with imperialism and collaborating with it.

If we look at our own country, since the early 2000s, hundreds of associations, publications, radio and TV stations, and foundations directly supported and financed by imperialists have been established under the guise of NGOs.

[6] SME: Small and Medium-sized Enterprises

For instance, the Open Society Foundation, owned or supported by the imperialist Soros[7], alone has hundreds of such institutions. These include everything from the Contemporary Education Foundation to various feminist women's organisations, Islamist sects, and Alevi associations—all funded by imperialists. For every activity carried out within the framework of imperialist policies, they received financial support.

Campaigns like "Send My Daughter to School, ""Come On Girls, Go to School, "and ostensible aid organisations like the Deniz Feneri Foundation of the Gülenists distributing refrigerators and washing machines to villages in Dersim (Tunceli) without electricity, or organising symbolic aid campaigns to Myanmar, Somalia, Palestine, and many North African countries, were directly financed by imperialists and fell within the scope of BMENA policies.

During the **Great Resistance** that lasted 7 years between 2000 and 2007, these so-called progressive, charitable, democratic, and freedom-loving organisations did not utter a single word in support of the resistance and against the inhumane isolation torture. This silence is attributed to their true mission.

In 2002, the Pazartesi Magazine (belonging to feminists), which was funded by imperialist sources, made the "blunder" of interviewing women resistance fighters on death fasts in Küçük Armutlu, Istanbul. Shortly after, the magazine was immediately warned, its funding was cut, and it was eventually shut down.

During the AKP government, think about the so-called "democratisation" and "reform" packages—the "Resolution Process, "Ergenekon operations, the constitutional referendum, and the reckoning with 12 September. All of these were policies rooted in BMENA, orchestrated by imperialist centres. These policies were implemented in various forms in all countries under BMENA to "create change from within". For example, in 2004, it was reported in the media that $6 million in "aid" was provided to various organisations established under the guise of NGOs in Syria to create an opposition force against the Assad regime. Similar aid was provided to all countries under BMENA, setting the stage for what is now referred to as the "Arab Spring."

The people's hunger, poverty, dissatisfaction with dictatorships, and longing for justice, democracy, and freedom were exploited. When uprisings began, the anger of the masses was directed through the collaborative political parties, unions, professional organisations, NGOs they supported and financed, reformist leftists, and moderate Islamists, steering public fury away from the directly complicit collaborators and imperialists, particularly the United States.

It is for this reason that, while the uprisings, anger, and demands of the people during the "Arab Spring" were legitimate, they were directed to serve imperialist policies through the intervention of imperialist-backed NGOs. The imperialists used the rebellions of the Arab peoples within the framework of BMENA.

Revolutionary Marxist-Leninists cannot remain silent or indifferent to such movements simply because they are influenced by imperialists. The duty of revolutionaries is to channel the people's anger with the correct slogans and tactics against both imperialists and their collaborating rulers. They must use such popular movements to advance the revolution and the struggle.

It is essential to prevent the people's uprisings from being exploited by imperialists and collaborators for their restoration.

When we look at the countries where the "Arab Spring" occurred, we see that none had revolutionary leadership. Existing leftist, socialist, and communist-labelled organisations were reformist and revisionist movements integrated into the system, acting entirely as tools of imperialist policies during this period.

[7] George Soros, a Hungarian-American billionaire investor, philanthropist, and political activist. He is widely known for his work in financial markets and his philanthropic endeavours, particularly through his organization, the Open Society Foundations (OSF).

Tayyip, Taking Directives from the White House, Began Speaking in BMENA Language

Turkey Pursues the Same Goal as the U.S. in the Middle East and Asia

Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan, who completed his visit to the U.S., continued to enhance his "speaking as America desires" performance, which he had already begun in Washington.

Essentially, despite many technical details, Tayyip Erdoğan was assigned three tasks and directives:

Tayyip's First Duty: Waging War Against Our Anti-American People

The first directive from the White House was to break the anti-American sentiment in Turkey and, as a pro-American, to defend American imperialism unconditionally. In other words, to force the Turkish people—82% according to polls, or everyone except for a handful of collaborators—to "love America, "or, at the very least, to "crush their heads, "as the U.S. ambassador put it.

Erdoğan started fulfilling this task during his participation in conferences in the U.S. His excessive praise and flattery of America likely surprised even the imperialists themselves. Anyone listening to Erdoğan, who only recently criticised the U.S. for committing massacres, would find it impossible to believe this was the same person. According to Erdoğan, "we share all values, "and "we are a loyal ally! "

For example, in an interview with The New York Times on the last day of his trip, Erdoğan declared, ***"Turkey is a loyal ally of the U.S."*** *He listed examples of this loyalty, including support for the Iraq invasion. He proudly reminded that Turkey not only provided the invaders with food, fuel, and water but also opened the İncirlik Airbase for America's logistical use. The fact that Erdoğan had previously lied to the Turkish people, claiming, "We didn't participate in the invasion, "was conveniently overlooked during these days of shamelessness.*

It wasn't just Iraq that he cited as an example. He also discussed how Turkey fought alongside the U.S. in Afghanistan and was a "strong ally in the war on terror."

Robert Pollock, an editor for the Wall Street Journal, expressed concerns about the rise of anti-Americanism in Turkey, attributing it to leftists and extreme Islamists.

Erdoğan's efforts to address this concern remain to be seen. However, one thing is certain: anti-imperialism and anti-Americanism are deeply rooted in this land and can never be eradicated. Today, some Islamist groups might oppose the U.S., but they remain open to being used against socialists as part of the "green belt" strategy.

If Erdoğan thinks he can "crush our heads" and destroy our anti-imperialist spirit, he is mistaken once again. The anti-imperialist vein among socialists and the peoples of Turkey is incredibly strong. The people's conscious or instinctive anti-Americanism stems from the nature of neo-colonial relations. In Turkey, the main culprit behind political, economic, and military troubles—be it coups, torture, massacres, poverty, or destitution—is American imperialism.

Let's see Erdoğan please America!

Tayyip's Second Duty: BMENA Missionary Work and Involvement in the Syrian Operation

It was a frequently discussed and widely promoted topic in the media that Tayyip disagreed with Bush on Syria. However, setting aside demographic differences, in reality, no such disagreement exists.

*The only concern of the Turkish oligarchy regarding Syria is the **Kurdish** issue. Because of this, there are disagreements on how to subdue Syria. The oligarchy, fearing that a military operation could create a situation similar to Iraq for the Syrian Kurds, insists on taking control of Syria without triggering such an outcome. For the U.S., what matters is the capture of Syria, and the method is secondary. If the method fails, in the end, the word of the master prevails, and the loyal collaborator simply follows orders.*

In this context, Erdoğan, who just yesterday spoke of friendship with Syria, immediately began to betray and threaten it, showing the stick under the guise of cooperation on behalf of America. In an interview with the New York Times at the end of his visit, Erdoğan explained that Turkey had been exerting "cautious pressure" on Syria for 40 years to change its stance. He said, "If Syria continues to support terrorists, it will be isolated in the world. Turkey does not approve of repressive regimes. In this regard, Turkey has nothing to learn from Syria, but Syria has much to learn from Turkey."

Bush had already referred to Syrian President Assad as a dictator and claimed that Syria "broke the nerves" of the U.S., with all the imperial arrogance.

There is a perfect parallel between Erdoğan's statements on Syria and the threats from the U.S. Within the framework of American imperialism's policies in the Middle East, the AKP has directly aligned with the U.S. strategy to politically and economically besiege Syria. When the U.S. claims that Syria supports terrorism, it's the U.S. itself making the assertion. Everyone knows that the U.S. uses this same rhetoric against any country it aims to subdue.

The AKP government's statements about Syria are, of course, not independent of BMENA. On the contrary, they are in line with it.

What is BMENA?

BMENA, initiated with the invasion of Iraq, is the American imperialist project to subjugate 22 countries in the Middle East and North Africa, integrating them into the capitalist market. The methods vary from country to country, ranging from military invasion to economic sanctions.

*The mission of the Erdoğan government in this project was previously outlined. Let's briefly reiterate it. The first goal is to shape a 'Moderate Islamic State' and set an example for the countries in the Middle East. In other words, it aims to curb anti-American radical Islamism on a political level and shape pro-American governments. On this issue, Erdoğan frequently delivers speeches about how Turkey is governed with both **"Islam and democracy"** in tandem, which aligns with this objective. On the economic front, the goal is to implement market economies in these countries. The most recent example of this was his speech at the Arab Economic Forum in Beirut on 16 June. His entire speech was dedicated to market economies and privatisations, encouraging Arab countries to follow suit.*

Tayyip's Third Duty: Facilitating U.S. Monopolies and Business Interests

Of course, all the directives of American imperialism are aimed at monopolies taking control of global markets. However, there were also direct economic directives given.

First, there was the "legal solution" for Cargill, the monopoly on sweeteners, to build a factory on agricultural land in Bursa. You can read this as resolving Cargill's issues by violating local laws. Erdoğan responded by saying, "We are trying to remove the obstacles" in the face of this "request."

This was not the only issue. There were also numerous other directives from imperialist monopolies, such as lowering high import taxes on agricultural products, meeting the demands of American pharmaceutical monopolies regarding data privileges, lifting restrictions on meat imports, solving problems for U.S. energy companies, and so on. Erdoğan took on many of these tasks. Of course, the cost of all these will fall on the shoulders of Turkish workers. For example, fulfilling the demands to lower import taxes on agriculture and meat imports would deal a blow to the farmers and livestock workers.

AKP Tries to Hide Its Disgrace While the World Talks About It

Two main points stand out in the news published about trip, AKP's statements, and the leaked information. The first is the concealment of what promises were made, and the second is the covering up of how Turkey is being subjected to disgrace and humiliation.

Despite the AKP government and its collaborators trying to hide this disgrace, the world press continues to report on it in their articles and columns.

For example, on 10 June, the columnist for Berliner Zeitung, Gunter Seufert, wrote: "Erdoğan, who went to the U.S. at the cost of humiliation, made a series of promises to get his sins forgiven. Despite this, the benefits of his U.S. visit to Turkey were very minimal."

Seufert noted that Erdoğan made political promises, saying: "Turkey is pursuing the same goals as Washington in the Middle East and Asia. Henceforth, it will continue cooperation in all areas."

Of course, for a government whose sole concern is to protect its position and strengthen itself in internal power struggles by relying on American imperialism, national honour, concessions made, and the country sold are of no value.

Hostility Toward the People in the "Middle East and Asia Target"

Turkey has no shared goals with American imperialism in the Middle East and Asia. At best, it serves as a subcontractor and a gendarme for American imperialism's interests. Those who tell the "leader country" fairy tales are the ones trying to cover up the collaboration with BMENA.

So now, is Turkey aiming to take control of the energy resources and markets of the Middle East and Asia? America wants this; what common goal is being spoken of? If there is a common goal, it is the removal of obstacles to the pro-American world order. Hasn't the Turkish oligarchy been doing this for decades by waging war against its own people, executing revolutionaries?

Serving American policies in the Middle East and Asia is a crime against all the peoples of these regions. It is enmity. Tomorrow, when they ask, "Why don't they like us?" the answer lies in these collaborative policies. You might delay the truth for a while under the guise of an "Islamist government", with manoeuvres like, "We are actually opposing the U.S., we advocate for change from within, not from the outside." But the "common goal" they talk about, which American policies bring pain, tears, and exploitation to every country they enter, cannot be hidden and will inevitably be revealed. Iraq, right next door, is an example. Was democracy brought there, or was it occupation, blood, plunder, and destruction? These are questions that don't even require debate.

But even in the face of such stark truths, the ruling classes continue to impose their lies. They don't care if anyone believes them; in other words, they are not searching for legitimacy in the classical sense. Brutality and arrogance are what matter.

The AKP government cannot hide its collaborationist crime behind terms like "strategic cooperation." It cannot present a relationship where the strategy is determined in the White House, and the task of cooperation falls on Turkey as a natural relationship between the two countries.

While Erdoğan strives to declare millions of people "marginal", the only thought in his mind is how to please the U.S. Watch, you will continue to see this in every step he takes from now on. Because what does the U.S., which doesn't trust Erdoğan's words, say? "We will follow his actions!" What a great dishonour!

(Yürüyüş, 19 June 2005, Issue 5, Pages: 14, 15, 16)

Those Who Do Not Know Their Friends and Enemies Cannot Escape Slavery!

Since the early 1990s, a massive disinformation campaign about the role and nature of imperialism in the world has been conducted. Among leftists, various patriotic forces, and broad masses of people, ambiguities and distorted understandings on this topic have emerged. Upon these distortions, ideas such as the impossibility of any country achieving independence have been built. The most dangerous among these notions about imperialism is the claim that imperialism has changed—that the imperialism, known until that time as the architect of coups, the main supporter of fascist dictatorships, and the patron of reactionary regimes, now intervenes in other countries based on "human rights and democracy". The acceptance of this theory automatically left the masses passive in the face of imperialist interventions. This idea was the most dangerous because it would turn many parts of the world into a playground where imperialism could act freely.

Imperialism has shown on many occasions in recent years that it has not "changed, "but the ambiguities and distortions about imperialism created during that process—and perpetuated by various segments of the left—remain factors that weaken anti-imperialist sentiments and struggles among the people. That is why we persistently continue to explain imperialism. That is why we are recounting the story of an imperialist power like the United States, which has left no square metre of the earth without bloodshed or tears.

Explaining that the U.S. is an enemy, showing our people who their friends and enemies are, is to indicate the path to liberation. Peoples who cannot recognise their friends and enemies cannot escape slavery! Those who see the U.S. as an ally or a force to democratize the Middle East must know this: There is not a single example where the U.S., through its interventions of over half a century in the Middle East, has brought peace, democracy, stability, or prosperity to any country or people. On the contrary, there are countless examples of the opposite. In this issue of Yürüyüş, you will find a summary of the bloody history of the U.S. in the Middle East. This history tells us only one thing: All progressive, patriotic, revolutionary, and socialist forces in the region must unite around the policy of "U.S., Hands Off the Middle East! "No force that stands with the people can cooperate with the U.S. for any reason; it cannot normalize indifference to it as a policy. Neither, as some "nationalists" have done, can the U.S. be seen as a "strategic ally" if it grants permission for operations against the PKK, nor can it be ignored as it protects some while oppressing others. Every inconsistency and every calculation or policy that does not openly confront imperialism strengthens the U.S. The U.S. is the enemy of the people. This is indisputable. Those who stand with the people must stand against the U.S. National and class liberation of the people also depends on this stance.

Since the 1940s, our country has been ruled by collaborators. Every government that has come to power has, in almost every period, relied on the U.S. —and to some extent European imperialism—for economic and military policies, shaping their strategies within the framework dictated by these powers. This has continued for nearly half a century. The only ally of imperialism in our country has been the oligarchic factions. However, during the historical period we are discussing—the 1990s—"allied" forces also emerged from among the "opposition". Some opposition groups, even if they did not consider the U.S. an ally, adopted a stance of not opposing imperialism. Collaborationism became more acceptable and legitimate than ever during this process.

We will reverse this process. Our political stance, which rejects all forms of reconciliation with imperialism, is the only policy that will ultimately prove to be correct. We are confident of this. Eventually, the masses—all factions bearing nationalist, patriotic, and anti-imperialist sentiments to some extent—will see that the single truth about imperialism is what revolutionaries have stated from the beginning. The first and foremost realisation must be this: ***No people can be liberated by relying on or collaborating with imperialism.*** *No nation's future can be built on the extermination and occupation of other nations.*

The invasion of Iraq brought a multidimensional and grave example of collaborationism right to our doorstep. The collaborationism embodied by the Barzani-Talabani line became so appealing to imperialists that they sought and encouraged similar forces worldwide. Various forces tried to justify this

collaboration. However, no theory or justification can legitimise such collaboration. The PKK has started criticizing the policies of Barzani and Talabani today because they approved cross-border operations. However, the PKK never criticised Barzani's collaboration with the U.S.; on the contrary, it deemed it "natural". Such collaboration inevitably leads to these and similar outcomes. Those who establish a regime under the U.S. umbrella are bound to do everything the U.S. demands to maintain that regime.

At this point, it is essential that, first and foremost, the Kurdish nationalist movement in our country, as well as those who attempt to legitimise the Barzani-Talabani line as the Right to Self-Determination of Nations, and those working on the so-called Arab Spring, draw lessons from this situation. The second point that needs to be recognised is this: ***Those who remain trapped within the circle of imperialism cannot develop sound policies.*** *Their stance is determined by imperialism. As long as imperialism fully or partially integrates them into its system, they will have no problem with it. At this stage, it is easy to claim, "We have no opposition to the United States". But the real issue lies exactly here.*

Everyone who claims to be on the side of the people—progressive, democratic, patriotic—must have, and indeed must cultivate, a conflict with the United States and all imperialist forces. It is necessary to have contradictions and a struggle against all forms of imperialism.

Look at the distortions collaborationism creates: Today, there is talk of Turkey's occupation of Northern Iraq within the framework of cross-border operations. However, it is almost as if the fact that Northern Iraq is already under occupation is forgotten. In reality, it is not forgotten; there exists a perspective that regards Iraq as "independent". Consequently, while the Peshmerga are seen as rightfully preparing to resist the attacks of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), the fact that these same Peshmerga remain indifferent to the occupation by U.S. imperialism is not even brought up. While opposing the oligarchy's occupation, they view the presence of American imperialism there as legitimate. No, it has no legitimacy whatsoever. Neither the oligarchy nor America has any legitimate grounds for being in Northern Iraq.

All perspectives that regard this presence as legitimate are the perspectives we challenge. A perspective that approves of imperialism, endorses the colonisation of nations by imperialism, and justifies occupations and massacres—essentially allowing oppression of other peoples for narrow national or group interests—cannot be accepted and must be condemned.

Can this be called democracy? Can movements advocating such policies have any progressive aspect? Is such a definition of progressiveness even possible? In our view, there is no definition of democracy or progressiveness that involves saying, "Go kill other people". There cannot be. Those who attempt to present such policies to us as progressiveness or democracy are, we assert, guilty of political hypocrisy.

The Kurdish nationalist press writes today: "The alignment of the Kurds with the U.S.-Turkey plan is a horrific thing and the suicide of the Kurdish people". This is true and aligns with what we have said from the beginning. However, those who see the Kurds' alignment with the U.S.-Turkey plan as horrific failed to oppose the Kurds' alignment with the U.S.-British plan in Iraq in the same way. Is the U.S.-Turkey plan worse or better than the U.S.-British plan? Are peoples and progressive, patriotic organisations forced to choose between such options? Once such choices begin, the meaning of independence, democracy, progressivism, imperialism, and all related concepts starts to distort, and policies begin to deviate.

Any "state-building" initiative trapped within the borders drawn by imperialism and dependent on imperialism is meaningless, whether it claims independence or not. The independence referred to here is at best the pseudo-independence of neo-colonialism, which cannot be considered true independence, the right of nations to self-determination, or democratisation.

We reiterate that without liberation from imperialism, there can be no talk of solving national issues or achieving democracy. Those who claim to defend democracy cannot align themselves with Europe or the U.S. Defending independence and democracy means positioning oneself within an anti-imperialist front. It means rejecting and delegitimising imperialist interventions. Advocating for the people's

liberation means opposing all forms of imperialist exploitation and domination, including the American empire.

(Yürüyüş, 25 November 2007, Issue: 132, Pages: 4–5)

The Common Enemy is American Imperialism.
BECAUSE in every drop of blood shed, in every tear shed, the hands of the U.S. and its collaborators are present.

*The intervention of American imperialism in the Middle East began on 5 January 1957, with the declaration of the famous Eisenhower Doctrine by U.S. President Eisenhower. According to Eisenhower's doctrine, American imperialism aimed to establish dominance in the Middle East, where the influence of the French and British was weakening. The doctrine introduced the concept of "**indirect aggression**" to rescue collaborators weakened by rising popular movements and prevent neo-colonial territories from escaping their control.*

*Another significant aspect of the doctrine was that the two main countries supporting its implementation would be **Israel** and **Turkey**. Thus, as in the later BMENA, these two countries played critical roles as subordinates and enforcers in America's first Middle Eastern project.*

Policies such as increasing the number of military bases and outposts in the Middle East and the establishment of the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO) were products of this approach. These pacts and agreements shaped the collaborator forces that the U.S. relied upon to dominate the Middle East.

The colonisation of the Middle East by imperialists dates back to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. As the empire began to decline, the territories under its control increasingly fell under the dominance of imperialist powers. The first imperialist powers to dominate the Middle East were France and Britain, victorious in Partition[8] War I. During this period, various agreements were signed. France, claiming to protect non-Muslim minorities in the Middle East, legitimised its presence through treaties and established control over Syria and Lebanon. Through collaborators in Lebanon, they started exporting capital to the Middle East.

The British, in addition to establishing dominance in Egypt, facilitated the creation of the state of Israel in Palestine as a tool against people of the Middle East. However, the imperialist penetration of the Middle East also led to the rise of Arab nationalist anti-imperialist movements. For instance, in Egypt, the movement led by Nasser ended the rule of British collaborators. Similarly, anti-imperialist governments were established in countries like Syria, Iraq, and Libya.

This process marked the decline of French and British influence in the Middle East. Eisenhower's Doctrine was formulated to fill the power vacuum left by the weakening of these powers after World War II. The failure of the 1956 Suez Canal occupation by the French and British imperialists, which forced their withdrawal, symbolized their acceptance of transferring regional dominance to U.S. imperialism.

In response to independence struggles, the U.S. organised coups to establish and strengthen collaborative regimes in the Middle East.

The first target of U.S. imperialism in the region was the forces fighting against the imperialist collaborators, the Phalangists, in Lebanon.

The U.S. landed marines in Lebanon, and, at the same time, the British dropped paratroopers in Jordan via Cyprus. This demonstrated that imperialism would not tolerate any form of anti-imperialist development in the Middle East, regardless of its nature, and justified using all means, including ignoring international laws and openly attacking.

[8] The so called "World" Wars I and II were simply wars of imperialist partition of the land and resources and the conflict amongst themselves cost lives of millions of people.

In 1958, the U.S. utilised the Incirlik Air Base for its military operations in Lebanon. In Iran, after the nationalisation of oil under the nationalist policies of Mossadegh, who prioritized Iran's national interests, he was overthrown by a CIA-orchestrated coup and replaced by the Shah's regime.

A similar nationalisation occurred in Egypt in 1956, when the Nasser administration nationalized the Suez Canal. In response, British and French imperialists, along with Israel, attempted an invasion. However, this effort failed, partly due to Soviet intervention. Subsequently, the U.S. tried to initiate a coup in Egypt in April 1957, but this also failed.

In 1962, the U.S., through the CIA, supported a coup by the Ba'ath Party in Iraq, which resulted in the deaths of 10, 000 opponents.

In Turkey, the military coups of 12 March 1971, and 12 September 1980, orchestrated by U.S. imperialism, aimed to strengthen the power of collaborative monopolies, suppress revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles through terror, and establish military-fascist regimes.

On 12 March 1971, the army, under the control of the collaborative monopolistic bourgeoisie, overthrew the Süleyman Demirel government and seized power. Acting on the direct instructions of U.S. imperialism, it declared war on the people of Turkey. Revolutionaries, patriots, intellectuals, and workers were killed, tortured, and imprisoned. Democratic organisations were shut down or rendered inoperative.

The leaders of armed revolutionary movements in Turkey—THKP-C, THKO, and TKP(ML)—were executed.

The 12 September 1980, Fascist Coup followed March 12. Once again, the oligarchic government allied with U.S. imperialism found it increasingly difficult to govern through parliamentary means due to crises and the rising revolutionary struggle. To implement the economic and social programmes of imperialism and its collaborating monopolies, the need arose for a military fascist regime. The collaborating military intervened and seized control of the administration.

A wave of severe terror was unleashed against revolutionaries, democrats, and anti-imperialist forces, institutionalizing open fascism in the country. The institutions of open fascism became an inseparable part of governance in Turkey starting from 12 September 1980.

On 31 January 1955, Turkey's pro-American government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, travelled to Baghdad to sign a pact agreement with Nuri Said, the Prime Minister of the pro-American and pro-British Iraqi government. This agreement became known as the Baghdad Pact in history.

The pact aimed to prevent the growth of anti-imperialist movements and forces opposing American imperialism, particularly in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Its objective was to establish regimes aligned with the interests of American imperialism in these countries and, more broadly, throughout the Middle East, employing military force if necessary.

The United Kingdom joined the Baghdad Pact on 4 April 1955, followed by Pakistan on 23 September 1955, and Iran on 3 November 1955.

However, in 1958, the "Young Officers" coup in Iraq overthrew the American-aligned Prime Minister Nuri Said and King Faisal. Iraq exited the Baghdad Pact, leading to its disintegration. The remaining countries (Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan) formed CENTO, which effectively ended with the Iranian Revolution in 1979.

In July 1957, Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion secretly visited Ankara and agreed with Menderes' government to strengthen cooperation against Syria and the Arabs. By 1995, the relationship between Turkey and Israel became more open, actively serving U.S. interests in the Middle East.

The U.S. also established regional military forces to protect its policies, with Israel and Turkey being at the forefront. Both countries became major recipients of U.S. arms, furthering militarisation in the region.

Throughout the world, U.S. imperialism has established pacts for its client states to use as needed, ensuring their internal cohesion and serving its broader interests. In the Middle East, one such pact aimed at waging war against the peoples was the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), also known as CCRPE. This pact was formed in 1981 by the Gulf countries, excluding Iran.

Another U.S.-led operation involved bringing Egypt and Israel together at Camp David, near Washington, to forge a cooperation agreement aimed at suppressing the Palestinian resistance. According to the agreement, the Gaza Strip would be granted autonomy under Egypt, and the West Bank would receive limited self-governance under Jordan. A regional administration, linked to Egypt and Jordan, would be established to end the Palestinian resistance.

This agreement was met with days of protests by the Palestinian people. It resulted in some limited improvements in relations between Egypt and Israel but failed to be implemented as a means of dismantling the Palestinian resistance.

Military Forces Established and Arms Race Fuelled in the Region

U.S. imperialism has created regional military forces in the Middle East to implement its policies and protect its interests.

Israel and Turkey are the leading actors among these forces. The armies of both countries have served as markets for U.S. arms and have been used for U.S. interests in the region.

With the support of U.S. imperialism, Israel has become a significant military power in the Middle East, reaching a level of military equipment incomparable to that of other regional countries. Furthermore, Israel has been turned into a country that produces and exports weapons under U.S. control. It sells weapons to many countries worldwide, particularly in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Israel plays a crucial role in the Middle East arms race. Its armed forces have significantly influenced many Arab countries to arm themselves against Israeli aggression.

Kuwait's arms expenditures after the Gulf War are also striking. Kuwait signed defence cooperation agreements with several imperialist countries, primarily the U.S., expanded its army, and equipped it with advanced weapons. It has become one of the U.S.'s military forces in the region. The same applies to countries like Oman, Jordan, Qatar, Bahrain, and the UAE.

The U.S. is the leading imperialist country selling the most arms to the Middle East. To profit from arms sales and create dependent military forces, it has turned the Middle East into an arms depot, initiating and fuelling an arms race. It has provoked tensions, conflicts, and wars among countries, increasing the demand for weapons.

During the period 1973–78, 51% of the Middle East arms market was controlled by the U.S., rising to 62% between 1979–83.

Under the influence of imperialist policies led by the U.S., military expenditures in the Middle East increased from $4 billion to $68 billion by 1983 and to $150 billion immediately after the "Gulf Crisis"in 1992.

Saudi Arabia is one of the rapidly militarizing countries in the Middle East, with U.S. imperialism playing a decisive role in its armament.

The U.S. has established itself in the Middle East in military, economic, and political fields. Apart from its allies like Turkey and Israel, it has militarized the region with bases directly occupied by its military forces.

Some of these bases are in Turkey, such as Adana-Incirlik, Malatya-Erhaç, Diyarbakir-Pirinçlik, Yalova-Karamürsel, Muş, and Batman. Besides these, it has numerous bases in the Middle East, continuously increasing their numbers.

During recent events, such as the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, these bases and warships docking at the ports of collaborating countries were extensively used. For instance, during the occupation of Iraq, thousands of flights took off from Turkey's Incirlik Base to bomb Iraq, as confirmed by Turkish officials.

The U.S. has established military bases in almost every country in the region, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and other Gulf countries except Iran.

One of the fundamental goals of U.S. imperialist policies in the Middle East has been to suppress Palestinian resistance. Thus, many of its attacks have targeted Palestine, and regional wars have been fought either alongside or against imperialism under the framework of Palestine's struggle.

The September 1970 massacre, known as the "Black September Massacre, "saw over 10, 000 Palestinians killed when Jordan's collaborating regime attacked refugee camps and Palestinian guerrilla forces. Despite facing resistance, Jordan received support and advanced weaponry from U.S. imperialism via Israel.

Similar atrocities followed in subsequent years, including:

- *The 1967 Six-Day War, where Israel occupied territories such as East Jerusalem, the Sinai Peninsula, and the West Bank.*
- *The 1982 bombing of Palestinian Liberation Organisation camps in Southern Lebanon, killing 2, 000 Palestinians.*
- *The 1986 bombing of Libya for resisting imperialism.*
- *The 1991 bombing of Iraq, which killed 100, 000 Iraqis during a 42-day war.*
- *The U.S. attack on Iraq continued in the form of bombings and an embargo. The embargo caused the deaths of 1.5 million Iraqis, including half a million children.*

  Due to the embargo, Iraq's healthcare spending resources shrank by 95% between 1987 and 1995. Annual spending on medications dropped from $360 million to $33 million. In March 1998, 5, 255 children under the age of five lost their lives. During the same month, 2, 175 individuals over the age of 50 also died.
- *On 16 December 1998, hundreds of missiles were rained down on the Iraqi people by U.S. imperialism.*

The Region's Oil Wealth Versus the Poverty of its People

Despite being the world's richest region in oil and natural gas production, the Middle East's people live in poverty.

In 1999, the Middle East supplied 75% of Japan's oil needs, 50% of Europe's, and 20% of the U.S.'s, highlighting the region's immense oil wealth.

Countries such as Iran, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates not only produce oil and natural gas but also extract various other valuable minerals. However, this wealth has not translated into improved living conditions for the people of the region.

The primary culprit for this disparity is U.S. imperialism and the collaborators it has brought to power. To seize the region's wealth, the U.S. has utilised every means available, including massacres, occupations, fostering collaboration, and pitting nations against one another. While the peoples of the Middle East face hunger, poverty, and death amidst this wealth, American corporations have filled their coffers.

For example, when 1.5 million Iraqis lost their lives due to the U.S. embargo on Iraq, a striking statement by then-U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright revealed the true nature of U.S. imperialism. When asked, ***"We have heard that half a million children have died in Iraq. That's more children than died in Hiroshima. Is the price worth it? "****, her response was chilling:* ***"It is a hard decision. But we think the price is worth it."***

This answer highlights the insatiable greed of imperialism for exploitation and seizing the wealth of nations. Not only half a million children but the entire world's populations could be sacrificed in the pursuit of such ambitions.

The Green Belt Project and U.S. Support for Reactionary Forces

Today, U.S. imperialism appears to be opposing reactionary Islamist regimes under the guise of bringing democracy to the Middle East. However, these very forces were supported by U.S. imperialism in the 1970s and 1980s as part of its strategy to encircle the socialist Soviet Union.

*For instance, the Taliban of today was once supported by the U.S. to counter the USSR. At that time, the greatest threat to U.S. interests was perceived as "**communism**", which indeed was a genuine alternative to the exploitative imperialist order.*

During this period, Islamism was seen as a counterforce to the growth of socialism and anti-imperialist struggles in Middle Eastern countries. U.S. imperialism ignored the oppression of peoples under reactionary, religious regimes and instead supported such governments, viewing their repressive tactics as barriers to socialist, progressive, and revolutionary ideas.

*This strategy was known as the **Green Belt** Project, so named because it aimed to encircle the socialist Soviet Union from the south with Islamist states.*

From the "Green Belt" to the "BMENA"

While U.S. imperialism's earlier strategy involved supporting reactionary religious powers against socialism, today it speaks of combating Islamist dictatorships.

The reality, however, is that U.S. imperialism's rhetoric about freeing peoples and opposing dictatorships is a facade. The invasion of Afghanistan in 2002 and Iraq in 2003, which resulted in the deaths of millions, the displacement of millions more, and widespread torture of civilians, clearly demonstrates that democracy is merely a pretence for U.S. imperialism.

The groundwork for the U.S. occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq traces back to the "New World Order" policies of the early 1990s. With the socialist countries no longer posing an obstacle to imperialism's dominance, the U.S. sought to establish itself as the sole global power. This policy aimed to seize the Middle East's underground resources, dominate its markets, and address future crises by consolidating control over the region's wealth.

The regional name for this "New World Order" in the Middle East became the BMENA. This project was designed by U.S. imperialism to establish dominance in the Middle East.

The 11 September 2001, attacks on the Twin Towers in the U.S. created an opportunity for U.S. imperialism to advance its agenda. Under the guise of combating terrorism, the U.S. declared progressive, revolutionary, and socialist countries, as well as Islamic organisations and nations that opposed imperialism, as "terrorist states and organisations." This rhetoric was used to justify its occupations.

However, it soon became clear that terrorism was merely a pretext. The real motives behind these invasions were to seize oil and other resources, reshape the region's political map, and establish U.S. hegemony in the Middle East.

Today, the people of the Middle East are no longer unaware of the reality of U.S. imperialism. Its hostile, exploitative nature has become evident to everyone.

(Yürüyüş, Issue: 132, Pages: 6-7-8-9)

"Liberation with America! "
Every Drop of Blood, Every Tear is Tainted by the Hands of the U.S. and Its Collaborators.

The Middle East is a region where truth and lies, right and wrong, are frequently intermingled. However, this confusion is primarily a construct of bourgeois propaganda, often resonating with oppressed and uninformed masses. From a class perspective, the roles and motives of players in the region are not as ambiguous as they may appear.

Yet, the actual chaos and inversion of values have intensified in recent years. Everything in the Middle East seems to be turning upside down. A century-old bandit now roams the region as a supposed saviour. An imperialist power, drenched in the blood of nations and notorious for suppressing democracy worldwide, suddenly presents itself in the Middle East as a champion of democracy.

Are our long-held beliefs about imperialism wrong? Or are the claims regarding U.S. intentions in the Middle East nothing but fabrications?

The claim is that the U.S. intervenes in Middle Eastern nations to democratize them. The claim is that Saddam Hussein's dictatorship was toppled by U.S. intervention to establish a "democratic Iraq". The claim is that Baghdad was freed from tyranny, Mosul and Kirkuk were liberated, and the chains binding the people were broken.

If these claims are true, then perhaps nations should call upon imperialism to save them. Why fight, endure hardships, or pay heavy prices? Why struggle to build organisations and movements? Just call the U.S., and it will handle the rest. Liberation, democracy, self-determination, freedom—everything you desire, except for independence, which the "saviour" conveniently omits.

If these claims are true, then let the people call on imperialism to "come and save us." Why go through so many struggles? Why endure so much hardship and pay such great prices? Why bother with organisations and actions? Just invite the U.S., and it will be done.

If it's liberation, democracy, the right of nations to self-determination, or freedom that you want... the U.S. will give you everything. Except for independence, of course—no one's perfect, right? You'll have to overlook the fact that our saviour won't give us that.

A new "strategy"? A new kind of "leftism"?

"Come save us." Yes, no need for other strategies, tactics, or policies. The strategy and tactic are simply this: "Oh, U.S., come save us."

Barzani and Talabani are doing just that. The KLA in Kosovo did it. The same happened in East Timor.

They invite the U.S., which responds by dividing, exploiting, and claiming, "There, now you're free."

Imperialist policies are starkly displayed, and collaborators carry out their roles shamelessly. Despite such blatant exploitation, some continue to argue that U.S. intervention can lead to democratisation or the realisation of the right to self-determination. Under the shadow of U.S. tanks, myths of "liberated Mosul" or "a democratic Iraq" persist.

Fundamental concepts like class struggle, imperialism, and collaborationism have been twisted or ignored. Figures like Abdullah Gül, a pro-U.S. political leader in Turkey, argued that "the U.S. seeks to democratise the Middle East". Such claims are unsurprising coming from those aligned with imperialist agendas.

However, it is disheartening to hear similar rhetoric from Kurdish nationalists and some leftist circles.

But in reality, it seems that they haven't even been able to "convince" themselves.

Look, just a few years ago, those who headlined that the U.S. "liberated Mosul, "and those who tried to "convince" the oligarchy to "democratise" with the U.S. stick, are now writing that the U.S., within the framework of BMENA, intends to make the Kurds a key force of imperialist politics, aiming to transform them into a new Israel, replacing the old one that has lost its position.

It was clear yesterday that the U.S. policies were imperialist and pursued aggressive and expansionist strategies. But some people stubbornly refused to see it.

On the contrary, for example, they said: "The U.S. not only wants to change the regime in Iraq, but also in Syria and Iran. So, who are the forces that it can at least cooperate with in both Syria and Iran for a period of time? It's us."(Cemil Bayık, Yeni Özgür Gündem, 20 August 2003)

Here is yet another approach that overturns the "alphabet of class struggle"; can a patriot, an activist, or a socialist say such things?

Can a patriot say, "We don't oppose what the U.S. wants to do in the region"?

These were said in Iraq, and they were said in our country as well. But what we want to highlight here is that when these words were spoken, these ideas and policies were seen as legitimate within the "left."

Aspiring to play the same role as Barzani and Talabani was seen not only as legitimate but even as a recognition of the right of nations to self-determination.

One power stands up and says, "Oh, imperialism, come and determine my fate! "The imperialist arrives with its aircraft carriers, tanks, and guns. It destroys, burns, and massacres other peoples, and then turns to the one who called for help and says, "Okay, now you are free as a nation! "Our "socialists" here then stand up and say, "This is a nation's right to self-determination; no one can question it."

The debate ends here.

Or rather, from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, it ends. Because from this point on, it becomes impossible to discuss or evaluate these policies within Marxism-Leninism.

The essence of collaboration and imperialism, as remembered, is that under U.S. leadership, NATO forces bombed Yugoslavia for 78 days in 1999, claiming it was to "stop the Serb massacre in Kosovo." Immediately after, imperialist occupation began in the region. The imperialists set up their KFOR forces and settled in Kosovo. A collaborator group, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), cheered on the streets for the imperialists.

The occupiers were welcomed in both Kosovo and Northern Iraq with applause. In one, it was the KLA, in the other, the KDP and PUK.

The KLA was an Albanian nationalist group, supported and armed by the U.S. Many of its militia members wore uniforms adorned with the U.S. flag alongside their national flags. Similarly, in Northern Iraq, the Kurdistan flag flew side by side with the U.S. flag, and there were pictures of Kurdish nationalist leaders arm in arm with U.S. generals.

In East Timor, conflicts were raging with full force. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright made an ultimatum: "Either Indonesia controls the situation, or it approves of international intervention". The invasion force was already ready under the umbrella of the UN. Eventually, the U.S. declared it would intervene to "prevent the massacre" and "ensure stability on the island."

But some manoeuvring was necessary for the legitimacy of the intervention. This role was taken by Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timor Independence Front (Fretilin). Gusmao called for "the deployment of military forces under the leadership of the United Nations."

Gusmao saw the solution in imperialist intervention. While issuing the above invitation, he didn't forget to add that "East Timor could be an industrial investment and financial centre for the Asia-Pacific region" and that they "were thinking about providing Panama-style advantages."

These words say it all, don't they?

The message is clear: "Come save us! "

In return for saving, the imperialists are entitled to seize and plunder all the country's resources—both underground and aboveground. This is inherent in imperialist interventionism.

Kurdish nationalism, along with the U.S., the Turkish oligarchy, and the collaborating KDP and PUK, seem to be waking up to the reality of the encirclement they face.

"They say the U.S., with this plan, aims to impose 'democracy' on the region under the framework of BMENA and reshape the Middle East in accordance with its imperialist hegemony. It aims to eliminate anti-imperialist, socialist, and popular movements, and countries that oppose and work against it, or who do not surrender to its military and political power." But didn't this same movement say, "We are not saying anything about what the U.S. has planned for the region"? What meaning could there be in writing the above lines without first discussing and condemning this policy? How lasting can those ideas be?

Talabani and Barzani have now agreed to a limited "operation" against the PKK. There is nothing surprising or unexpected about this. For collaborators, it is not their people that matter, but U.S. policy determines their actions... Those who are saved by America must bow to its will. That's all.

From Barzani's perspective, anything that threatens the current "Kurdish statehood" is betrayal of the Kurdish nation. Because he considers himself "saved". And anyone who considers Northern Iraq saved and claims the Kurdish people there are exercising their right to self-determination must, if they are to remain consistent, accept and even support Barzani and Talabani's policies, which they view as the "will of the nation."

Yes, this is what it means to be saved by America. Being saved by America brings people, organisations, and nations face to face with deadlocks, contradictions, betrayals, and bankruptcies.

(Yürüyüş, 25 November 2007, Issue: 132, Pages: 10-11)

We Must Raise the Banner of Independence Against National Dishonour

In the past two weeks, our people have witnessed a series of shameful scenes.

The first was at the White House in the United States. Ministers and generals of the Republic of Turkey were openly humiliated by the President of the United States. Perhaps these ministers and generals, patted on the back, were proud to receive the praise of a master, but our people watched these as scenes of disgrace.

Another disgraceful scene occurred last week in our country. The President and Prime Minister of this nation came close to prostrating themselves before a reactionary, American-collaborator king.

The era of neo-colonialism in our country is a shameful period in terms of national honour and pride. It has been this way since the 1940s. Each collaborationist government has deepened the humiliation and disgrace. Under the AKP government, the boundaries of national degradation have been completely removed. For example, the advisor of the Prime Minister could say to the United States, "Don't sweep him away, use him!" Meanwhile, the Prime Minister and the President begged for dollars in front of the Saudi King as if they were children expecting holiday pocket money. Even worse, this has now become "normal."

The kings of neo-colonialism, starting with the U.S., are the leaders of imperialist countries, the IMF, the World Bank, and imperialist monopolies. Neocolonialism is the history of oligarchic rulers bowing before dollars. What hasn't been done for loans and grants? Just last week, documents were published in a newspaper revealing how Erbakan grovelled for a few million dollars before kings. If the records of decades of those who have ruled this country and dictated over the people were to be uncovered, it would be seen that none of them were different from Erbakan's grovelling.

Collaborationist lackeys have fabricated stories of "pounding the table" to hide this truth. Those who submit to imperialism abroad come back and spin tales of how they "pounded their fists on Carter's table." That Prime Minister in the story was Demirel. Interestingly, this tradition continues today. Erdoğan spreads similar myths through the media. While serving the U.S. and Israel, they give a few statements pretending to criticise them. Their real aim is to let themselves be used, expecting dollars and political support in return.

Is our country, our people, doomed to be governed by such national dishonour? We firmly say, "No!" We are not condemned to this national disgrace or to these leaders who lack national pride and thought. The fundamental question is how to rid ourselves of them. Neither parliament nor appeals to these leaders can change this picture. The only way to end this national dishonour is to fight for independence.

Since the 1940s, as our country has been turned into a neo-colony, imperialism has also assigned certain roles to us. Within this framework, Turkey became the gendarme of imperialism in the Middle East and one of the protectors against developing anti-imperialist popular movements. The dream of becoming a "Little America" led to the voluntary acceptance of being imperialism's forward base in the region.

The first to assume this mission was the Prime Minister of the time, Adnan Menderes. He embraced this role so much that, with his excessively loyal stance, he became the first characteristic example of servitude to imperialism. His successors, including Demirel, Çiller, Özal, and Erdoğan, have continued this servitude to this day. This mission remains valid under the framework of BMENA.

During the conditions of the time when the socialist system existed, imperialism brought forward the idea of creating a military pact to secure the Middle East region, aiming to ***"encircle the Soviets from the south and prevent anti-imperialist developments."*** *One of the members of the Baghdad Pact, established in 1955 with the participation of the Iraqi monarchy, reactionary governments in power in Iran and Pakistan, was the fascist, collaborationist government of Turkey.*

Later, imperialism introduced the "Green Belt" strategy against socialism and national liberation movements. The Turkish oligarchy took on direct and indirect roles in this project as well. Beyond that, in every progressive development in the Middle East, the oligarchy sought to intervene in the region on behalf of imperialism, with tanks and artillery.

In short, from the 1940s to 2007, the Turkish oligarchy consistently served imperialism in the region.

U.S. imperialism continues to advance step by step with BMENA. The Iraqi resistance has undoubtedly slowed the reckless global occupation plans of the U.S., but the plans persist in other countries. For this, the U.S. has divided regional countries and organisations into "those to use" and "those to destroy." The AKP is among the foremost of "those to use."

The AKP's collaboration is so extreme that even the slightest threat from U.S. imperialism sends them into panic. To continue their governance, they know they must maintain their collaboration with the U.S. BMENA is an updated version of the process that turned our country into a neo-colony, from the Marshall Plan to the Truman Doctrine. Imperialist occupation is being deepened with new methods of capital and imperialism, and new roles are being assigned to our country in the Middle East, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. Those who support BMENA support American hegemony.

While the AKP is mired in such collaboration, those who still insist on seeing the General Staff as a guarantee of "nationalism" are politically blind. When the U.S. introduced this plan, called BMENA, in 2004, the General Staff made a statement saying, "The U.S. must lead the world in combating global terrorism… However, this must be done cooperatively, not alone. The U.S. must succeed in Iraq, as its failure would lead to chaos, which would negatively affect Turkey." The TSK (Turkish Armed Forces) general continues:

"BMENA is a project aimed at eliminating the causes of terrorism and ensuring the security of energy resources in the region; therefore, we support it. The solution path can only be paved by the synergy of the shared values, military, economic, and political power of the United States and Europe."

These words were not spoken by an American general but by the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, General İlker Başbuğ.

The collaborationist and fascist positions of both the AKP and the General Staff are clear and indisputable. In this context, the struggle for independence and democracy in our country can only be led by revolutionaries and carried out by the people. Today, all progressive democratic forces must target American imperialism.

*We must raise the banner of independence against U.S. imperialism. Raising the banner of independence is imperative for both long-term and current challenges. As Mahir Çayan stated, imperialism is now much more visibly an "****internal phenomenon****." The growing anti-American sentiment must be channelled into revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle. There is now an imperialism that directly intervenes in domestic politics. These interventions, sometimes embodied in IMF directives, the EU process, or the U.S.'s Iraq policies, are increasingly fostering opposition to the EU and the U.S. in our country. Recently, this reaction has also been expressed, to varying degrees, in nationalist demonstrations predominantly targeting the Kurdish national movement.*

It is evident that the oligarchy has fuelled these chauvinist demonstrations. But when has the oligarchy ever refrained from stoking chauvinism? The masses have, in some way, begun to see the role of the U.S. in developments centred on the Kurdish issue. Even though this reaction is fundamentally regressive and contains elements of chauvinism, it is clear that there is an anti-U.S. sentiment within it. However, what is equally clear is that this sentiment is being manipulated by the state and chauvinism.

For this reason, in order to channel our people's "allergy to imperialism", which dates back to the 1920s, into a revolutionary struggle on an anti-imperialist basis, we must raise the flag of independence higher than ever before.

In a country filled with U.S.-NATO bases and imperialist companies, where governments and the military act as tools for imperialist policies from Afghanistan to Iraq, there can be no more urgent or decisive task than raising the anti-imperialist struggle. The historical responsibility of patriots and revolutionaries is to undertake this task without hesitation.

(Yürüyüş, 18 November 2007, Issue: 131, pp. 4-5)

Their Roles in BMENA is the Colonialist's Proxy

Last week, Israeli President Shimon Peres and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas visited Turkey for a meeting organised by the AKP and TOBB (Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey).

TOBB has been working with Palestine and Israel to establish an "industrial zone" in the West Bank. However, the more significant reason for Abbas and Peres's visit was the discussions on Palestine-Israel relations.

On November 11, Peres arrived in Turkey. After meeting with President Abdullah Gül, he addressed the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM). He also held talks with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister.

The emphasis during these intensive discussions was the appearance of "the Palestine-Israel issue being resolved" and "Turkey playing a mediating role in resolving the conflict." An impression was created as if Turkey were about to end a war that has lasted for decades!

However, the realities behind closed doors were different. On one side of the talks were Turkey, Israel, and, naturally, U.S. imperialism, and on the other side was Palestine. Turkey's role was not to mediate between the two countries but to pressure the Palestinians on behalf of imperialism and Zionism, executing the policies of BMENA.

*The talks with Peres included not only the issue of the occupation of Palestine but also policies regarding Iran and Israel's support for Turkey concerning the PKK. Peres stated, "**You, like us, are fighting terrorism**, "indicating mutual support for each other's wars against their peoples. While Peres said this, Abdullah Gül could not call out Israel's acts of terror, as Turkey's oligarchy and the AKP have labelled the legitimate Palestinian resistance as "terrorism."*

Preparations for the Annapolis Conference: Manoeuvres to Subdue Palestine

These talks in Turkey also aimed to prepare for the Annapolis meeting, pushing for the surrender of the decades-long Palestinian struggle.

The role imposed on President Abbas during these talks and at Annapolis is nothing but the betrayal of the Palestinian cause. If Abbas refuses to play this role, his only option is to withdraw from the discussions. Imperialism, led by the U.S., has initiated a process regarding the Palestinian issue and seeks to implement it by relying on Fatah, led by Abbas.

Next month, a Middle East conference will be held in Annapolis under U.S. sponsorship. The purpose of the meetings in Turkey was to ensure that the Palestinian side, represented by Abbas, was prepared to accept U.S. dictates.

It is evident that a policy seeking approval at the imperialist table has no chance of defending national interests or achieving results. In the imperialist solution to the Palestinian issue, there is no provision for determining Jerusalem's status in line with Palestinian demands, unconditional withdrawal from occupied territories, or the right of return for Palestinian refugees. The solution only serves imperialist interests.

Given the internal strife in Palestine, with the Abbas government relying entirely on imperialism and Zionism, it is apparent that it lacks the strength to defend its national interests. Consequently, the interests being imposed at the meeting are those of imperialist America and Israel.

Turkey's role is not limited to the Israel-Palestine issue; it is part of the U.S.'s BMENA.

Prime Minister Erdoğan's "private" meetings with Bush and subsequent talks in England about "further strengthening relations" can only be understood as an effort to solidify Turkey's role within BMENA framework.

Diplomatic Traffic Converging Around BMENA

Those visiting Turkey recently were not limited to Palestinians and Israelis. Around the same time, Saudi Arabian King Abdullah also visited Turkey. The king, known as both an Islamist and a pro-U.S. oil magnate, wields enough influence to bring Turkey's President and Prime Minister to his side for photo opportunities.

The official explanation for King Abdullah's visit—that he came to congratulate Abdullah Gül—was laughable. The joint declaration signed during the visit disproves this claim. It is clear that one of King Abdullah's objectives was to discuss matters within BMENA framework.

During his visit, King Abdullah was awarded Turkey's "State Honour Medal". This move highlighted two things: BMENA-related talks and the economic dependence on Saudi funds. The AKP government's begging for funds from Saudi Arabia continues a tradition of dependency that has turned Turkey into a neo-colonial state.

As journalist Nazlı Ilıcak wrote on November 13, "Perhaps it's impolite to say this so openly, but let's admit it: we've forgotten the Arab betrayal, and we're fixated on their money."

Such is the money aspect; as for BMENA, we can see what it entails from the joint declaration that was published.

The declaration defines BMENA with clauses such as:

- *"The existing cooperation in combating terrorism and crime between the two countries will be intensified and sustained."*
- *"Closer cooperation on regional issues will be pursued."*
- *"Mutual investments will be encouraged."*

Additionally, reports indicate that developments regarding the Middle East, Iraq, and Iran were also discussed alongside this declaration.

As seen, there is no room for interpretation when it comes to the truths underlying the honorary medal awarded to the Saudi King. Indeed, such medals have traditionally been used for these very purposes in diplomatic relations.

*For instance, former U.S. President Bill Clinton, Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegović, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Croatian President Franjo Tuđman, and Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze are some of the figures who have been deemed worthy of receiving the "**State Honour Medal" for their "services to our country."***

In summary, the reasoning behind these medals has always been the same.

The AKP government claims to mediate the Israel-Palestine conflict. This is false. The AKP cannot mediate because it is not neutral. It acts as a collaborator for imperialism, executing the role assigned by the U.S. Turkey's oligarchy, historically and presently, has always sided with Israel. This pro-Israel stance has only deepened under the AKP government.

Let's examine Turkey's relations with Israel's oligarchy:

On 26 December 1996, a military training cooperation agreement was signed between Israel and Turkey. This agreement, signed by the Deputy Chief of Staff General Çevik Bir with the knowledge of the government, made the relations, which had until then been conducted mostly behind closed doors, public

and marked a turning point. Within the framework of Middle Eastern relations, Turkey's oligarchy openly sided with Israel. Since that day, numerous agreements have been signed, and the relationship has been strengthened economically, militarily, and in all areas.

It is clear that every military and economic agreement made with Israel, which conducts a bloody war against the Palestinian people, is a form of support for the killing of Palestinians and siding with Israel. For example, Turkey has never been heard of signing a military cooperation agreement with Palestine. At most, the aid provided has been superficial and symbolic, following Israeli massacres. The relations Turkey has built with Palestine, despite claims of "supporting the Palestinian cause, "have never genuinely supported the framework of Palestinian resistance.

On the contrary, in December 2003, for instance, while the Sharon administration continued its massacres against the Palestinian people, Turkey-Israel relations were further developed. Around the same period, the issue of the Israeli Wall, which encircled the West Bank, confiscated land, deprived Palestinians of water resources, and drove them from their territories, was brought to the International Court of Justice at The Hague following Palestinian objections. The AKP initially announced its intention to side with Palestine at The Hague but withdrew from this decision just before the trial began, after the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated, "Turkey's involvement would harm our relations and upset us."

Can the impartiality of a government that acts according to Israel's statements and takes every word from the U.S. as an order even be questioned? Of course not.

This policy of Turkey's oligarchy has remained unchanged regardless of the ruling government. For instance, during the Islamist government under Erbakan, the most comprehensive military cooperation agreement with Israel was signed. Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan, who criticised Israel for committing terrorism for assassinating Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, rushed to Israel from May 1–3, 2005, following his statements, in an apparent attempt to prove his loyalty to the U.S. as a good collaborator. Criticizing Israel for "committing terrorism" was merely a ploy by the AKP to mask its collaborationism in the eyes of the public, while the visit to Israel amid ongoing massacres was an open endorsement of its policies of slaughter. Military agreements were signed during this visit. The then Minister of National Defence Vecdi Gönül announced that the cost of weapons purchased from Israel would amount to $880 million.

For this visit, Shimon Peres described it as "a demonstration that it is possible to establish good relations with Israel while being Muslim."

The AKP's stance on Israel's attack on southern Lebanon is also unforgettable. In July 2006, the village of Qana was drenched in blood following Zionist attacks. However, when Israel's invasion attempt failed, and the UN intervened to form an "international force" under the pretext of continuing the occupation under the UN umbrella, Turkey was the first country to declare, "We will send soldiers to this force."

Clearly, during the AKP government, relations between the oligarchy and Israel, the U.S., and the U.K. were further developed. This situation is defended by the AKP government and the General Staff as part of "being on the side of the U.S. in its war against terrorism." The war waged alongside Israel against the Palestinian people also constitutes a part of the U.S.'s war against terrorism.

In conclusion, the role undertaken by the AKP government and Turkey's oligarchy during this period encompasses diplomatic, military, and economic spheres within the framework of implementing the imperialist BMENA. This role is not new for the AKP; statements emphasising "strategic partnership" with the U.S. and support for BMENA clarify this role.

During Erdoğan's visit to Israel in May 2005, Sharon described Turkey's role from his perspective as follows: "As a country at the centre of the Islamic world, you can make a great contribution. You can lead the democratisation of moderate groups in the region."

This collaboration of the AKP with imperialism has always continued. The tensions reflected in the media as strained relations are merely images of bargaining over this role. However, these negotiations never suggested the possibility of not taking on this role. On the contrary, both the U.S. and Turkey have always emphasised "partnership" over such tensions, which is the underlying reality.

The Height of Servitude: A Zionist Murderer on the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) Podium

For the first time in history, an Israeli President delivered a speech from the podium of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), and not even a token protest was made. Not a single member of parliament stood up to protest the murderer.

The blood-stained murderer Peres was portrayed as an angel of peace. How can someone be an angel of peace while continuing the occupation of Palestinian lands through bloodshed? Allowing the president of a state like Israel to speak at the TBMM was a dishonour carried by the parliamentarians present. This dishonour, presenting the president of a Zionist, occupying, and terrorist state as a "peace angel" to legitimise him, is indefensible.

In 1996, U.S. monopolies awarded Shimon Peres the Philadelphia Liberty Medal for his so-called contributions to the Middle East peace process (!). Alongside the medal, American capitalists also presented Peres with a $100, 000 check as a token of gratitude for his services. Given that someone deemed worthy of an award by American monopolies is celebrated, there is no need for further investigation into their identity to understand their role.

*Peres, who also served as Foreign Minister in the government of Israel's greatest murderer, Sharon, supported Sharon's massacres with the following words: "**We fully support Sharon in his operation to destroy the infrastructure of terror**." The so-called peace advocate Peres was a minister in Sharon's government, was at the forefront of those who burned and destroyed Jenin and approved decisions such as the so-called "security wall", which meant nothing but imprisoning Palestinians.*

Aware of the significance of his speech in TBMM for making Turkey's support for Israel more overt, Peres said: "I want to thank you for inviting me to speak. I believe it will be a very significant event. For the first time, an Israeli official will deliver a speech in the Turkish parliament. This is a very important opportunity for us."

The Lack of Integrity Among the Green Belt Actors

The history of collaboration between Islamism and imperialism finds a renewed embodiment in the AKP (Justice and Development Party).

The Islamism of the "Green Belt Project, "created by imperialism to encircle the socialist USSR and expand its areas of exploitation, is now being carried forward by the spineless AKP government under the guise of U.S. collaboration and subcontracting for the U.S.'s BMENA.

During that period, the U.S. used Islamist forces, only to declare them enemies once they were no longer needed. Despite this historical reality, imperialism continues to exploit collaborative Islamism. AKP's version of Islamism is so subservient that it doesn't even object to being used by imperialism against other Islamist forces. For the sake of a mere pittance offered by the U.S., it takes on a special subcontracting role to secure the U.S.'s foothold in the Middle East.

Imperialists and their collaborators form alliances against the people. BMENA is the regional blueprint of this alliance, and it is being constructed step by step.

Through such collaborators, imperialism exploits and governs the people. It is impossible for imperialism or its collaborators to solve any problems in favour of the people. They stand where the interests of exploitative systems lie, and there is no value they wouldn't sell out to protect those interests. For years, AKP collaborationism has been selling religion to imperialism on this very basis.

The images featuring figures like Peres and King Abdullah once again reveal this truth to the world.

(Yürüyüş, 18 November 2007, Issue: 131, pp. 6-9)

Collaborators Are More Shameless Than Colonialists
Even the U.S. Cannot Tell Such Lies This Casually

The phrase "more royalist than the king, "which describes those who fervently defend the interests of their masters, aptly summarises the AKP government's Middle East policy. The response given by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül to a parliamentary inquiry illustrates this reality once again.

Gül described BMENA as follows:

"A project that will democratize the Middle East, bring peace and tranquillity, strengthen the principles of human rights, the rule of law, and good governance, and implement a free market economy."

The AKP government's collaboration in BMENA supposedly rests on these "noble" goals. Last month, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan expressed similar support during his Hamas visit, saying, "Turkey cannot remain on the sidelines in BMENA, "indirectly admitting that the imperialist demands conveyed to Hamas were part of this framework.

***Who owns BMENA? The** United States.*

***What does the U.S. wan**t? To turn the entire region into its colony, impose economic policies (dubbed the free-market economy) that bring nothing but poverty and hunger to the people, reshape political systems to suit its interests, and establish collaborative regimes.*

***What tools are used to implement it?** Through occupation, as in Iraq; embargoes, threats, and isolation, as attempted with Syria and Iran; intimidation, as in Libya; and provocations, as in Lebanon.*

These truths cannot be disguised with lies of "peace" and "democracy". Claims like Gül's that the reforms are "not imposed externally but developed by internal dynamics" no longer convince anyone. Moreover, the so-called "internal dynamics" are transparent: organising opposition groups against Assad in Syria, creating forced dissent in Iran, and so forth—essentially fabricating a collaborative "internal dynamic" with dollars and political support, just as was done in former Soviet republics.

BMENA was brought forward by American imperialism as part of its "war on terror"—a war against the people. Resistance to open occupations and global opposition forced them to dress up these interventions with lies of "peace, democracy, and tranquillity". The aim was nothing but to legitimise military, political, and economic interventions in the Middle East. The AKP government's designated role in this context is to serve as the model for "Moderate Islam". However, BMENA's credibility was exposed in Iraq and in the encirclement of Iran and Syria. Even its architects now struggle to defend it outright. Their democracy game has also failed to yield the desired results, as seen in Iraq and Palestine.

To claim that an American-designed project will bring democracy, peace, and prosperity is to reverse all historical truths. Wherever the U.S. intervenes, there is no democracy, peace, tranquillity, or welfare for the people. Whether it is called BMENA or something else, all these doctrines of aggression are built on the suffering, blood, and lives of the people, bringing horrific exploitation, plunder, and poverty in their wake.

The economic order glorified by Gül was succinctly described by IMF official Davison L. Buddhoo in 1989:

*"President Reagan instructed us to turn the Third World into a new zone where capitalism's wheels could spin freely. Everything we did rested on the determination of **'either we privatise the southern hemisphere, or we die.'** To achieve this goal, we created a vile economic madhouse in Latin America and Africa between 1983 and 1988."(15 July 2000, Cumhuriyet Newspaper)*

Now, blood is being shed in the Middle East to create a vile economic madhouse, and the AKP government takes pride in being complicit in this crime, using its Islamic identity and religion to serve these ends. What a profound shame!

(Yürüyüş, 12 March 2006, Issue: 43, Page: 22)

NORVEÇ
Oslo
Helsinki
Stockholm
Tallinn
ESTONYA
LETONYA
Riga
LİTVANYA
Vilnius
Minsk
BELARUS
Moskova
KUZEY DENİZİ
DANİMARKA
Kopenhag
BİRLEŞİK KRALLIK
Dublin
İRLANDA
Londra
HOLLANDA
Amsterdam
Berlin
ALMANYA
Varşova
POLONYA
Kiev
UKRAYNA
BELÇİKA
Brüksel
Prag ÇEK CUM.
LÜKSEMBURG
Paris
FRANSA
Bern
İSVİÇRE
SLOVAKYA
AVUSTURYA
MACARİSTAN
Budapeşte
MOLDOVA
ROMANYA
Kişinev
Bükreş
SLOVENYA
HIRVATİSTAN
BOSNA HERSEK
Sarajevo
SIRBİSTAN
Belgrad
Zagreb
KOSOVA
BULGARİSTAN
Sofya
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Madrid
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Sardinya Ad.
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Sicilya Ad.
Girit Ad.
TUNUS
Trablusgarp
AKDENİZ
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YUNANİSTAN
ARNAVUTLUK
MAKEDONYA
Tiran
TÜRKİYE
Ankara
İstanbul Boğ.
Çanakkale Boğ.
Tuz Gölü
GÜRCİSTAN
Tiflis
ERMENİSTAN
Erivan
Bakü
AZERBAYCAN
NAHÇIVAN
Hazar Gölü
TÜRKMENİSTAN
Aşkabad
Aral Gölü
Rabat
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Lefkoşa K.K.T.C.
G.K.R.Y.
SURİYE
Beyrut
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Tel Aviv
BATI ŞERİA
GAZZE
Amman
Doğu Kudüs
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Kahire
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Süveyş K.
KUVEYT
Kuveyt
Basra Körfezi
Hürmüz Boğ.
CEZAYİR
LİBYA
MISIR
Nasser Gölü
KIZIL DENİZ
BAHREYN
Manama
KATAR
Doha
Riyad
SUUDİ ARBİSTAN
BİRLEŞİK ARAP EMİRLİKLERİ
Abu Dabi
Maskat
Umman Körfezi
El-Ayun
BATI SAHRA
MORİTANYA
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Hartum
ERİTRE
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YEMEN
Sana
UMMAN
Aden Körfezi
Bab'ülmendep Boğ.
CİBUTİ
Cibuti
Addis Ababa
ETYOPYA
Çad Gölü
N'djamena
Niamey
Bamako
Uagadugu
BURKİNA FASO
GİNE
BENİN
NİJERYA
Abuja
GANA
TOGO
Porto Novo
Akkra
Lome
FİLDİŞİ KIYISI
Yamoussoukro
LİBERYA
Monrovia
LEONE
GİNE KÖRFEZİ
EKVATOR GİNESİ
Libreville
KAMERUN
Yaunde
Malabo
ORTA AFRİKA CUMHURİYETİ
Bangui
Kongo Havzası
GÜNEY SUDAN
Juba
Albert Gölü
Kampala
UGANDA
KENYA
Nairobi
SOMALİ
Mogadişu
Turkana Gölü
Beyaz Nil
Mavi Nil
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Manş Denizi
Biskay Körfezi
Hebrid Adl.
Kuzey Kanalı
Kuzey İrlanda
Cebelitarık Boğazı
Ladoga Gölü
Peipus Gölü
Ribinsk Gölü
Onega Gölü
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Tuz Gölü
Finlandiya Körfezi
Baltık Denizi
Väner Gölü
Vättern Gölü
Peipus Gölü
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Kuzey İrlanda
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Manş Denizi
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Riga
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Helsinki
Oslo
Stockholm
Kopenhag
Madrid
Lizbon
Roma
Cezayir
Tunus
Trablusgarp
Atina
Ankara
İstanbul
Tiflis
Erivan
Bakü
Aşkabad
Tahran
Bağdat
Şam
Beyrut
Kahire
Riyad
Kuveyt
Doha
Abu Dabi
Maskat
Sana
Hartum
Addis Ababa
Nairobi
Kampala
Mogadişu
Juba
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Lagos
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Sardinya Ad.
Balear Adl.
Korsika Ad.
Nasser Gölü
Albert Gölü
Turkana Gölü
Çad Gölü
Kongo Havzası
Afrika
Asya
Avrupa
Akdeniz
Kızıl Deniz
Karadeniz
Hazar Gölü
Basra Körfezi
Hürmüz Boğ.
Umman Körfezi
Aden Körfezi
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SECTION 5

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES, AND GEOPOLITICAL POSITIONS OF COUNTRIES WITHIN THE BMENA

WHY ARE THESE COUNTRIES TARGETS OF IMPERIALISM?

Before analysing each country within the scope of BMENA, we would like to highlight some critical points:

1. When referring to imperialism, it primarily means U.S. imperialism and, by extension, European Union (EU) imperialism.
2. After Partition War II, U.S. imperialism emerged as the leader of the imperialist bloc. European imperialists (including Japan) saw their future aligned with U.S. leadership in opposition to the socialist bloc.
3. Middle Eastern and North African countries, after the Ottoman Empire's defeat and withdrawal from the region in Partition War I, remained primarily under British and French colonial rule until the 1950s. By the 1970s, due to independence movements and national and social liberation struggles, British and French imperialists had completely withdrawn from the region. Independent countries either formed democratic people's governments influenced by socialism or became U.S. neo-colonies. Even these U.S. neo-colonies could not be managed with even nominal democratic administrations; they were governed through military juntas and dictatorships to suppress revolutionary struggles.
4. The collapse of the socialist bloc in the 1990s ushered in an attempt, led by U.S. imperialism, to establish a "unipolar" global dominance. This is consistent with the nature of imperialism. The 1990s saw significant rhetoric, particularly from leftist circles, claiming that imperialism had "changed". However, the reality was the opposite. Imperialism did not lose any of its fundamental characteristics, one of which is the division of global markets among imperialist monopolies. Following the October Revolution and post-Partition War II revolutions, two-fifths of global markets were removed from the imperialist exploitation zone. With the collapse of the socialist bloc in the early 1990s, the primary objective of the imperialists became the redistribution of this two-fifths share into their markets. The wars since the First Gulf War have all aimed at this redistribution.
5. The invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in the 2000s represented the declaration of a U.S. world empire and, simultaneously, the beginning of its decline.
6. The imperialist global dominance established under U.S. leadership since the 1990s has brought nothing but increased hunger, poverty, misery, blood, and tears to the world's peoples. The so-called "unipolar world" is nothing more than the unbridled exploitation of the world's peoples by the imperialists.
7. This unbridled exploitation has also intensified the people's anger. The prediction by imperialists that the "21st century will be the century of uprisings" is rooted in these realities.
8. The anger fuelled by hunger and misery was most visibly expressed on 11 September 2001, in the attacks on the Twin Towers in the U.S.
9. Using the Twin Tower attacks as a pretext, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan and attempted to subjugate the world's peoples under the guise of a "war on terror". With the invasion of Iraq, it declared itself a global empire. Throughout these processes, EU imperialism saw its interests aligned with U.S. leadership and supported it.

10. Since the collapse of the socialist bloc in the 1990s, the redistribution and reorganisation of the two-fifths of the global market previously outside the imperialist bloc into the imperialist order under U.S. leadership has been the primary issue for imperialists. BMENA is a project designed for this reorganisation. The greatest obstacle to achieving this is the resistance of the peoples.
11. The fact that the countries within BMENA are primarily Muslim countries in the Middle East and North Africa has been deliberately framed by imperialist ideologues as a "clash of civilizations "between the "Muslim East" and the "West, "representing "democracy, freedom, and civilization." This is a fabricated narrative aimed at concealing the irreconcilable contradictions between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples of the world and masking the true objectives of imperialism in these regions. The conflict is not an "East-West" or "civilizational" clash; it is about the imperialists' attempt to re-colonise the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (and even regions from the Balkans to Central Asia) and exploit all their underground and aboveground resources. It is a conflict to eliminate the peoples' resistance to exploitation.
12. Until the 1990s, the countries of the Middle East and North Africa outside the imperialist market were: Syria, Libya, South Yemen, Somalia, Western Sahara, Ghana, Eritrea, Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Democratic Congo, and Ethiopia.
13. Besides these, countries like Iraq (under petty-bourgeois dictatorship) and Iran (under the Khomeini regime) were also among those not neo-colonised by U.S. imperialism. Particularly after the 2000s, the political influence of Hezbollah in Lebanon limited the reach of U.S. and EU imperialism through the collaborative Lebanese government.
14. Additionally, Sudan and many countries in Central Africa, extending to South Africa, have clashed with imperialism since the 1950s, establishing people's governments after gaining independence.
15. Countries like Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan—while not directly included in BMENA to avoid direct confrontation with the Russian Federation—have been associated with the project. Since the 1990s, U.S. and EU imperialists have sought to neo-colonise these nations following the collapse of the socialist bloc.

TARGET COUNTRIES UNDER THE BMENA

Countries in North Africa (West to East in Clockwise Order); Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia

Countries in the Middle East; Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Oman, Yemen, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan

Countries Not Included in BMENA But Receiving "Support" Based on Their Own Requests

Africa: Ghana, Gambia

Balkans: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Far East: Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangladesh

Middle Eastern Countries Recognised by G8

According to the G8, the Middle Eastern countries include Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Cyprus, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq. Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Somaliland, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Western Sahara, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Yemen. In total, this amounts to 28 countries.

Countries Associated with BMENA

Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan

Mauritania

Officially known as the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, it is a country located in the western part of the African continent. Its neighbouring countries (moving clockwise from the north) are Western Sahara, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, Algeria, Mali, and Senegal. To its west lies the Atlantic Ocean. The capital city is Nouakchott, and the official language is Arabic. Due to its history as a former French colony, French is also used in education and commerce. In addition, local languages such as Pulaar, Wolof, and Soninke are spoken. Mauritania gained independence from France on 28 November 1960.

Despite its vast area of 1, 030, 631 square kilometres, Mauritania has a relatively small population of about 4.5 million people. Half of its population is engaged in agriculture, even though only 2% of its land is arable. Extensive desertification has occurred due to droughts and the exploitation of forests by imperialists. Clean water resources are scarce in regions far from Mauritania's only permanent river, the Senegal River.

Islam is the dominant religion in Mauritania, with other religions having virtually no presence. The majority follow Sunni Islam.

Demographics

The population is composed of 30% Berber Arabs, 40% Haratin (Black Mauritanians), and the remainder includes 10% Halpulaar, 10% Wolof, 4.5% Soninke, 3% Bambara, and 0.4% Imraguen.

History

The ancestors of the Soninke people, known as the Bafours, were the original inhabitants of Mauritania. They were displaced by the migration of Berber tribes from North Africa between the 5th and 7th centuries CE. As the Sahara slowly turned into a desert, the Bafours migrated to West Africa.

In 1076, the Almoravids, a militant group dedicated to spreading Islam, conquered the Ghana Empire and dominated Mauritania for the next 500 years, suppressing resistance from local Berber populations.

French Colonisation and Independence

From the late 19th century, France colonised Mauritania. By 1920, it became part of French West Africa as one of its eight territories. Following global anti-colonial movements after World War II, Mauritania declared independence in 1960.

Upon independence, many African ethnic groups, such as the Halpulaar, Soninke, and Wolof, returned to the country. However, conflicts arose between Arab populations of Maghreb origin and non-Maghreb Black Africans, culminating in ethnic clashes in 1989. Even though a military coup on 5 August 2008, quelled internal strife, ethnic tensions between local African tribes and Maghreb-origin Arabs remain unresolved.

Economy

Mauritania possesses rich reserves of gold, iron, and copper, yet remains a poor nation. It also has oil and natural gas reserves. The country exports 54% of its extracted minerals. Mauritania is among the nations investing most heavily in renewable energy. It generates significant electricity through solar panels and wind turbines, exporting power to other Central African countries.

Its ports are vital for landlocked countries' import and export activities. Mauritania's major trade partners include China, Switzerland, Spain, Japan, Russia, Italy, the UAE, Belgium, France, Germany, and the U.S. European countries dominate its trade relationships, while the U.S. is its smallest trading partner.

Mauritania is a member of imperialist organisations like the IMF and World Bank. While imperialist exploitation of the country remains limited, the Sahara Desert holds significant potential for solar energy production. Pressure from global powers often focuses on enacting laws that open the country to multinational exploitation, supported by compliant local governments.

Mauritania's inclusion in the framework of BMENA stems from its underdeveloped neo-colonial ties and the underwhelming trade relationship with the U.S.

MOROCCO (FAS)

Geographic and Political Position

Located in North Africa, Morocco is referred to as "Al-Maghrib", meaning "the farthest west" in Arabic. Morocco has a long coastline that starts at the Atlantic Ocean, wraps around the Strait of Gibraltar, and ends at the Mediterranean Sea. It borders Algeria to the east, Spain to the north (via the Strait of Gibraltar), and Mauritania and Western Sahara to the south. The Berbers, native to the region, called it "Marrakech", meaning "Land of God."

With an area of 720, 000 km², Morocco's estimated population in 2020 was around 37 million. While less than 10% of the population lived in cities in 1926, this figure has risen to approximately 40% today, with 60% still residing in rural areas, predominantly engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry.

The Strait of Gibraltar

This strait connects the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean and separates the continents of Europe and Africa. It is 14 km at its narrowest and 46 km at its widest. There is no bridge or tunnel connecting the two continents.

Control of the Strait of Gibraltar is shared between Morocco, Spain, and the UK. It is of great importance for international maritime trade, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal. Around 7, 500 cargo ships pass through the strait annually, making it a significant focal point for imperialist interests.

Religious Beliefs in Morocco

The majority of Moroccans are Muslims following the Maliki school of Sunni Islam. In the past, there were significant Jewish communities in certain areas, but their numbers dwindled significantly following the 1956 agreement between Morocco and Israel. This migration was part of a broader plan to establish Israel by creating a Jewish majority in Palestine.

Languages Spoken in Morocco

While Arabic is the official language, French is widely used in government offices and education. Most of the population is of Berber descent, and various Berber languages are spoken by about one-third of the population. In the northern regions, due to Spain's colonial past, Spanish is also spoken. Additionally, around 50, 000 Europeans live in Moroccan cities.

Administrative Structure

Morocco is a parliamentary monarchy. King Mohammed VI has been the reigning monarch since 1999. Administratively, the country is divided into 16 regions and 62 provinces.

Economy

Morocco, though independent from France and Spain since 1956, remains economically tied to Western powers, particularly the U.S., through neo-colonial relationships. It has also maintained covert relations with Israel.

Agriculture is the backbone of Morocco's economy. Proximity to Europe has made it an attractive destination for European companies looking to relocate factories due to cheap labour costs. The industrial sector includes agricultural processing, fertilizer production, and handicrafts. Morocco is also rich in minerals such as phosphate, manganese, arsenic, nickel, cobalt, iron, small amounts of oil, and coal. Approximately 40% of the workforce is employed in agriculture.

Tangier, a key Moroccan city, is only a 45-minute ferry ride from Spain, strengthening its ties with Spain and Marseille, France.

History

The first settlements in Morocco date back to the Neolithic period around 8, 000 BCE. Historians believe that the ancestors of the Berbers, called the Amazigh, lived during this time. In the classical period, Morocco became known as Mauretania.

Through Phoenician trade and colonisation, Morocco became part of Mediterranean civilization. Later, it fell under Roman rule, followed by the Vandals, Visigoths, and Byzantines. However, none of these powers fully controlled the Berbers living in Morocco's mountainous regions.

In the 7th century, Morocco came under Arab rule during the Umayyad Caliphate. The Arabs completed their conquest of Morocco between 670 and 683. Over time, the Berbers adopted Arab culture, religion, and way of life, including attire and language.

Dynasties in Morocco

- **Idrisid Dynasty**: 789–970
- **Almoravid Dynasty**: 1040–1147
- **Almohad Dynasty**: 1147–1269
- **Marinid Sultanate**: 1269–1465
- **Wattasid Dynasty**: 1549–1659
- **Alaouite Dynasty**: 1666–1912

During the colonial period, Morocco was divided into regions under Spanish and French rule (1906–1956). It gained independence in 1956.

Western Sahara Conflict

Western Sahara lies south of Morocco and north of Mauritania. Previously a Spanish colony, it gained independence through the Polisario Front.

Before delving into Morocco's Western Sahara issue, let's briefly touch upon Western Sahara and the Polisario Front.

The Polisario Front (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro) emerged from popular uprisings that began in 1970 against Spanish colonialism. It was established on 10 May 1973, under the leadership of El-Weli Mustafa Seyid.

Composed of Sahrawis, the indigenous nomadic people of Western Sahara, the Polisario Front is a national liberation movement influenced by Marxism-Leninism. Initially based in Mauritania, it waged guerrilla warfare against Spanish colonialism. Following the guerrilla campaign, Spain was forced to withdraw from Western Sahara in 1976. After Spain's withdrawal, Morocco and Mauritania divided the region between themselves. The Polisario Front continued its guerrilla warfare against both Morocco and Mauritania.

In 1979, Mauritania signed a peace agreement with the Polisario Front and withdrew from the territories it occupied. Morocco subsequently occupied the areas vacated by Mauritania. The Polisario Front launched intense attacks on Moroccan military units and outposts in the occupied territories. At the same time, it pursued international political efforts, bringing the issue of Western Sahara's independence to the International Court of Justice. The Court recognised Western Sahara's right to self-determination.

In 1976, the Polisario Front declared independence by establishing a government called the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. This republic was recognised by 43 countries. In 1984, the African Union also recognised it, prompting Morocco to withdraw from the Union in protest. Morocco rejoined the African Union in 2017.

The conflict between the Polisario Front and Morocco continued until 1991. In 1991, the Polisario Front unilaterally declared a ceasefire. However, despite ongoing negotiations, the issue remains unresolved to this day. Morocco seeks to annex Western Sahara as part of its territory. Meanwhile, the United States and the European Union do not recognise the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.

Objectives Regarding Morocco Under the Scope of BMENA

After gaining independence from French and Spanish colonial rule, Morocco maintained its relations with imperialist powers. The post-independence period marked a new phase of neo-colonialism under the influence of the United States.

The era of King Hassan II (1961–1999) was characterised by severe repression aimed at suppressing revolutionary movements, both against the Polisario Front and the Moroccan people.

One of the leaders of Morocco's independence struggle and founder of the Istiqlal Party, **Mehdi Ben Barka**, was abducted in 1965 in a joint operation by the CIA, Mossad, Moroccan, and French intelligence services. He was brutally murdered, and his body was dissolved in acid to erase evidence. As a revolutionary leader and theorist with internationalist ideals who actively participated in the anti-imperialist struggles of Asia, Africa, and South America, he became a target of such barbaric action.

Following Algeria's revolution, King Hassan II, with significant support from Israel on behalf of U.S. imperialism, waged war against Algeria. During the Six-Day War in 1967, led by Egypt against Israel, Morocco secretly collaborated with Israel. Morocco has maintained covert relations with Israel since the 1960s.

Morocco annexed Western Sahara, recognised as independent by socialist countries, and waged war against the Polisario Front. The U.S. and European imperialist powers have discreetly supported Morocco's claim over Western Sahara. However, Morocco's monarchy does not align with the neo-colonial model. One of the main objectives of BMENA was to symbolically reduce the monarchy's role and establish a parliamentary system to manage public anger against imperialist exploitation.

The Arab Spring was utilised in Morocco to implement partial reforms and stabilize the situation. Morocco also served as one of the venues for BMENA meetings. The Moroccan monarchy remains a strategic collaborator for U.S. imperialism, holding significant geopolitical importance.

Strategic Importance of Morocco:

It is one of the countries that holds control over the Strait of Gibraltar.

It serves as a loyal collaborator for interventions in North African countries.

This collaborator imposes political pressure on both the Arab Muslim populations and the Berber peoples of North Africa.

Since the 1970s, it has used the Moroccan monarchy to suppress the national and social liberation struggle of the Polisario Front in Western Sahara.

The monarchy has also been used to suppress revolutionary movements in the region and the revolutionary struggle of the Moroccan people. The Moroccan monarchy has consistently collaborated with MOSSAD, the CIA, and other imperialist agents in the region. Despite these efforts, however, the imperialists have failed to establish the desired stability in the region.

The goal of BMENA is to create an economically, politically, and socially stable collaborator. Morocco has maintained good relations with Israel behind the scenes and has been a supporter of Israeli policies. In November 2020, Morocco became one of six Arab states to sign an agreement to "normalise relations" with Israel.

The Normalisation Agreement of Six Arab States, Including Morocco, with Israel is a Continuation of BMENA

Many Arab states claim, "The Palestinian cause is our national cause". However, the majority of them have maintained covert relations with Israel, even if not openly. This is because Israel essentially represents the United States. The Arab states that collaborate with the U.S. also maintain behind-the-scenes cooperation with Israel. Conversely, it is the Arab peoples who view Israel as an enemy.

One of the goals deemed necessary by BMENA to quell the anti-American anger of the peoples of the Middle East was to resolve the Israel-Palestine issue. Since 2004, various policies have been implemented to address this issue. In October-November 2020, it was announced that six Arab states had entered into a "Normalisation Agreement" with Israel under U.S. supervision.

On 10 November 2020, Moroccan King Mohammed VI announced that Morocco recognised Israel and planned to establish formal diplomatic relations soon. As part of this initiative, flight routes between the two countries were launched, and restrictions on Jewish individuals travelling from Israel to Morocco as tourists were lifted.

In response to King Mohammed VI's normalisation statement, U.S. President Donald Trump declared U.S. recognition of Morocco's claims over Western Sahara. Consequently, the previously covert cooperation with Israel began to be openly conducted.

The countries that had previously signed normalisation agreements with Israel include Egypt, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia, and Sudan.

Egypt was the first Arab country to recognise Israel in 1979 during Anwar Sadat's presidency, through the Camp David Accords. As a result, Egypt, the most populous Arab state, became ineffective in championing the Palestinian cause and instead became the first Arab state to protect Israel's interests.

Following Egypt, Jordan recognised Israel on 26 October 1994, through the Wadi Araba Peace Treaty. Jordan shares the longest border with Israel, and this agreement secured Israel's longest boundary. In return, Israel granted Jordan oversight over religious affairs in Jerusalem.

On 23 October 2020, Sudan signed a normalisation agreement with Israel. In exchange, Israel provided $5 million worth of flour, and the U.S. removed Sudan from its "state sponsors of terrorism" list.

The UAE and Saudi Arabia, which had previously maintained covert relations with Israel, began openly conducting them as part of this normalisation process. Israel also publicly supported Saudi Arabia and the UAE in their war against the Houthis in Yemen.

As mentioned earlier, Morocco has maintained covert relations with Israel since the 1960s. With the start of the "Oslo Peace Talks" between Palestine and Israel in 1993, Morocco initiated low-level official relations with Israel. However, after the Second Intifada in 2002, these relations returned to being conducted behind the scenes.

While Arab governments remained silent on the successive normalisation announcements with Israel, Arab peoples responded with significant outrage.

The Fate of Nations Cannot Be Determined by Their Relationship with the U.S.

U.S. and EU imperialists have supported Morocco in its war against the Polisario Front and have not recognised the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. However, they have also refrained from openly endorsing Morocco's annexation of Western Sahara. This changed on 10 December 2020, when U.S. President Donald Trump declared, "We recognise Morocco's claim over Western Sahara, "effectively endorsing the annexation. This statement also signalled that the U.S. fully supports Morocco's actions against Western Sahara, essentially saying, "Do whatever you want in Western Sahara; we stand behind you". This stance threatens to create new crises in Western Sahara similar to those in Yemen, Syria, and Libya. Indeed, following Trump's statement, reports emerged suggesting that "the 39-year-long war between Morocco and the Polisario Front is reigniting."

Let us be clear: the right of peoples to self-determination cannot be contingent upon their relationship with U.S. imperialism. Nations possess an unconditional right to self-determination. This right is not a privilege granted by imperialists but instead embodies the essence of liberation from imperialist dependence and achieving full national independence.

The greatest obstacle to the right of nations to self-determination is imperialism. Nations can exercise their right to determine their own fate only by fighting against imperialism and its collaborators. The people of Western Sahara have exercised this right through their struggle under the leadership of the Polisario Front.

Until recently, U.S. imperialism had not openly recognised Morocco's claim over Western Sahara. Today, Morocco has fully embraced collaboration with the U.S., and the U.S. says, "We recognise your claim". The normalisation of relations between Arab countries and Israel signifies submission to the U.S., as Israel acts as America's hand in the Middle East. The U.S. effectively tells Morocco, "You can occupy all of Western Sahara". This is the real terrorism.

Until recently, the U.S. had included Sudan on its list of "countries supporting terrorism" and imposed sanctions. However, Sudan was removed from this list after it entered the "normalisation" process with Israel. The real terrorism lies in the U.S.'s attempts to dictate terms to the entire world based on its own interests.

The fate of nations cannot and should not be determined by the interests of U.S. or EU imperialists.

The Collaborator Moroccan Monarchy, Backed by the U.S., Seeks to Occupy All of Western Sahara through Provocations

After securing U.S. support, the Moroccan monarchy immediately initiated provocations to occupy the entirety of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). Using the excuse that the Polisario Front was blocking passage at the Guerguerat border crossing, Morocco launched attacks on the Polisario Front.

Polisario Front Secretary-General Ibrahim Ghali responded by declaring, "The ceasefire agreement with Morocco is officially annulled. As a result, acts of war to defend our people's legitimate rights are back on the agenda."

The attacks by the Moroccan monarchy, backed by U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, have no legitimacy. The people of Western Sahara have every right to defend their lands by any means necessary. U.S. imperialism, through collaborators like the Moroccan monarchy, is attempting to dominate regions in Africa where it has not yet achieved full control.

The root cause of all conflicts in the Middle East and Africa lies in the interests of U.S. and EU imperialists. Without analysing events within this framework, it is inevitable to arrive at politically incorrect conclusions. The normalisation agreements between six Arab states and Israel are developments aligned with the objectives of BMENA.

However, it must be noted that these agreements are between imperialists and their collaborators. The U.S.'s influence in the region has weakened compared to the past due to resistance movements in Syria and Yemen. The U.S. is now trying to create a united front by openly aligning its most loyal collaborators with Israel. While collaborator Arab states remain silent, the Arab people's stance is unequivocal.

In the wake of Morocco’s normalisation announcement, over 2,000 intellectuals issued a joint statement declaring, **"The Palestinian cause is a trust we will never abandon until victory is achieved."**

For the past 20–30 years, U.S. and EU imperialist aggression in the Middle East and Africa has turned these regions into bloodbaths. Millions of people have been killed, and millions more have been displaced. Populations have been divided along religious, sectarian, ethnic, and national lines. Countries have been invaded, borders redrawn, and yet the imperialists have failed to establish dominance over the people.

Collaborator Arab monarchs, leaders, and emirs may normalize relations with Israel and the U.S. Most of them have already maintained covert ties with Israel for decades. The only obstacle they faced until now was the people. Even moving forward, imperialists will never be able to fully implement their policies against the will of the people.

The Moroccan monarchy has been a key part of BMENA since its inception, serving as a tool for U.S. imperialism. Much like Turkey's ruling AKP government, Morocco also adopted a "moderate Islam" model, forming a Justice and Development Party (AKP) with the same name as Turkey's ruling party. The Moroccan AKP was utilised until it had served its purpose, and in 2021, it was removed from power and replaced with another collaborator.

INFORMATION ABOUT ERAS

In our book, while explaining the histories of countries, historical knowledge is sometimes expressed in terms of eras. We believe it will be helpful to clarify what these mentioned eras (periods) refer to:

1. Prehistoric Ages (Prehistory/Prehistoric Era)

A. Stone Age: Covers 99% of human history, from the first emergence of humanity to 5500 BCE. This is divided into:

1. **Old Stone Age:** Rough Stone Age. Palaeolithic Era. From 2.5 million years ago to 12, 000 BCE.
2. **Middle Stone Age:** Known as the Mesolithic Era in Europe and the Protoneolithic Era in Asia. From 12, 000 BCE to 9, 000 BCE.
3. **Polished Stone Age:** Neolithic Era. From 9, 000 BCE to 5, 500 BCE.

B. Copper Age: From 5, 000 BCE to 3, 000 BCE.

- Europe (Serbia): Around 5, 500 BCE.
- China: Around 3, 000 BCE.
- South America: Around 1, 400 BCE.

2. Historical Ages (Historia/Historic Era)

A. Bronze Age:

a) Early Bronze Age: 3, 300 BCE – 2, 000 BCE.

b) Middle Bronze Age: 2, 000 BCE – 1, 550 BCE.

c) Late Bronze Age: 1, 550 BCE – 1, 200 BCE.

B. Iron Age: From 1, 190 BCE to 330 BCE.

- The initial use of iron dates back to around 2, 000 BCE.
- However, the widespread use of iron for toolmaking as a primary material corresponds to the 9th century BCE.

3. Hellenistic Period: From 334 BCE to 30 BCE.

- **Roman Period:** 30 BCE – 303 CE.
- **Transition from Rome to Byzantium:** 303 CE – 5th century CE.
- **Middle Ages:** 5th century CE – 1453 CE.
- **Modern Age:** 1453 CE – 1789 CE.
- **Contemporary Age:** From 1789 CE to the present.

ALGERIA

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA

Located in North Africa with a coastline along the Mediterranean, Algeria's official name is the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria.

Geography

With an area of 2, 381, 741 km², Algeria is the largest country in Africa by landmass and ranks as the 10th largest country in the world. Despite its size, it has a relatively small population of 45 million people.

Neighbouring Countries:

- Northeast: Tunisia
- East: Libya
- Southeast: Niger
- Southwest: Mauritania and Mali
- West: Morocco and Western Sahara

To the north, Algeria has a 1, 200 km-long Mediterranean coastline, while the south contains a significant portion of the Sahara Desert.

Climate:

- The north experiences a Mediterranean climate.
- The south is dominated by desert conditions.

The country's Mediterranean coastline is generally steep and close to mountains, with limited natural harbours. Directly inland, the Atlas Mountains stretch in two ranges from Morocco to Tunisia for about 2, 400 km. The Tell Atlas Mountains are in the north, and the Saharan Atlas Mountains are in the south, with large plains and plateaus situated between them.

Demographics

The population of Algeria was estimated at approximately 45 million in 2021. Its people are ethnically composed of Arabs and Berbers, and it is an Islamic country.

The Berbers (Amazigh) are the indigenous people of North Africa, historically inhabiting regions that include modern-day Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.

Population Distribution:

- Morocco: 70% (26.4 million)
- Algeria: 65% (25 million)
- Tunisia: 2%
- Libya: Approximately 500, 000
- Egypt: Around 32, 000
- France: About 2 million

About the Berbers:

Berbers have played a significant role in North Africa's ethnic, religious, and sectarian conflicts throughout history. They speak various dialects of Berber languages.

Religious Evolution:

- Initially, Berbers converted to Islam within 100 years of the Muslim Arab conquest.
- Their cultural practices and way of life became significantly Arabized.

- Most Berbers are now Muslims, predominantly Sunni, with smaller groups adhering to Shia and Ibadi sects. Some are Christian (mostly Catholic).

Lifestyle and Cultural Influence:

- Historically, they lived nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyles.
- They were influenced by various civilizations, including Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman, Islamic, and Ottoman cultures. Despite this, no ruling power, including the Arabs, fully subdued the Berbers.

Historical Highlights:

- In response to Sunni dominance, they adopted Shia beliefs in the 9th century.
- Two significant Berber dynasties, the Almoravids and Almohads, established powerful empires in the 11th century.
- Other kingdoms, such as the Merinids, Abdulwadids, and Hafsid, flourished until the 14th century.

Under the Ottoman Empire (16th–19th centuries) and later French colonisation (19th–20th centuries), Berber culture and language faced challenges but managed to persist in remote areas, such as the Rif and Sahara regions, as well as the Aurès and Kabylie Mountains.

Following the independence of North African countries in the mid-20th century, Berbers continued to struggle for cultural recognition against dominant Arab nationalism.

- In Algeria and Morocco, Berber languages are now recognised as official and national languages.
- Education in the Berber language is offered in regions with a high Berber population.

Today, Berber languages are spoken by approximately 40 million people across North Africa, in countries such as Algeria, Morocco, Mali, Niger, Libya, Egypt, and Burkina Faso.

History of Algeria

Algeria's rich history dates back millions of years. Fossils of hominids (*large primates or members of the human family tree*) over 2 million years old have been discovered in the country. Researchers have also uncovered remains of Homo habilis and Homo erectus from the Palaeolithic era.

Ancient and Classical Eras

- 1000 BCE: Phoenician traders began settling along Algeria's Mediterranean coastline.
- 146 BCE: Following the fall of the Carthaginian Kingdom to the Romans, Algeria became part of the Roman Empire as the province of Mauretania Caesariensis.
- After the decline of the Roman Empire, Algeria experienced successive rule by the Vandals and the Byzantines.

Islamic Era

- 7th Century: Algeria was invaded by the Umayyads, marking the start of the Islamic influence. By the end of the century, Berber tribes began converting to Islam.
- Dissatisfied with Umayyad rule, Berbers established local emirates and states.
    - 777–909: The Rustamid Dynasty became the first independent Muslim state in Algeria.
    - Western Algeria fell under the control of the Idrisids (Morocco), while eastern Algeria was influenced by the Aghlabids (Tunisia).
- 909 CE: With the collapse of the Rustamid and Aghlabid states, Algeria came under the rule of the Fatimid Caliphate.

Medieval and Early Modern Periods

- From the late 10th century, Berbers established small, short-lived states in Algeria:
    - Zirids and Hammadids (1015–1152)
    - Almohads (1130–1269)
    - Hafsids (1228–1574)

    - Abdulwadids in central and western Algeria (1235–1550)
- 1505–1513: Parts of Algeria's coastline fell under Spanish occupation.

Ottoman Rule
- 1519–1830: Algeria became a province of the Ottoman Empire, which provided stability and protected the region from further European incursions.

French Colonisation
- 1830–1962: Algeria was colonised by France. This marked a prolonged period of resistance, culminating in the Algerian War of Independence (1954–1962), which ultimately led to Algeria's liberation from French rule.

Colonial Period and Algerian War of Independence

French Colonisation (1830–1962)
The French colonial period in Algeria began on 5 July 1830, when French forces captured the city of Algiers from the Ottoman Empire.
- Early Settlements and Land Redistribution:
    - Initial colonial settlements focused around Algiers.
    - Lands belonging to local tribes were confiscated and distributed to European settlers.
    - Between 1841 and 1850, 115, 000 hectares of land were allocated to immigrants.
    - The European population in Algeria grew from 104, 000 in 1847 to 752, 000 by 1911, while foreign-owned land expanded from 365, 000 hectares in 1860 to 2, 345, 000 hectares by 1930.

French Governance
- 1848: Algeria was divided into three provinces governed by a general governor appointed from Paris.
- 1870: After transitioning to civilian administration, Algeria was placed under the French Ministry of the Interior.

Resistance Movements
- 1871 Uprising: Under the leadership of Muhammed El Mukrani, widespread rebellion erupted but was suppressed by 1884.
- 5 May 1945: Another revolt, spurred by economic decline after Partition War II, resulted in mass killings of Algerians by French forces.

Path to Independence
- Post-Partition War II, global anti-colonial movements inspired revolutionary activities in Algeria.
- 1 November 1956: Algerian revolutionaries, influenced by Marxism-Leninism, united under the **National Liberation Front** (FLN) to launch an armed uprising against French colonial rule.
    - Attacks targeted military installations and French forces throughout 1957.
    - France responded by deploying hundreds of thousands of soldiers, including elite paratroopers, employing tactics such as mass arrests, torture, and massacres.
- Despite repression, the FLN persisted and escalated its efforts on the international stage.

Key Turning Points
- 1958: The French government collapsed, and General Charles de Gaulle assumed leadership.
    - A period of intensified crackdowns followed, but Algerian resistance remained unwavering.

- 18 September 1958: The FLN declared the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in Cairo, led by Ferhat Abbas.

Victory and Independence
- On 18 March 1962, Algerians launched a mass uprising, forcing the French to flee.
- The Evian Accords officially ended French colonial rule.
- On 1 July 1962, a referendum saw 91% of Algerians voting for independence, leading to Algeria's formal recognition as an independent nation.

Post-Independence Algeria

After 8 years of war against French imperialism, 1.5 million Algerians lost their lives. The heroism of the Algerian people inspired oppressed nations globally, and Algerian revolutionaries gained international admiration for their courage.

The National Liberation Front (FLN)
- Influenced by Marxism-Leninism, the FLN had a strong nationalist, independence-oriented foundation.
- Following independence, **Ahmet Ben Bella** was appointed as the first president by the Constituent Assembly on 20 September 1962.
- In November 1962, the FLN closed all political parties and organisations.
- A referendum in October 1963 established a new constitution, and Ben Bella was elected as the president for five years.

Challenges after Independence
- The aftermath of war, combined with the destruction left by the French as they retreated, worsened the living conditions for the Algerian people.
- 19 June 1965: Houari Boumédiène led a coup d'état against Ahmet Ben Bella, deposing him and suspending the constitution. Boumédiène assumed control of the country, ruling until 1979.

Political Unrest and Islamic Movements
- From the early 1980s, Islamic movements, backed by imperialists, gained momentum.
- On 20 April 1980, the Berber population began protesting for recognition of their language. This struggle for the Berber language continued until 2002, when Berber was made an official language.

Reactionary Civil Wars in Algeria

The “Bread Uprising” (1988)
- On 5 October 1988, economic crisis caused by falling oil prices and inflation led to widespread protests, resulting in the death of 169 people.
- The one-party system ended, and multi-party elections were established with a new Constitution on 23 February 1989, giving rise to 60 political parties.
- The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) gained significant political traction in 1990 local elections.

Civil War and Conflict (1990s)
- The government, fearing the rise of the FIS, attempted to alter election laws. The FIS resisted, organising mass protests.
- In 1991, the military cancelled general elections, and FIS leader was arrested.

- On 26 December 1991, the first multi-party election was held, and the FIS gained substantial support.
- On 16 January 1992, the second round of elections was cancelled, and the government took control, leading to the closure of the FIS in March 1992.
- Muhammad Boudiaf, head of the new High State Committee, was assassinated on 29 June 1992, by one of his own guards. This assassination marked the beginning of a civil war between government forces and the radical Islamist groups, primarily the FIS.
- The war lasted for nearly a decade, resulting in the deaths of 200, 000 people.

Abdelaziz Bouteflika Era (1999–2019)

- The civil war ended in 2002, but internal divisions and radical Islamist groups persisted.
- Bouteflika was a key figure in stabilising the country, forging closer relations with the United States.
- During the Arab Spring, protests broke out in Algeria, starting in Tunisia. Though violent crackdowns occurred, the state of emergency lasted 19 years until it was lifted.
- In April 2019, Abdulaziz Bouteflika, the then President of Algeria, announced that he would change the electoral laws and run for a fifth term in office. This decision sparked a massive public outcry, and the Algerian people took to the streets, much like during the Arab Spring. The protests, involving millions of Algerians, were primarily driven by unions, professional organisations, and leftist political parties. The popular demands were once again centred around "bread, justice, and freedom".

  Protesters believed that Bouteflika's announcement to run for another term was emblematic of a corrupt and unaccountable regime that had been in power for two decades. The protests quickly escalated into a broader movement for political change. The demonstrations became known as the "Hirak Movement", and over **25 million** people participated, calling the protests a "**revolution**".

  As the protests grew, Bouteflika eventually announced that he would not run for a fifth term and withdrew from the race. Even though Bouteflika was gone, and Tebboune took over as president. As far as the "Bread, Justice, Freedom" are concerned, nothing has changed. BMENA process is ongoing in Algeria

Algeria's Economy

- Algeria is Africa's largest country and has the 5th largest economy on the continent.
- It is the 5th largest producer of natural gas and the 4th largest exporter. Algeria also holds significant oil reserves, ranking 13th in production and 9th in exports.
- The country also has abundant resources like iron, uranium, and zinc.

Why is Algeria a Target of BMENA?

Algeria became a target of BMENA due to its natural resources and strategic geopolitical significance. Throughout the 1980s, the United States, seeking to weaken the socialist-leaning Algerian government, supported Islamist groups that were determined to overthrow the regime. As the Soviet bloc collapsed, Algeria also transitioned to a multi-party system, which opened the door for various political groups, including Islamist factions, to gain more influence.

Between 1992 and 2002, these Islamist groups were involved in violent massacre campaigns, using machetes and knives to carry out brutal acts of violence against the population. The terror these groups unleashed in Algeria was similar to what ISIS would later do in Syria and Iraq, demonstrating the early emergence of such radical violence in the region.

The United States used these Islamist factions as tools to dismantle the old regime in Algeria, weakening the state's authority. However, after the 2000s, as some of these groups grew out of the U.S.'s control, a purge process began. The Algerian government, led by Abdulaziz Bouteflika, maintained

relatively close ties with the U.S., even as the region underwent tumultuous change, including the Islamist insurgency.

Despite this, the U.S. failed to fully establish its neo-colonial relationships in Algeria as it did in other parts of the Middle East and Africa. Algeria's government was not an obstruction to U.S. policies, but it also did not easily yield to the imperialist control the U.S. sought. This ongoing tension and Algeria's resistance to the full dominance of foreign interests in its internal affairs reflects a broader pattern across the Middle East and Africa.

Neo-Colonial Relations:
In the context of neo-colonialism, there are several goals the U.S. aimed to achieve in Algeria:

1. Expansion of the market to ensure deeper penetration of economic interests.
2. Creating an economic structure that would cater to the needs of imperialist monopolies.
3. Establishing a collaborative government that would serve the interests of imperialism.
4. Ensuring that a collaborative military and police would protect imperialist interests.
5. Shaping social life to align with the demands of imperialist powers and their agendas.
6. Reforming laws to serve imperialist goals, effectively opening the country's resources to exploitation by foreign entities.

These are what the U.S. try to achieve in Algeria by means of BMENA.

LIBYA

Libya is a North African and Maghreb country located along the Mediterranean coast. It is bordered by Egypt to the east, Algeria and Tunisia to the west, Niger and Chad to the south, and Sudan to the southeast. The capital is Tripoli, and the official language is Arabic, though Berber is also spoken.

Since 19 March 2011, Libya has been embroiled in a civil war. However, calling this a "civil war" is not entirely accurate. Western imperialists claimed they were "toppling Gaddafi's dictatorship to bring democracy." On 19 March 2011, under NATO's decision, they initiated air, land, and sea attacks, using local collaborator groups they created. The cities, ports, schools, and hospitals built during Gaddafi's rule since the 1970s were largely destroyed. The country suffered damages worth $20 billion. On 20 October 2011, Muammar Gaddafi was brutally lynched and killed. Since then, Libya has been subjected to plundering, destruction, and chaos by imperialist powers and their collaborators.

Between the start of the NATO assault on 19 March 2011, and Gaddafi's killing on October 20, 60, 000 Libyans were killed. Since then, the death toll has exceeded 100, 000.

Currently, Libya is divided among four local factions, each supported by different imperialist powers:

1. The Tobruk Government: Controlled by the House of Representatives and the Libyan National Army.
2. The Government of National Accord (GNA) and its allies.
3. The National Salvation Government.
4. Regions under the control of local powers, tribes, and clans.

We will elaborate on the details later, but it should be noted that these regions and the supporting factions have shifted multiple times since the beginning of the war within the framework of BMENA.

The U.S. and EU imperialists have supported various groups in Libya at different stages, sometimes even backing multiple factions simultaneously. Countries such as Russia, Iran, Ukraine, Belarus, Greece, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Egypt, the UAE, Sudan, Niger, Jordan, and Israel have all, at some point, supported one or more of the warring factions in Libya and continue to do so. Meanwhile, areas under control are systematically plundered by whoever holds dominance there.

Before detailing how Libya has been plundered, the conflicting factions, and their supporting exploiters, we will briefly outline Libya's economic, geopolitical, demographic, and historical background.

The Geopolitical Importance of Libya

Libya's Mediterranean coastline and ports give it a strategically critical position. This importance grew after Italy, Britain, and France were expelled from Libyan soil, and King Idris I, an ally of the U.S., was overthrown, paving the way for the establishment of a socialist Libya under Gaddafi.

With a land area of 1, 759, 541 km², Libya is one of Africa's largest countries. Its significance lies not only in its geography but also in being one of the world's largest producers of oil and natural gas, while remaining outside imperialist markets.

Economically and politically aligned with the socialist bloc during the Cold War, Libya developed its unique system under Gaddafi's Jamahiriya, blending socialism with Islam. Libya supported liberation movements, particularly the Palestinian cause.

Even after the socialist bloc dissolved in the 1990s, Libya resisted U.S. domination. Consequently, Libya became a target of the U.S. long before the onset of BMENA. In 1986, Gaddafi's residence was bombed, killing his wife and child. Economic sanctions, embargoes, and military aggression against Libya have been relentless. **A key objective of BMENA was to overthrow Gaddafi's rule.**

Libya's Demographic Structure

Before the fall of the Gaddafi regime in 2011, Libya's population was approximately 6, 500, 000. Despite an average annual population growth rate of 4%, the last decade of conflict has only seen a population increase of 400, 000. While Libya has a vast land area, its southern regions are predominantly covered by deserts, causing 90% of the population to reside in coastal cities. Consequently, 90% of the population lives on just 10% of the land. Half of Libya's population is under the age of 15.

The people living in Libya consist of Arabized Berbers, pure Arabs, Bedouins from desert tribes, and Tuaregs. Additionally, there are small numbers of sub-Saharan African ethnic groups such as the Sahilians and Toubou. Migrants from Central Africa and Egypt have also moved to Libya. According to 2011 estimates, the country hosted 60, 000 Bangladeshi workers, 30, 000 Chinese workers, 30, 000 Palestinians, and 25, 000 Turkish workers.

While Arabic is the official language, 20% of the population speaks the Berber language Tamazight. In major cities, Italian and English are also spoken.

Libya’s History

The name "Libya" originates from the term "Lebu, "used by ancient Egyptians to describe Berbers living west of the Nile. The term transitioned into ancient Greek as "Libya."

Libya gained independence from Italy on 10 February 1947, and from the United Kingdom on 24 December 1951. After independence, King Idris I established a monarchy. In 1969, Muammar Gaddafi led a military coup that overthrew the monarchy, leading to the establishment of a republic. In 1977, the "Libyan Socialist People's Republic" was declared.

Ancient History of Libya

The indigenous inhabitants of Libya are Berber tribes. Throughout its history, the region was influenced by the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, the armies of Alexander the Great, the Ptolemaic dynasty, the Romans, the Arab Islamic Empire, and the Ottoman Empire.

Italian Colonisation

During the decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1911, Italy invaded Libya. Following the Italo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Ouchy, Ottoman control ended, and Libya became an Italian colony. Libyans, under the leadership of Omar Mukhtar, launched an armed guerrilla resistance against Italian colonisation, which lasted until Mukhtar's capture and execution in 1937.

After World War II, Italy withdrew from the region, which was handed over to France and the United Kingdom. In 1949, the United Nations declared that Libya should become an independent state. The Soviet Union played a significant role in securing Libya’s independence within the UN.

King Idris I’s Reign

King Idris I, who had been exiled to Egypt after fighting against Italian colonialism, represented Libya in the UN’s independence discussions. After Libya’s independence, he became its first king in 1948.

Muammar Gaddafi’s Socialist Period

In 1969, young military officers led by Muammar Gaddafi overthrew King Idris I, ending the monarchy. On 16 January 1970, a new constitution was established, and Gaddafi assumed the roles of prime minister and defence minister.

In 1977, Libya was renamed the “Libyan Socialist People's Republic” (Jamahiriya). Gaddafi served as head of state between 1972 and 1979 but unofficially remained Libya's "Brotherly Leader and Guide of the Revolution" until his assassination on 20 October 2011. Gaddafi developed an ideological blend of socialism and Islam, which he termed the "Third Universal Theory."

He expelled British, French, and Italian companies from Libya, nationalised oil refineries and natural gas facilities, and shut down military bases operated by imperialist powers. Gaddafi fostered political and economic ties with the Soviet Union while declaring the U.S. as Libya's primary adversary.

Libya’s Economy

Libya’s economy relies on oil and natural gas revenues, accounting for 90% of its income. However, due to the arid nature of its land, development in sectors other than oil and gas has been limited, leading to economic dependence on imports. Fluctuations in oil and gas prices have consistently impacted Libya's economy.

Under Gaddafi, 90% of oil revenues were invested domestically in basic needs. Nonetheless, the economy remained dependent on imports for many products. Electricity, water, natural gas, education, and healthcare were provided free of charge, and taxes were not imposed. Newlywed couples were given 150-square-metre homes, and families received additional financial support for children. Universities were tuition-free, and students received monthly scholarships of €1, 650.

Before the fall of Gaddafi, Libya was one of the few countries without debts to the IMF or World Bank.

"Great Man-Made River Project"

90% of Libya's territory is covered by the Sahara Desert. However, Gaddafi sought to transform the desert into a paradise by extracting underground water through the world's largest man-made river project. Initiated in 1984, the "Great Man-Made River Project" had an estimated total cost of $25 billion and was largely completed. When imperialist forces attacked Libya, they targeted this project early on to disrupt its progress.

The facility producing the world's largest pipes for the irrigation system was destroyed. Designed to extract 6.5 million cubic metres of water from underground and distribute it across Libya through 2,500 kilometres of canals, the man-made river project has now been rendered inoperable.

Why Did Imperialists Oppose Gaddafi?

Until recently, Africa was the only continent without a U.S. military base. In 2008, the U.S. attempted to establish a military presence in Africa through a central command called AFRICOM. However, since no African nation was willing to host the headquarters, AFRICOM was established in Stuttgart, Germany.

Gaddafi strongly opposed AFRICOM. He played a significant role in ensuring there were no U.S. bases on the continent. Whenever the U.S. offered financial incentives to establish a base in an African country, Gaddafi countered by offering twice the amount to block it. As a result of these efforts, in 2008, the African Union officially rejected AFRICOM.

Gaddafi also supported initiatives aimed at reducing Africa's dependency on foreign powers. In the 1990s, 45 African governments came together to agree on launching a shared satellite into space. The project, known as RASCOM, aimed to significantly lower telecommunications costs for African countries, which were collectively paying $500 million annually to European companies like Intelsat for telephone services. The project required only $400 million to complete, but institutions like the IMF repeatedly denied funding requests. Finally, Gaddafi stepped in, contributing $300 million to the project, which led to the satellite's launch in 2007.

Gaddafi's investments in Pan-Africanism extended far beyond this. He allocated $30 billion for three major projects: the African Investment Bank, the African Monetary Fund, and the African Central Bank. These initiatives were designed to free Africa from dependence on the IMF and World Bank. Gaddafi's next step was to introduce an Africa-wide currency backed by gold reserves.

Before Gaddafi's overthrow, Libya's GDP stood at $87 billion in 2000. By 2019, it had plummeted to $33 billion. This translates to an annual loss of $44 billion for the Libyan people, much of which now flows to imperialist corporations.

Libya, once known for having the best free education and healthcare systems in Africa, now struggles with severely diminished services. Today, 44% of hospitals are non-functional, 558 schools have closed, and 279, 000 children cannot attend school.

*(*Pan-Africanism is a socio-political ideology aimed at uniting and fostering solidarity among all Africans, regardless of ethnicity, on a global scale.)*

Libya “Civil War” or the Destruction of Libya

As previously stated, the U.S.’s target in Libya was not reforms but Gaddafi’s reign itself. After the invasion of Iraq, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi warned in international forums that all countries refusing to submit to the United States or failing to unite against its policies would face the same fate as Iraq. Nevertheless, when directly targeted by the U.S., Gaddafi chose to align with European imperialists, seeking compromise instead of resistance. During Barack Obama’s presidency, Gaddafi even sought "mercy" from Obama, failing to develop counter-policies against the direct threats posed by the U.S. While the "Arab Spring" presented an opportunity for imperialist powers, Gaddafi did not take proactive measures to counteract its impacts.

From the outset of BMENA, the U.S. sought to dismantle Gaddafi’s regime by deploying NGOs—covertly operating as intelligence fronts—and exploiting Libya’s ethnic, religious, tribal, and regional differences to fuel internal unrest. The Arab Spring offered the ideal platform for these strategies, but even then, the U.S. failed to achieve its objectives fully. Finally, the U.S. openly demanded Gaddafi relinquish power and leave the country.

While Gaddafi’s leadership can be criticised for various reasons, his contributions to his nation and people are undeniable, especially when viewed in hindsight after Libya’s destruction. Libya, a country with substantial oil and natural gas revenues, stands out in the Middle East and Africa for using its wealth to benefit its people under Gaddafi’s rule. In other nations with similar wealth, a small elite of collaborators and imperialist corporations siphoned resources, leaving the broader population neglected.

During Gaddafi’s era, 90% of Libya’s infrastructure was constructed, including education, healthcare, and social services unmatched by any African nation. He safeguarded Libya’s resources from imperialist exploitation, using them instead for the benefit of Libyans. Faced with threats to leave the country, Gaddafi resisted and chose to die in his homeland rather than yield to foreign demands.

The UN Security Council and NATO decisions were part of a coordinated effort to topple Gaddafi and pave the way for the pillaging of Libya’s resources.

On 18 March 2011, Libya was attacked by 28 NATO nations, led by the U.S., France, and the U.K. By October 20, Gaddafi’s regime had collapsed.

To expedite the fall of Gaddafi, the U.S. facilitated the return of Khalifa Haftar, a former Libyan military officer who had worked with the CIA. Haftar organised opposition forces, declared Tobruk the capital, and rallied various collaborating groups under his command. A parallel House of Representatives Government was established in Tobruk as an alternative to Gaddafi’s regime.

After Gaddafi’s murder, a National Salvation Government was formed in Tripoli. However, disputes among allied factions and tribes quickly escalated into violent clashes.

Since 2015, Libya has splintered into four main factions and numerous militias, each backed by imperialist powers and local collaborators:

1. House of Representatives Government and the Libyan National Army (led by Khalifa Haftar), controlling the south and east, supported by Egypt and the UAE.
2. Government of National Accord (GNA), based in Tripoli, supported by Qatar, Sudan, and Turkey.
3. National Salvation Government, aligned with various militia groups.
4. Local factions controlling smaller territories.

Summary of How Imperialists and Collaborators Are Trying to Reshape the Region

The southern and eastern parts of Libya are controlled by the House of Representatives Government and the Libyan National Army loyal to General Haftar, supported by airstrikes from Egypt and the UAE.

In western Libya, the General National Congress (GNC) is in control, which is supported by Qatar, Sudan, and Turkey.

Initially, the General National Congress accepted the election results from 2014. However, the Constitutional Court later announced that it would not recognise the election results due to changes in the

programme for the House of Representatives elections and amendments to the Constitution. Due to debates surrounding constitutional amendments, the House of Representatives refused to take over from the General National Congress in Tripoli.

The coastal city of Misrata, located on the western shore, was controlled by the collaborative militia forces of the General National Congress. Instead, the House of Representatives relocated to Tobruk, which was controlled by General Haftar's forces.

After negotiations in Skhirat in December 2015, the Libya Political Agreement was signed. This agreement was the result of prolonged negotiations between rival political factions to agree on a unifying Government of National Unity (GNA), with both Tripoli, Tobruk, and other areas agreeing to the formation of the GNA. On 30 March 2016, Fayez al-Sarraj, the head of the Government of National Unity, arrived in Tripoli and began operations there, despite the opposition of the General National Congress. Even though the GNA was recognised as the legitimate authority by imperialist countries, it was not recognised by the House of Representatives.

In addition to these three main factions, there were smaller rival groups, such as the Benghazi Islamist Shura Council, which supported the General National Congress, and was largely dismantled in Benghazi in 2017. Other groups included ISIS-affiliated cells, the Derna Mujahideen Shura Council, and numerous militias and armed groups that constantly shifted alliances.

In both Libya and Syria, radical Islamist groups like ISIS, who had initially been under imperialist control but later turned against them, were subjected to a process of being eradicated. The U.S. and its allies, in cooperation with local collaborators (such as the National Unity Government Forces and General National Congress), worked together to remove groups like ISIS and other radical Islamists, successfully weakening them.

In 2016, Halifa El Gawi's forces attempted a coup against Fayez al-Sarraj and the Presidential Council of the National Unity Government.

In 2019, forces loyal to Haftar launched an offensive to seize Tripoli. The Government of National Unity, with military support from various countries including Turkey, attempted to recapture areas held by Haftar. Despite ceasefires being declared between the warring factions, conflicts continue in Libya, and the situation is heading towards the disintegration and fragmentation of the country.

Conclusion:

Libya, a country that has no debt to the world and ranks among the countries with rising income levels, has reached the point of fragmentation and has been fully opened up to plunder by imperialists. All the collaborating countries are also chasing after the bone they hope to carve from this plunder.

Every year, thousands of Libyans are killed in the ongoing war driven by the interests of imperialists.

While people from various countries, from Africa to China, come to Libya to earn a living, today Libyans are fleeing to other countries as immigrants. Every year, thousands of Libyans try to escape to European countries, drowning and dying in the waters of the Mediterranean.

The liberation of the Libyan people lies not in being divided and torn apart by the imperialists' provocations based on race, nationality, religion, and sect, nor in slaughtering each other. It lies in uniting and fighting against the imperialists, the collaborating countries, and the local collaborating forces that have plundered their country like vultures.

Today, it is meaningless to discuss the shortcomings and mistakes of Gaddafi. It only serves the imperialist powers that want to divide and plunder Libya. The Libyan people have resisted, fought, and won against the Italian imperialists, the British, French, and American imperialists. Today, they can resist, unite, and fight against the imperialists and their collaborating forces who are plundering their country.

TUNISIA

The official name of the country is the Republic of Tunisia. Located in North Africa, Tunisia is an Arab and Islamic country founded by Habib Bourguiba.

Tunisia is bordered by: Algeria to the west, Libya and the Mediterranean Sea to the east, The Mediterranean Sea to the north.

The southern part of the country is covered by the vast Sahara Desert, and its capital is Tunis. The official languages are Arabic and French, and as of 2020, the estimated population was 11, 708, 370.

Geographical Features

Tunisia has an area of 163, 610 km², making it the smallest country in North Africa's Maghreb region. Separated from Europe by the Sicily Strait, it is just 140 km away from the European continent. Seasonal shallow lakes and large salt lakes are found in the southern part of the country.

Demographics of Tunisia

Religion: 99% of Tunisia's population is Muslim.

Languages: The official languages are Arabic and French, while the population in the south also speaks Berber.

Ethnic Composition: Tunisians are predominantly Arabs and Berbers, with a small minority (1%) of French and Italian residents.

Economy of Tunisia

Agriculture: Tunisia is primarily an agricultural country, with 55% of its land suitable for farming. However, only 35% of this land is actively cultivated.

Industry: Industrial activity is not well-developed, but certain light industries, such as leather, paper, food processing, and handicrafts, are significant. Additionally, there is some production in sectors like petroleum, cellulose, steel, and electric appliances.

Tourism: In recent years, tourism has become a growing sector and a focus of investment in Tunisia.

History of Tunisia

Tunisia is renowned for its association with the Carthaginian civilization, which originated from the Phoenicians. Over various periods, colonies were established by Sicilians and Spaniards. As it began to pose a threat to the Roman Empire, Tunisia came under Roman control and remained as Rome's African Province.

- In 1534, Tunisia came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire after the end of Hafsid rule.
- Between 1535 and 1574, the Hafsid Kingdom briefly regained control, remaining under the Spanish Empire's influence.
- After 1574, it was reintegrated into Ottoman rule.
- In 1881, with the signing of the Bardo Treaty, Tunisia became a French protectorate.
- Tunisia gained independence from France on 20 March 1956.

Tunisia, BMENA, and the "Arab Spring"

After gaining independence, many Middle Eastern countries were either governed as monarchies or established petty-bourgeois dictatorships. Following Partition War II, socialism had a significant influence in the region, leading many countries to fight for and achieve independence. However, in nations where strong socialist movements were absent, U.S. imperialism re-established neo-colonial systems to maintain control. To suppress social movements and socialism, these regimes supported monarchies, emirates, and bourgeois dictatorships.

A crucial strategy was fostering division through ethnic, religious, and sectarian differences. In response to growing guerrilla movements, the U.S. also supported the rise of radical Islamist organisations under the concept of a "Green Belt."

Tunisia experienced instability even after gaining independence, with petty-bourgeois dictatorships ruling the nation. The preferred governance model for neo-colonialism was a representative parliamentary system, which allowed the facade of democracy. Extended open fascist dictatorships often led to public uprisings, jeopardizing neo-colonial control.

BMENA aimed to establish stable governments that could facilitate imperialist market economies while maintaining a semblance of democracy. Tunisia became a focal point for these efforts. Numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs), backed by imperialist powers, were established under the project. Offices for the "Midd*le East Partnership Initiative" wer*e set up in Tunisia and Jordan to implement BMENA.

The U.S. supported "moderate Islamism" and reformist, pro-American leftist movements to align Tunisia with its goals. During the Arab Spring, the public's demand for justice, jobs, food, and freedom led to uprisings against the 23-year-long dictatorship of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, which was deeply aligned with U.S. and EU imperialists. The U.S. leveraged the Arab Spring to reorganise Tunisia according to its objectives. However, plans that disregarded the will of the people ultimately failed to yield the desired outcomes in Tunisia.

Developments in Tunisia After the "Arab Spring"

Following the "Arab Spring, "Tunisia transitioned to a multi-party parliamentary system.

In the first elections held on 23 October 2011, the Ennahda Party, an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood and a "moderate Islamist" movement, emerged victorious. Similar to the Muslim Brotherhood's approach in Egypt, Ennahda quickly attempted to transform the country's laws and practices according to Sharia principles. However, the party failed to address the population's pressing issues such as hunger, poverty, and unemployment, while also curtailing freedoms compared to the past.

Protests against Ennahda's policies arose from trade unions, professional organisations, and left-wing parties.

In 2013, the assassination of leftist leader Chokri Belaid triggered the collapse of the government. A technocratic government was subsequently formed under Ennahda's leadership.

Later in July 2013, the assassination of another opposition leader, Mohamed Brahmi, caused the technocratic government to fall as well. Ennahda then fully withdrew from power.

This marked the end of the political viability of the "moderate Islamism" movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood. Similar to Egypt, where the Muslim Brotherhood was overthrown by Sisi's coup, Ennahda in Tunisia handed over power to technocrats following widespread protests.

In the 27 October 2014, elections, opposition forces united under the Nidaa Tounes Party, led by Beji Caid Essebsi, a former parliamentary speaker during Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's rule. They defeated Ennahda in the elections, effectively bringing back a semblance of the Ben Ali era.

In the 2019 parliamentary elections, Ennahda again became the largest party in the first round but secured only half the votes it had won in 2011. Despite its win, Ennahda lacked enough seats to form a government independently. Other parties were also fragmented, making it difficult for any party to form a government alone. According to the 2015 constitution, Tunisia has a 3% electoral threshold, requiring

a coalition to form a government. In the second round, an anti-Ennahda coalition came together to establish the government.

In the 2019 presidential elections, Kais Saied was elected with just 18% of the vote. Tunisia, often described as the only country to achieve "democracy" during the Arab Spring, is now governed by a president with minimal public support—a situation that cannot even be called "democracy" in the bourgeois sense.

The "democracy" brought by imperialist interventions in Libya, Syria, and Yemen resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths, the disintegration of nations, and ongoing wars. In Egypt, Sisi's dictatorship is considered even harsher than Mubarak's regime. Monarchies and emirates in the region remain unchanged.

In Tunisia, the 10th-anniversary protests of the Arab Spring saw tens of thousands of people take to the streets once again, demanding jobs, bread, justice, and freedom. The "democracy" promised to the people became evident in the arrests of thousands of protesters during these demonstrations.

Lessons for the Tunisian and Middle Eastern People from These Experiences:

1. There is no salvation for the people within the current system.
2. The presence of multiple parties and elections does not equate to democracy.
3. The demands for jobs, bread, justice, and freedom cannot be fulfilled within this system.
4. All movements supported by imperialists—even popular ones—should be viewed with scepticism.
5. Movements that do not target imperialists and their collaborators are susceptible to being co-opted into imperialist agendas.
6. Revolution cannot be achieved through reforms within the system.
7. The only path to salvation for the people is through Marxist-Leninist (M-L) revolution. This revolution must dismantle the existing system rather than reform it.
8. The duty of M-L revolutionaries is to utilise popular movements to advance the struggle for an M-L revolutionary agenda.

EGYPT

Egypt, officially the Arab Republic of Egypt, is a country located at the intersection of the African and Asian continents. Its capital is Cairo, and its official languages are Egyptian and Arabic. It is a republic governed by a constitutional framework. The people of Egypt are composed of 81.9% Arabs and 18% Copts.

Geographical Location and Economic Structure

The country spans a surface area of 1, 002, 450 km². Egypt, which has the largest population in North Africa, has a population of 100, 075, 480. The majority of its population is settled along the Nile River. With coasts on both the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea, Egypt shares borders with Libya to the west and Sudan to the south. On the Sinai Peninsula in Asia, Egypt borders Palestine and Israel. The Nile River flows through Egypt, emptying into the Mediterranean.

Geographically defined as Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt, the country's economy is based on tourism, the export of textile products made from the high-quality, long-fibered Giza cotton, and the fertile, alluvial lands along the Nile River. Cairo houses some of the world's largest chains of five-star hotels. Nile cruises are popular among tourists, and Egyptian Pyramids and the temples of ancient Egypt, one of the world's three most significant civilizations, are major attractions.

One of the largest dams in the world, the Aswan High Dam, was built on the Nile River by Gamal Abdel Nasser. Egypt has sufficient petroleum reserves to meet its domestic needs.

The privatisation policies of imperialism have played a significant role in increasing unemployment in Egypt. Tax incentives and other privileges are offered to attract foreign direct investment. Recently, some well-known Turkish textile brands have also invested in Egypt's free trade zones.

Egypt clearly displays all the characteristics of a neo-colonial country. It serves as a cheap tourism destination for the people of imperialist nations. On one hand, it has some of the world's most luxurious hotels, shopping centres, casinos, and entertainment facilities; on the other hand, right behind these venues, the stark poverty of the Egyptian people begins.

History of Egypt

Egypt has a nearly 7, 000-year-old history. Many nations, tribes, individuals, and administrations have ruled Egypt during this period. Even summarising them is a lengthy task:

- **Pre-dynastic period**: 3150 BCE (Pharaonic period)
- **Dynastic period**: 3032 BCE – 2707 BCE
- **Old Kingdom**: 2707 BCE – 2216 BCE
- **First Intermediate Period**: 2216 BCE – 2025 BCE
- **Middle Kingdom**: 2010 BCE – 1793 BCE
- **Second Intermediate Period**: 1648 BCE – 1550 BCE
- **New Kingdom**: 1531 BCE – 1075 BCE
- **Third Intermediate Period**: 1075 BCE – 652 BCE
- **Late Period**: 332 BCE
- **Ptolemaic Period**: 332 BCE – 395 CE
- **Byzantine Period**: 395 CE – 638 CE

- **Early Islamic Period**: 640 CE – 868 CE
- **Tulunids**: 868 CE – 905 CE
- **Abbasids**: 905 CE – 935 CE
- **Ikhshidids**: 935 CE – 969 CE
- **Fatimids**: 969 CE – 1171 CE
- **Ayyubid Dynasty**: 1171 CE – 1250 CE
- **Mamluk Sultanate**: 1250 CE – 1517 CE
- **Ottoman Empire**: 1517 CE – 1805 CE
- **Napoleon's Invasion of Egypt**: 1798 CE – 1802 CE
- **Muhammad Ali Dynasty**: 1805 CE – 1882 CE
- **British Occupation**: 1882 CE – 15 March 1922, CE
- **Kingdom of Egypt**: 19 April 1922, CE – July 1952 CE
- **Egyptian Republic**: 18 June 1953, CE – 1 February 1958, CE
- **United Arab Republic**: 1 February 1958, CE – 2 September 1971, CE
- **Arab Republic of Egypt**: 1971 CE – Present

Egypt's Declaration of Independence, Kingdom, and Republic Periods

Egypt declared its independence from British colonial rule in 1922. Ahmed Fuad Pasha took the title King Fuad I. A constitution enacted in 1923 created a two-chamber legislative system, transitioning Egypt into a constitutional monarchy. This system limited the king's powers through a parliamentary structure.

Despite declaring independence from Britain, Egypt did not achieve genuine sovereignty. King Fuad ascended to the throne primarily with British support. Elections for the parliamentary system often saw strong anti-colonial sentiment, leading to repeated British intervention.

When Britain recognised Egypt's independence, it ensured control over the Suez Canal. In 1936, an agreement with Britain further limited Egypt's political sovereignty.

In 1948, the Muslim Brotherhood assassinated Prime Minister Mahmoud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi. A year later, in 1949, the Egyptian government killed the Brotherhood's founding leader, Hassan al-Banna.

Nuqrashi's successor, Nahhas Pasha, declared the 1936 agreement null and void. This led to skirmishes between local guerrilla groups and British troops. In Ismailia, British tanks attacked a police station, killing 50 officers, an event remembered as "Black Friday." Following this, widespread uprisings broke out in Egypt, targeting British-owned establishments. Amidst the chaos, a group of young officers took control on 23 July 1952.

Gamal Abdel Nasser's Era

The young officers who seized power were led by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. Their six-point agenda outlined the future course of action:

1. **End British colonialism.**
2. **Remove Egyptians collaborating with colonial powers from their positions.**
3. **Abolish feudalism.**
4. **Free the state from foreign economic control.**
5. **Build a strong national army.**
6. **Establish a healthy democratic life.**

Nasser's leadership marked a turning point in Egypt's modern history, aiming for economic independence, social reform, and political sovereignty.

Through the intense efforts of the "Revolutionary Command Council" led by Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt achieved the aforementioned objectives. The monarchy was officially abolished, and an agricultural reform law was enacted. Large-scale operations targeted the Muslim Brotherhood. A new constitution

was drafted, and in the 1956 elections, Nasser was elected president with 98.9% of the vote. British forces withdrew from the Suez Canal.

Nasser opposed the "**Baghdad Pact**"**,** formed by the U.S. with Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan, asserting that it aimed to make Arab nations dependent on imperialism again. He successfully prevented Syria and Jordan from joining the pact.

Nasser's anti-imperialist ideas and policies garnered immense sympathy among Arab populations, influencing Arabs throughout the Middle East. He took a firm stance against Britain and the U.S., nationalizing the Suez Canal.

Although Nasser participated in the Bandung Conference (1955) and joined the "Non-Aligned Movement" with Yugoslav President Tito and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, he also established economic relations with the Soviet Union. Advocating for Pan-Arabism, which called for the unity of all Arabs, his ideas deeply influenced the Arab world during the 1950s and 1960s.

As part of this ideology, the United Arab Republic (UAR) was established in 1958, a confederation of Syria and Egypt under Nasser's leadership. However, the UAR dissolved in 1961 when Syria withdrew.

Nasser became a steadfast advocate for the Palestinian cause, leading the Six-Day War in 1967 against Israel, which all Arab nations supported. Despite this war ending in defeat and significantly tarnishing Nasserism's prestige, Nasser continued to champion the Palestinian cause until his death on 28 September 1970. He remained deeply respected among Arab nations for his unwavering dedication to Palestinian liberation.

"Nasserism, "also known as Arab Socialism, combined Arab nationalism, advocacy for Arab unity, and anti-imperialist ideologies influenced by socialism. It was a petty-bourgeois ideology rooted in anti-colonialism.

After Nasser's death, Anwar Sadat became president and reversed Nasser's policies. Under Sadat and subsequent administrations, Egypt transformed into a neo-colony of the U.S., aligning its economy, politics, and culture with American interests. This included recognising Israel as a state through the 1979 Peace Treaty (Camp David Accords), making Egypt the first Arab country to formally acknowledge Israel. This move marked a significant departure from the Palestinian cause and was widely criticised.

Sadat's assassination led to the rise of Hosni Mubarak, who, during his 32-year rule, supported all U.S. policies in the region until his resignation during the Arab Spring. Egypt, which once led the Arab nations in the fight against Israel, became a key player in suppressing the Palestinian struggle and protecting Israel's interests after turning into a U.S. neo-colony.

Conclusion

1. Egypt is a highly significant country for the United States within the framework of BMENA. It is the most populous Muslim nation in the Middle East, boasting rich underground and surface resources.
2. Politically, Egypt holds considerable influence among Muslim countries in the Middle East and has become a leader among Muslim nations cooperating with imperialist powers.
3. After the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt, under President Anwar Sadat, abandoned its path of independence and became a collaborator with U.S. imperialism. Following Sadat's assassination, Hosni Mubarak, who ruled the country for 30 years, emerged as one of America's closest collaborators. Within the scope of BMENA, the U.S. utilised Mubarak to the fullest extent.
4. During the Arab Spring, the Egyptian people's uprising was driven by hunger, poverty, unemployment, corruption, and injustice. Among the people, Hosni Mubarak became synonymous with the name "Pharaoh, "symbolizing Egypt's collaboration with the U.S. under his rule.
5. At the start of the uprising, the U.S. supported its ally Mubarak. However, as the rebellion spread nationwide and risked spiralling out of control, the U.S. abandoned Mubarak.
6. The U.S.'s decision to abandon Mubarak while framing the uprising as a "democratic reaction" served two purposes: controlling the rebellion through NGOs and mitigating the growing anti-American sentiment among the people of the Middle East.

7. The term "Arab Spring" was first coined by U.S. and European imperialists to describe these developments.
8. In Egypt, after Mubarak was removed from power, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Mohamed Morsi, was installed to lead a government aligned with the U.S.'s BMENA policy of "Moderate Islam." This paved the way for the U.S. to implement similar policies in other countries, such as Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Syria, Libya, and Yemen, whose governments they sought to change.
9. In Libya, when the Moderate Islamists failed to overthrow one of the primary targets, Muammar Gaddafi, the "Arab Spring" narrative dissolved, and "Moderate Islam" was replaced by "radicals", resulting in political failure.
10. After Mubarak, the so-called "Moderate Islamist" Muslim Brotherhood, under Mohamed Morsi, failed to serve the democratic and freedom narratives of U.S.-EU imperialists. Consequently, Morsi was removed through a military coup, and Abdel Fattah el-Sisi was brought to power. Sisi's regime remains one of the most crucial collaborators of the U.S. in the Middle East, leading Arab states.
11. Egypt's democratic composition consists of 72% Muslim Arabs and 8% Coptic Christians. Within the 72% Muslim Arabs, there are numerous nationalities and sectarian distinctions. Additionally, some groups, considered Arab due to the influence of Islam, are actually from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Under the current system, these populations lack equal opportunities, freedom, and the ability to practice their faith or express their beliefs. This creates a potential for ongoing unrest. Only within a society shaped by socialism can Egypt's people live equally, freely, and peacefully.

ISRAEL

The American Dagger Embedded in the Heart of Arab Nations in the Middle East

Israel is not among the countries targeted by the United States under the framework of BMENA. On the contrary, Israel is a country that the U.S. seeks to secure against Middle Eastern countries through BMENA, as Israel represents U.S. imperialism. In essence, Israel is the operational hand of the U.S. in the Middle East. For this reason, Israel warrants further examination.

Basic Information About Israel:

Official Name: The State of Israel.

Situated in Western Asia on the southeastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea and the northern shore of the Red Sea. It borders Lebanon to the north, Syria to the northeast, Jordan to the east, Egypt to the southwest, and the Palestinian territories (Gaza Strip and West Bank) to both the west and east.

The administrative centre is Jerusalem, although its sovereignty over the city is not fully recognised internationally. The economic and technological hub is Tel Aviv.

The official language is Hebrew, with Arabic recognised as a regional language.

Israel spans 20, 770 km² and had an estimated population of 9, 305, 700 in 2021, 20.7% of whom are Arabs with Israeli citizenship.

The population consists of 75.1% Jews, 20.7% Arabs, and 4.2% others.

Geography of Israel:

Israel is located on the Mediterranean coast in the Middle East.

Southern Region: Dominated by the Negev Desert, with vast semi-arid plains.

Northeastern Region: Includes the Jordan Rift Valley, with the Dead Sea situated here, the lowest point on Earth at 394 metres below sea level.

Northern Region: Features fertile plains and highlands such as Mount Carmel and the Esdraelon Valley. The Jordan River flows through this area into the Dead Sea.

Eastern Region: A mountainous area encompassing the Judean and Samarian Hills, extending to the Negev Highlands.

Natural Resources: The Dead Sea is a treasure trove of potassium, sodium, magnesium, and salt. The Negev region contains copper, phosphates, manganese, and oil.

Historical Overview:

1. Ancient Era:
   The region was a migration point for early hominids from Africa.
   By the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1550 BCE), it was inhabited by Canaanite tribes.
   In the Iron Age (9th century BCE), the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah emerged.
   Successive empires—Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic—dominated the area while granting varying degrees of Jewish autonomy.
2. Roman and Byzantine Periods:
   Following the Maccabean Revolt, an independent Hasmonean Kingdom was established in 110 BCE but became a Roman client state by 63 BCE.
   In 6 CE, the region became the Roman province of Judea. Repeated Jewish revolts led to Roman repression, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the renaming of the province as "Syria Palaestina."
3. Islamic and Crusader Eras:
   In the 7th century CE, Arab forces conquered the Levant[9], holding the region until the Crusaders captured it in 1099.
   By 1187, Saladin reclaimed the area for Muslim rule, which continued under the Mamluks[10] from the 13th century onward.
4. Ottoman Era (1517–1917):
   The Ottoman Empire incorporated the region after defeating the Mamluks, maintaining control until its dissolution after Partition War I.
5. Modern Zionism and British Mandate:
   The late 19th-century Zionist movement spurred Jewish migration to Ottoman Palestine.
   Under the British Mandate (1917–1948), migration increased, fuelling tensions with the Arab population.
6. Establishment of Israel:
   In 1947, the UN proposed a partition plan for separate Jewish and Arab states, which the Jewish leadership accepted but Arab leaders rejected.

[9] A term used to describe a vast, undefined area along the eastern Mediterranean shores, referring to a geographic, historical, and cultural region. Throughout history, it generally refers to a large area in the Middle East, south of the Taurus Mountains. It is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the west, the Arabian Desert to the south, and Mesopotamia to the east.

[10] Mamluk Sultanate: A Turkish-origin state that ruled over Egypt and Syria for nearly 300 years (1250-1517) following the collapse of the Ayyubids and before the Ottoman Empire's conquest of Egypt. The Mamluks were eventually overthrown by the Ottoman Empire.

In 1948, Israel declared independence, sparking the Arab-Israeli War, which led to Israel controlling most of the former Mandate's territory, while neighbouring Arab states captured the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

7. Ongoing Conflict:

   Israel has been involved in multiple wars with its Arab neighbours and expanded its control over territories like the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan Heights after the Six-Day War of 1967. The occupation of Palestinian territories continues, with East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights annexed, although this is not internationally recognised.

   The Israeli-Palestinian conflict remains unresolved, marked by territorial disputes and competing claims to Jerusalem.

The Origin of the Name "Israel"

The name "Israel" and the concepts of Judaism and Zionism are often discussed in complex and contentious contexts. One of the biggest mistakes regarding Israel is attempting to explain everything through Judaism and Zionism, while overlooking the imperialist reality. For over a thousand years, Jews who were dispersed across the world without a homeland, in the 19th century—when bourgeois ideas of independent nation-states were at their height—naturally began to pursue their own efforts to establish a state. Although they made efforts from the mid-19th century onward, they were not successful. The creation of the State of Israel after Partition War II, in Palestine, was a product of a different geopolitical project.

According to the *Tanakh*[11] (the Hebrew Bible), while Jacob was migrating with his family, the angel of God appeared to him in human form. After moving his family across the river, Jacob wrestled with the angel until dawn. Realising that he could not overpower Jacob, the angel asked him to let go, but Jacob refused, demanding a blessing before releasing him. The angel then blessed Jacob with the name "Israel, "which means "one who has struggled with God and overcome". This event is why Jacob's descendants are known as the "Children of Israel". Jacob's descendants were called Israelites after he moved to Egypt, and thus the modern state of Israel derives its name from this biblical narrative.

The Process of Establishing the State of Israel

In the second half of the 19th century, Jews in Europe began efforts to establish a state.

The British government first initiated efforts to establish a Jewish state in the "Promised Land"(Eretz Yisrael, Palestine) in 1848. In that year, the British government issued a directive placing its consuls in Palestine under Jewish protection. By 1870, the centre of Jewish activities shifted from Britain to Russia.

Theodor Herzl, who led the Zionist movement, pursued numerous initiatives to establish a "Jewish State" in Palestine. Herzl sought support from powerful nations like Britain to realise this vision.

Jewish Migration to Palestine:

Herzl, in the early 1900s, tried to negotiate with the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II to allow Jewish settlement in Palestine, but the negotiations were unsuccessful.

The Zionists soon realised that they needed a class of farmers to establish a sustainable state, but most Jews in Europe were involved in commerce. It was the Jewish farmers in Russia who faced pogroms—violent attacks—which led to their migration to Palestine starting in the 1870s. Between 1870 and 1896, Herzl helped establish 17 agricultural colonies in Palestine.

[11] Tanakh: The holy scripture of Judaism, which includes the Torah and the Psalms. It is also considered sacred by Christians, who refer to it as the "Old Testament."

However, the majority of the Jews who left Russia emigrated to the United States.

Balfour Declaration:

The Balfour Declaration was initiated by Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary under Prime Minister Lloyd George's leadership, and it led to the establishment of a Jewish state—Israel—in Palestine. This declaration, made in 1917, is the first Balfour Declaration. Through the Balfour initiative, a second declaration concerning British colonies was made in 1926.

The content of the Balfour Declaration was as follows:

On 2 November 1917, Lord Arthur Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, sent a letter to Lord Rothschild, one of the leaders of the international Zionist movement, indicating that the British government would support the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The letter stated:

"His Majesty's government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object."

This letter makes it clear that the decision to establish a Jewish state in Palestine was primarily made by the British government.

Development of the Process:

At the end of Partition War I, the Balfour Declaration process was initiated on 2 November 1917, by British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour. In 1920, the League of Nations recognised the British Mandate over Palestine. Following this, a Jewish bureau was established to represent Jewish people in Britain. In the following years, Zionists began efforts to convince Jewish communities scattered around the world to migrate to Palestine in order to form an effective population for the establishment of a state.

As Nazi Germany began implementing the genocide of Jews from the 1930s to the mid-1940s, a large migration of Jews to Palestine began. The Arabs in Palestine opposed this migration, and as a result, Britain decided to halt the Jewish immigration.

In response, the military Jewish organisation Haganah, affiliated with the Zionist movement, launched armed attacks to protest Britain's restrictive decision on Jewish immigration.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian leadership cooperated with the Nazis. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem made several visits to Germany for this purpose.

With the defeat of German fascism in Partition War II, the Palestinian issue reached its final phase.

After the Second Imperialist War of Partition, the Real Power Behind the Establishment of Israel Became the U.S.

Although Britain was among the victorious nations of Partition War II, it was the United States that emerged stronger and took the lead in the imperialist bloc. The U.S. began reshaping the entire imperialist world, including the Middle East, where British and French imperialism had previously dominated. These powers lost control over their colonies, paving the way for the U.S. to establish its hegemony. The creation of the Jewish state of Israel was the first step in this process.

The Two-State Solution for Palestine

After Britain lost influence, Zionists secured U.S. support and brought the Palestinian issue to the United Nations for resolution.

In November 1947, the UN decided to partition Palestine into two states: one for Jews and one for Arabs. While Jews accepted this resolution, Arabs rejected it. Jerusalem was designated as an international

zone under UN control, a decision that failed to satisfy the Arab population. This dissatisfaction led to the first Israeli-Arab conflict, the Israeli-Palestinian War.

On 14 May 1948, under the UN partition plan, David Ben-Gurion declared the establishment of the State of Israel. Within 24 hours, armies from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq attacked Israeli territories.

Partition of Palestine and Israeli Occupations

In early 1949, direct negotiations were held under UN auspices between Israel and the Arab nations it fought, except Iraq. These talks culminated in an armistice agreement. The agreement allocated the coastal strip, Galilee, and the Negev Desert to Israel; Judea and Samaria (West Bank) to Jordan; Gaza to Egyptian administration; and Jerusalem was divided, with the western part under Israeli control and the eastern part, including the Old City, under Jordanian control.

The original UN partition plan of 29 November 1947 had allocated 56% of Palestinian territory to Israel and 44% to Palestinians. However, through successive occupations, Israel expanded its territory. After the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel occupied an additional 22% of Palestinian land, increasing its total control to 78%.

By 2020, 85% of Palestinian land was under Israeli occupation, and Palestinians were confined to two disconnected areas: Gaza and the West Bank. Palestinians in occupied territories continue to face displacement, violence, and expropriation of their land.

Israel's Economy

Israel's economy is based on high-tech manufacturing, agriculture, industry, diamond processing, and tourism. Communal agricultural settlements known as kibbutzim[12] produce nearly all the country's food, ensuring self-sufficiency. Israel is among the world's fastest-growing nations in technology, hosting R&D centres for global companies like Intel, IBM, Motorola, and Google.

In 2021, Israel's estimated GDP was $410.5 billion, with a population of 9.3 million.

Agriculture and Livestock

Kibbutzim form the backbone of Israeli agriculture. These collective farms have transformed areas like the Negev Desert into arable land, increasing agricultural productivity. Despite limited grazing land, poultry farming and fishing are highly developed.

Although organised in the form of Kibbutz collective farms, there are also units structured as cooperatives. Agriculture is carried out by these organisations.

In Israel, 6.5% of the total workforce is employed in the agricultural sector. The main agricultural products are cereals, citrus fruits, sugar beets, grapes, and cherries.

While cattle and sheep are raised in Israel, their development is limited due to restricted pasturelands. However, poultry farming and fishing are highly developed.

Industry and Trade

Israel's rapidly growing industrial sector employs 33.4% of its workforce. Key industries include copper, potassium, pharmaceuticals, optics, electronics, diamond processing, and arms manufacturing. Over one-third of Israel's exports come from the diamond industry, while agricultural products also play

[12] The term *kibbutz* refers to communal settlements in Israel. Kibbutzim represent a unique Israeli experiment that combines socialism and Zionism in a practical way. These settlements stand out as one of history's largest collective social movements, playing a significant role in the country's agricultural and social development.

a significant role. Major trade partners include the U.S., the UK, and Germany. Tourism is another vital source of revenue.

Demographics of Israel

Nearly 7 million Jews live in Israel, with Arabs comprising 20.7% of the population. Over the past decade, many workers from Romania, Thailand, China, Africa, and South America have immigrated to Israel.

Israel identifies itself as a Jewish state, granting citizenship only to Jews or those of Jewish descent under the "Law of Return."

About 4% of the population comprises individuals of Jewish descent who do not identify as Jewish. The official languages are Hebrew and Arabic, with English widely taught in schools.

Although Israel has no official religion, it defines itself as both a Jewish and democratic state. According to a social survey, 55% of Israeli Jews identify as traditional, 20% as secular, 17% as Zionist, 8% as Haredi (ultra-Orthodox), and 5% as Orthodox-radical Jews.

Israel as the U.S.'s Outpost in the Middle East

Israel serves as a dagger thrust into the heart of Arab nations, acting as an advanced outpost for U.S. imperialism to dominate the Middle East.

To provide a clearer understanding, we have given Israel more detailed consideration.

According to some, Israel is a Jewish state that rules the entire world and controls it. It is said that Israel, or the Jews, governs the United States and determines its policies. Some bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals even attempt to explain everything by placing Judaism at the core of all issues.

At the heart of this lies the effort to obscure the reality of imperialism. According to these views, there are no imperialist monopolies; instead, there are "Jewish businessmen" who seek to dominate the entire world. Israel, in turn, is perceived as a state established by them.

It is erroneous to explain the history of societies, historical events, and the reality of classes solely through religions, sects, races, or nationalities. Such an approach detaches us from the truth.

Marx stated, “The history of societies is nothing but the history of class struggles.”

If we fail to view the history of societies through this lens, we will deviate from scientific understanding and reality. Even wars waged in the name of religion throughout history are fundamentally rooted in the interests of the ruling classes. Religions, sects, beliefs, and nationalities have been utilised in the service of these interests.

The establishment of the State of Israel was, of course, influenced by the ideology of Zionism. However, it cannot be considered independent of the presence of imperialism in the region.

Zionism: Ideology and Origins

Zionism is an ideological movement that supports and advocates for the establishment of a Jewish state in the lands historically referred to as the "Israelite communities, "and is based on Jewish nationalism.

The starting point of Zionism is rooted in Judaism. "Zion" is the name of the hill in Jerusalem, where the Prophet David made his capital.

The idea of a nation-state, born out of the bourgeoisie's desire for its own national market, began to influence the Jewish bourgeoisie in England from the mid-19th century and led to the development of the Zionist ideology.

Although the efforts of the Zionists to establish a state began in the 1800s, their aspirations only began to have a chance of realisation after their goals aligned with the imperialists' interests in the region.

As mentioned above, the first Jewish migrations to Palestine with the goal of establishing a state began in 1917, when Palestine was under British mandate, following the Balfour Declaration. The full occupation of Palestine by Zionists was achieved with the UN's decision on 14 May 1948.

This process—after Partition War II and the subsequent shift of leadership from the British Empire to U.S. imperialism—marks the period when the U.S. started to establish its own imperialist order.

The establishment of the State of Israel is essentially a product of this process.

Israel's Mission in the Middle East is to Serve as the U.S. Police Force!

Since the establishment of Israel, the U.S. has aimed to take control of the region's energy potential and to have a base, a stronghold from which it can intervene at any moment against the Arab populations opposing these policies and the Soviet Union's influence in the region.

In the Middle East, Israel equals the U.S. Israel is the largest U.S. military base. It is the hand, arm, and attack weapon of the U.S. military. The Israeli army is not just an occupation force limited to Palestine.

Israel's fundamental mission is to be a tool for shaping the Middle East according to the desires of imperialists, sometimes acting as a whip, and at other times as a machine of massacre.

Therefore, contrary to what some claim in order to deny U.S. imperialism, Israel does not rule the world. Israel is the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

Though the Zionist ideology is rooted in Judaism, it is essentially a bourgeois ideology, originating as the ideology of the Jewish bourgeoisie.

The Jewish people, scattered across the world in small communities, did not have a desire to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. The majority of Jewish migration to Palestine was carried out through force, provocations, massacres, and various incentives.

To ensure a Jewish majority in Palestine, Israel continues to offer dual citizenship, land, and other incentives to Jewish communities living in different countries. Despite efforts over the past century, more Jews live as citizens of countries around the world than in Israel.

In conclusion:

1. Although the Zionist Jewish bourgeoisie appears to be behind the establishment of Israel in Palestine, British and U.S. imperialism is at its core. Imperialist monopolies have interests in the Middle East.
2. In the age of imperialism, the bourgeoisie has lost its national character. The Jewish bourgeoisie also does not have a national character; they have merged with the imperialist monopolistic system.
3. Judaism and Zionism are tools used by U.S. imperialism to dominate the region. If we evaluate Israel not through the imperialism-Middle Eastern contradiction, but rather through the Judaism-Zionism vs. Islam contradiction, our conclusions will be misguided.
4. The establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine must be viewed through this lens. Since 1948, the Jewish people have been used to serve the imperialist interests of the U.S.
5. Similarly, those unable to openly oppose U.S. imperialism have, under the guise of opposing the "BMENA, "opposed what they call the "project to protect Israel". The fundamental error here is failing to see that protecting Israel is, in fact, protecting the U.S.

IMPERIALISM'S CREATION OF ISRAEL

For many, especially political Islamists, the great conspiracy of the century is the claim that "U.S. imperialism is controlled by Israel, and that Jews control Turkey."

The claim that “Jews control Turkey” is a typical political deception. Political Islamists and nationalist conservatives have used this narrative for years, successfully attracting a Muslim base. This conspiracy has various versions, including those who claim that Atatürk and other immigrants from Thessaloniki were Sabbatean, aiming to build opposition to the Republic and Secularism. There are also those who try to make Israel's occupation of Palestine an instrument of “religious-based domestic politics.”

Another version of this conspiracy is the claim that U.S. imperialism is controlled by the British. They assert that behind almost all U.S. imperialist actions is a British intellect. Some of these claims reach as far as the vicious accusation that “Atatürk was an English agent” propagated by political Islamists.

The Turkish Right’s Pro-American Stance

This conspiracy is essentially a cover for the collaboration between political Islamists, nationalists, and conservatives with U.S. imperialism. Under the guise of anti-communism, they have willingly supported U.S. operations—from becoming instruments of the U.S. ***gladio*** [13] apparatus, attacking revolutionary youth protesting the 6th Fleet, to creating an environment for pro-American coups.

In the ideology of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis of the 1980 coup, sects and religious communities were turned into tools of sabotage against the secular Republic. Among them, the Gülen movement, which was most aligned with the U.S., ultimately became involved in anti-Turkey activities, culminating in the July 15 coup attempt. Those who have aligned with the U.S. in BMENA, particularly in Iraq, Syria, and Libya, have also been systematically dismantling the remaining strongholds of Kemalist Republicanism over the past 19 years.

Political Islamists and nationalist-conservatives are deeply tied to pro-Americanism. As a result, in their wide-reaching propaganda, they often turn to conspiracies such as “Israel controlling the U.S.” or “Britain manipulating U.S. imperialism” hiding the actual power dynamics. Sadly, in recent years, even some secular-nationalist groups have fallen for these conspiracies.

Rather than learning from important works like Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, many have become influenced by social media’s brief, misleading snippets. Regardless of political affiliation, they are easily swayed by these conspiracies.

The Real Meaning of Israel for the U.S.

There is no reality of “British control” over U.S. imperialism. The "British Mind"is a thing of the 19th century. With a weakening economy and military, Britain had to hand over its leadership to the U.S. in the 20th century. The “British Mind” has long ceased to be a decisive factor.

The idea that Israel controls U.S. imperialism is also a weak conspiracy. In fact, Israel serves as a tool for U.S. imperialist interests, used as a military outpost, like a gendarme in the region.

The power of the "Jewish economy" in the U.S. does not change this reality. In fact, that Jewish economy is ultimately part of imperialist economics. The person who best illustrates what the State of Israel represents in terms of U.S. imperialist interests is Joe Biden. While serving as Obama's vice president, on 1 October 2013, Biden said at a conference organised by the Jewish organisation J. Street in Washington, D.C.: ***"If there were no Israel, we would have had to invent one to ensure our interests could be protected."***

[13] Gladio refers to a secretive network of stay-behind paramilitary organizations in Europe, primarily established during the Cold War. These groups were created by the United States and NATO as part of their strategy to counter Soviet influence in Europe. The term "Gladio" itself originally referred to the Italian branch of this network, but over time it has come to represent the broader, clandestine operations that operated in several European countries.

The Measure of Help for the Oppressed Palestinians

This is why a solution to the Israel-Palestine issue must be fundamentally anti-imperialist. Treating the issue as a religious one only feeds reactionary forces, from Zionists to political Islamists, without benefiting the oppressed Palestinians. Therefore, when the slogan *"Mehmetçik*[14] *to Jerusalem"* was raised during Israel's recent attacks on East Jerusalem and Gaza, our response from the beginning was: ***"Stop the cheap propaganda! The first step in responding to Israel is clear: Shut down the Kürecik Radar, which the U.S. established to secure Israel!*** "(Mehmet Ali Güller, Cumhuriyet, 24 May 2021).

A STATELESS PEOPLE ON THEIR OWN LAND: THE PALESTINIANS

Palestine is a region in the Middle East. It encompasses all of Israel's territory as well as the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, located in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Some sources also include Jordan as part of Palestine.

Palestine is known as the "Holy Land, "and it is sacred to Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike.

History of Palestine:

The name "Palestine" comes from the Greek word P*hilistia,* which was used to refer to the homeland of the Palestinians.

The ancient Philistines, around the 12th century BC, took control of a small area along the southern coast, between Tel Aviv, Jaffa, and Gaza. Greek writers of the time were the first to use the name *Philistia* for this region. Later, during the 2nd century AD, the Romans used the term *Syria Palaestina* to refer to the southern part of the province of Syria.

Archaeological findings suggest that during the Stone Age, people in the region of Palestine were part of the same group as Neanderthals[15] living in Europe.

During the Middle Stone Age (around 12, 000–9, 000 BC), the Natufian culture, which was prevalent in the Levant region, dominated the area. The Natufians lived in caves and likely practiced early agriculture. During the Neolithic period, they began domesticating animals, growing grains, making pottery, and establishing villages.

The transition from the Stone Age to the Copper Age occurred between the 5th and 4th millennia BC. By the 3rd millennium BC, during the early Bronze Age, Palestine was home to various peoples who gradually merged to form settled urban societies.

The historical period of the Palestinian people is closely tied to the development of the Hebrew kingdoms and the use of the ancient Egyptian historical system until the formation of these kingdoms. Most of the known ancient towns in Palestine were established during the Bronze Age, a period which coincided with Egypt's Old Kingdom.

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[14] Mehmetçik is a term used to refer to a Turkish soldier, particularly in a symbolic or affectionate way. The word "Mehmetçik" comes from the common Turkish name "Mehmet," which is a variant of "Muhammad," a popular name in Turkey, and is used to personify the average Turkish soldier.

[15] Neanderthals were a species or subspecies of archaic humans who lived in Europe and parts of western Asia. They are closely related to modern humans (Homo sapiens) and are considered to be our closest extinct relatives. Neanderthals appeared around 400,000 years ago and became extinct approximately 40,000 years ago, though some studies suggest their genetic legacy lives on in modern human populations, as interbreeding occurred between Neanderthals and early Homo sapiens.

The indigenous Semitic population of Palestine during these periods were known as the Canaanites. By the 3rd millennium BC, walled cities appeared in Palestine, which likely existed as independent city-states but were politically influenced by ancient Egypt.

Around the 23rd century BC, urban life in Palestine began to decline, and the region entered a pastoral[16] era, largely due to the migration of the Amorites[17] from the east of the Jordan River. Another significant factor was the conquest of Egypt by Asians in the 20th century BC, which led to the fall of the Old Kingdom of Egypt. During this period, the Palestinian people consisted of allied tribes that had both similar and differing characteristics. Many of these tribes were semi-nomadic, with some adopting settled life in cities and others engaged in agriculture in the plains. Those who settled in cities and practiced farming were primarily Canaanites.

The Arrival of the Israelites in Palestine

The arrival of the Israelites in Palestine took place during the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1550 BCE).

During this era, new types of pottery and weapons were produced. There were also changes in burial customs. Agricultural urban life became prominent in Palestine once again.

At this time, the culture of Palestine during the 14th and 13th centuries BCE was the same as the culture the Israelites encountered when they migrated to the region.

From the 19th century BCE, urban life in Palestine began to develop. Some towns started to form.

After 1514 BCE, the Egyptians began to occupy Palestine.

Between 1479-1458 BCE, Palestinians rebelled against the Egyptians, but Egyptian control lasted until the late 13th century BCE.

The Israelites and Ancient Palestinians

The Israelites began to enter Palestine in the Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 BCE). However, they were not able to fully settle in the region until the 12th century BCE. With the settlement of the semi-nomadic Hebrew tribes in Canaan, the population of the Israelites in the region grew significantly. The Israelites quickly rebuilt cities amidst the ruins.

In the 12th century BCE, the region was invaded by maritime peoples. Among these were the Philistines, who were of Aegean origin (from Crete). They settled along the southern coast and conquered much of Palestine within a century and a half.

During this time, the people known as the *Peleset* in Egypt, who were mercenaries and fortress guards, were also considered to be Philistines.

At the same time, different peoples like the *Edomites*[18]*, Moabites*[19]*,* and *Amorites,* who practiced polytheism, began migrating to the east of the Jordan River.

[16] Pastoral refers to a way of life centred around the care, herding, and breeding of livestock, often in open or semi-open land. This lifestyle has been practiced by various societies throughout history and is typically associated with nomadic or semi-nomadic groups who move with their animals in search of grazing land.

[17] The Amorites were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who originally lived in the western parts of Mesopotamia and later spread into the broader region, including parts of Syria, Palestine, and Jordan. They played a significant role in the history of the ancient Near East, particularly during the early and middle Bronze Age.

[18] The Edomites were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who lived in the region south of Judah, extending from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba. The kingdom of Edom is mentioned numerous times in the Bible and ancient historical records.

[19] The Moabites were another Semitic-speaking people who lived to the east of Israel, in the territory between the Dead Sea and the Arabian desert. The kingdom of Moab, which is also frequently mentioned in the Bible, was located in what is now modern-day Jordan.

The Israelites, with their strong centralised system of monotheism and ethical discipline, gained superiority over all their neighbours. Although the Israelites faced internal tribal conflicts, they managed to preserve their unity in the face of external attacks. In 1020 BCE, Saul became the king of all of Israel.

David and Solomon

Saul defeated the Amorites and the Philistines, but he died in battle with the Philistines. David succeeded Saul and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Philistines, capturing three Hebrew provinces east of the Jordan River. As invasions by the Arameans from Syria continued, David was forced to take over the Aramean provinces up to the Orontes River in the north, and he established a loose rule over the nomadic peoples of the Syrian desert up to the Euphrates River in the east.

After David's death, Solomon (mid-10th century BCE) took the throne, marking the peak of the political history of Israel.

During Solomon's reign, trade relations with cities in East Africa and India were developed. Advances in shipbuilding technology and the domestication of Arabian camels for caravans played a crucial role in intercontinental trade development.

Large-scale architectural projects were undertaken during Solomon's reign, including fortresses, storage facilities, royal palaces, and the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Many towns were fortified with walls. However, the economic strain caused by the cost of these construction projects led to discontent. The Israelites were forced to work in labour battalions and were burdened by heavy taxation. These difficult conditions led to a revolt, and the United Kingdom of Israel eventually collapsed. The Kingdom of Israel's remnants lasted for another 200 years. Wars between Israel and Damascus continued until the Assyrians conquered Damascus in 732 BCE. In 722 BCE, the Kingdom of Israel was completely destroyed.

In 539 BCE, Palestine was incorporated into the Persian Empire. The Persians[20] rebuilt the temple in Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by the Assyrians. Successive empires, including the Romans, Arabs, Umayyads, Abbasids, Fatimids, and Ottomans, controlled the region. Eight Crusades were launched, especially to retake Jerusalem, which had been captured during the First Crusade. The Kingdom of Jerusalem established during the First Crusade was destroyed by the Mamluks in 1299.

Ottoman Era in Palestine

The region of Palestine remained under Mamluk control for about 200 years after the Crusades. During the reign of Sultan Selim, because of the Ottoman victory in the Battle of Marj Dabiq in 1516, part of it was incorporated into the Ottoman lands. During the reign of Suleiman, the Magnificent, the entirety of Palestine came under Ottoman control.

In the 1790s, after French Emperor Napoleon took Egypt, the city of Jaffa in Palestine also came under French control.

During the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of the Governor of Egypt Mehmet Ali Pasha, collaborated with the French and seized all of Palestine, and Palestine remained under Egyptian control until 1840. In 1840, Palestine returned to Ottoman rule.

After losing Partition War I, the Ottoman Empire also lost control of Palestine. In 1920, Palestine came under British mandate.

The division of Palestine under the British mandate was mentioned when talking about Israel, and we will not address it further here. The example of Palestine is a cautionary tale about how those who leave their fate in the hands of imperialist powers will end up. During the War of Independence, those

[20] The Persians were an ancient Iranian people who established one of the most powerful empires in history, known as the Achaemenid Empire, which was founded by Cyrus the Great in the 6th century BCE. This empire was one of the largest in the ancient world and spanned three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe.

who advocated for Turkey to enter under British or U.S. mandate were declared traitors. Today, Kurdish nationalist movements trying to establish a state under U.S. protection in Iraq and Syria should learn lessons from history.

STATE OF PALESTINE

The State of Palestine is an Arab state located in the historical Palestine region in the Middle East, with territories primarily in the areas referred to as Israel-Jordan. While its capital is officially designated as Jerusalem, the administrative centre is currently in Ramallah (in the West Bank) due to Israeli occupation.

After Partition War II, Palestine transitioned from British mandate control to the United Nations (UN). The UN partition plan divided the land into Jewish, Arab, and international Jerusalem zones. While the Jewish community accepted this division, Arab states rejected it, leading to the establishment of Israel in 1948 and the outbreak of the first Arab-Israeli War.

According to the United Nations' initial partition plan, 56.81% of Palestinian territory was allocated to Jews, while 46% was designated for Palestinian Arabs. However, starting in 1948, Israel continuously expanded its occupation of Palestinian lands.

On 22 September 1948, a Palestinian government was established in Gaza under Egyptian control. This government was recognised by members of the Arab League, except for Jordan. While this government claimed authority over all of Palestine (including Israel, the West Bank in Jordan, Gaza, and Jerusalem), it effectively only governed Gaza.

Following the Six-Day War, Israel occupied significant portions of Palestinian territory: Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. As a result, Israel had occupied 78% of Palestinian land.

By 2020, 85% of historical Palestinian territory was under Israeli control, and over 2 million Palestinians were living in these occupied territories.

Declaration of the Palestinian State

The Palestinian state is geographically divided into two disconnected regions: the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

On 15 November 1988, Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), proclaimed the establishment of the State of Palestine in Algiers.

Following the Oslo Accords in 1993, the Palestinian Authority was established to govern the West Bank (A and B areas) and Gaza. However, after Israel's withdrawal from Gaza in 2007, Hamas took control of the region.

On 29 November 2012, the UN General Assembly granted Palestine the status of a *"non-member observer state."* It is recognised by 138 UN member states. Palestine is also a member of several international organisations, including the Arab League, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, the G77, the International Olympic Committee, and other international bodies.

Population and Land

The total area of Palestine is approximately 6, 220 km², with 5, 860 km² in the West Bank and 360 km² in Gaza. As of 2020, its population was estimated at 5, 159, 076, with 2 million Palestinians residing

in Israeli-occupied areas. Globally, the Palestinian diaspora is estimated to number around 12 million, with 5 million living as refugees outside their homeland.

Palestinian Resistance

Since 1947, Palestinians have resisted the establishment of Israel and the occupation of their lands, enduring significant hardships. From young children generals holding stones to elderly women resisting, the Palestinian people's struggle and intifadas have posed significant obstacles to even the conciliatory approaches of some Palestinian organisations.

Key organisations that have played a significant role in the Palestinian resistance and the establishment of the State of Palestine include PLO (Palestine Liberation Organisation), PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), Hamas: Each of these groups has contributed to the Palestinian struggle in distinct ways, reflecting varying ideologies and strategies.

Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)

The foundations of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), established to create an independent Palestinian state, were laid during the Arab Summit held in Cairo from January 13 to 16, 1964.

The PLO was officially formed on 29 May 1964. While it represented Palestinian aspirations, it was initially established with strong support from Arab states, particularly Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

During its institutionalisation, Arab states sought to train Palestinians for armed struggle in military schools. A Palestinian National Fund was created to finance the organisation. PLO offices were opened in Arab states, and the Palestine Liberation Army was stationed in Gaza and Sinai.

The PLO became the political representative of the Palestinian cause, uniting many Palestinians under its banner. Its influence grew after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. The organisation underwent restructuring during the Fourth Palestinian National Council in 1968.

Under the leadership of **Yasser Arafat**, who was elected chairman of the PLO Executive Committee in 1969, the organisation pursued diplomatic efforts starting in 1973. This included transitioning towards a "government-in-exile" framework. In 1974, the PLO was recognised as the sole legitimate representative of Palestinians by the Arab League, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, and the United Nations.

Following the 1967 war, the PLO's headquarters moved from Jordan to Lebanon in 1970 and later to Tunisia after Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

In 1988, Arafat made conciliatory statements condemning "terrorism", signalling the beginning of negotiations with the United States, culminating in the Oslo Accords.

Despite Yasser Arafat's conciliatory approach under the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), Israel's attacks against Palestinians continued. Meanwhile, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) strongly opposed the PLO's compromises, labelling them as submissive, and maintained its stance of resistance, effectively obstructing the PLO's conciliatory policies.

During the 1991 Gulf War, Arafat openly supported Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. This stance led to severe consequences for Palestinians residing in Kuwait, who were expelled en masse after the war.

The Gaza–Jericho Agreement (1994) and the First Oslo Accord (September 1995) marked significant milestones. These agreements allowed the transfer of administrative control over the majority of the Gaza Strip and certain areas of the West Bank to the newly established Palestinian Authority (PA).

In January 1996, elections were held, leading to the formation of an 88-member Palestinian Authority Council. Arafat was elected as the president of the Palestinian Authority, a position he held until his death.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

One of the most prominent organisations to garner global attention and support for the Palestinian cause is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Established on 11 December 1967, it is a Marxist-Leninist military and political organisation founded by **George Habash.** The PFLP was formed through the merger of the Arab Nationalist Movement (ANM), the Palestine Liberation Front, and other resistance groups. George Habash served as Secretary-General until 2000, stepping down due to health issues. He was succeeded by **Abu Ali Mustafa,** who was assassinated by Israel in 2001. Later, **Ahmad Sa'adat** became Secretary-General but was detained by the Palestinian Authority under Israeli pressure and subsequently kidnapped by the Israeli military in 2006 during a raid on Jericho Prison.

The PFLP staunchly opposes the division of Palestinian territories and advocates for a single unified state where Arabs and Jews can coexist peacefully. This position sharply contrasts with solutions involving the establishment of two separate states.

The PFLP gained notoriety through its high-profile actions, such as hijackings and hostage-taking, which brought international attention to the Palestinian struggle. These actions also positioned the PFLP as a key force within the global leftist movement, contributing to the legitimacy and sympathy for the Palestinian cause during the Cold War era.

The PFLP frequently criticised Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) for adopting conciliatory stances, particularly following the 1993 Oslo Accords, which led to the creation of the Palestinian Authority. These developments were seen as a betrayal of Palestinian resistance by the PFLP.

Until the 1990s, the Palestinian cause gained legitimacy and global sympathy largely through the efforts of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), rooted in Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, the collapse of the Socialist Bloc during this period weakened the PFLP ideologically and politically. At the same time, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) pursued increasingly conciliatory policies toward imperial powers, notably through agreements such as the Oslo Accords.

Despite these developments, Israel's Zionist policies of occupation, repression, and terror persisted, leaving the Palestinian people to endure life as captives in their own land, subject to massacres and ongoing territorial occupation. This shifting dynamic resulted in the decline of the PFLP’s influence, the PLO's compromises, and the emergence of Hamas as a leading force in Palestinian resistance. From the mid-1990s onward, Hamas, an Islamist organisation, became the dominant force in armed resistance, especially in Gaza.

The product of the U.S.'s "Green Belt" project: HAMAS

Hamas, or officially the **Islamic Resistance Movement,** was founded in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, and Mohammed Taha at the beginning of the First Intifada, as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. It adheres to a Palestinian nationalist Islamist Sunni ideology.

In its 1988 political programme, Hamas declared that Palestine could never be an Islamic state surrounded by non-Muslims and that it was a religious duty for Palestinian Muslims to wage a holy war to take control of Palestine from Israel.

However, in its early years, Hamas was supported by imperialist forces, primarily the United States, in an attempt to balance the socialist-inspired Palestinian armed resistance with an Islamist movement. Thus, Hamas was initially a product of the "Green Belt" project, which aimed to contain socialist countries through imperialism.

With the collapse of the socialist system and the subsequent reconciliation process entered by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), Palestinian resistance found expression under Hamas. Despite

the PLO's conciliatory actions, Israel's ongoing massacres and oppression played a significant role in this shift.

Although Hamas' attacks against Israel, particularly within civilian populations, gained sympathy among Palestinians, these actions reduced global sympathy for the Palestinian cause and enabled imperialist terrorist propaganda. Like all other Islamist organisations, Hamas has been susceptible to imperialist manipulation.

BMENA and Palestine

We addressed the purpose and scope of BMENA at the beginning of our book. BMENA is America's imperial strategy. While preparing BMENA, the U.S. identified the growth of radical (fundamentalist) religious movements as one of the significant threats it faced. One of the most important factors contributing to the growth of radical religiosity was the unresolved nature of the Palestine-Israel issue, which has been a key concern for Muslim populations for many years.

According to the "BMENA Implementation Plan", resolving the Israel-Palestine conflict would bolster the U.S.'s standing in the Islamic world, thereby increasing participation in BMENA.

In other words, resolving the Palestine-Israel issue is a priority for implementing BMENA.

So, what does resolving the Palestine-Israel conflict mean for the U.S.?

It means dismantling Palestinian resistance and ensuring the acceptance of Israel's presence in the Middle East by Arab populations.

Under BMENA, the task assigned to the AKP government was to mediate between the Islamic organisation Hamas, which leads the armed resistance of the Palestinian people, and Israel. In 2005, Hamas leader **Khaled Meshaal**, who was in exile in Syria, came to Turkey and held high-level meetings with both Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and President Abdullah Gül. The essence of these discussions was to steer Hamas away from armed resistance toward a "Moderate Islam" approach. Of course, this was not something that could be achieved instantly. Over time, Hamas was gradually drawn toward a reconciliation stance by the AKP government. This shift became most evident during the "Arab Spring."

Hamas, which had maintained a military and political presence in Syria for years, turned its back on the Syrian people and the Assad government, who had supported it, and sided with religious organisations during the attacks on Syria aimed at toppling the Assad regime during the Arab Spring. In doing so, Hamas became part of the imperialist and collaborator countries' policies. Throughout the ten-year Syrian war, Hamas was in full agreement with Israel.

This was precisely what the U.S. wanted under BMENA. As Palestinian organisations moved toward reconciliation with Israel, the U.S. reinforced Israel's position as its enforcer in the Middle East by signing "normalisation" agreements in 2020 with Arab states like Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, Sudan, and Morocco. Normalisation relations with Egypt and Jordan had started decades earlier.

Turkey's relations with Israel, guided by its oligarchic structures, have never been poor since the 1950s. Leaders of this oligarchy have stated that "*our national interests are paramount in foreign relations.*" However, this is not true. In Turkey-Israel relations, the primary concern has always been U.S. interests.

During the AKP era, Turkey's relations with Israel appeared "strained" to the public. However, as in all of its policies, the AKP sought to manipulate the Palestine-Israel issue both domestically and internationally to strengthen its own position. Military and economic agreements with Israel during the AKP period significantly exceeded those of previous governments.

For example, even when Israel attacked a ship carrying aid to Palestine and killed 11 Turks on board, the AKP government established a radar base in Kürecik to ensure Israel's security.

Similarly, Turkey's trade relations with Israel grew substantially under the AKP government. In 2002, before the AKP came to power, trade volume was $1.405 billion. Under the AKP, this figure increased 4.5 times, reaching $6.2 billion.

However, when addressing the public, the AKP uses demagoguery to present itself as the defender of the Palestinian cause. The AKP's support for Palestine aligns with its ideological perspective and the U.S.'s BMENA objectives. The AKP has never pursued policies regarding Palestine that conflict with U.S. or Israeli interests.

Conclusion

1. BMENA's objectives regarding Palestine include steering Palestinian resistance toward reconciliation and ultimately dismantling it.
2. Reconciliation between Palestine and Israel would give the impression that the Israel-Palestine issue has been resolved, thus fostering sympathy for U.S. imperialism among Arab populations.
3. The task assigned to the AKP government was to guide Palestinian resistance toward a conciliatory and submissive position within the framework of "Moderate Islam." The AKP has fulfilled this task effectively and has hypocritically used the Palestinian issue in domestic politics to maintain its voter base.

JORDAN

The official name of the country is the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

It is an Arab country located in the Middle East. It borders Syria to the north, Iraq to the northeast, Saudi Arabia to the south and east, and Israel and the West Bank to the west.

The capital of Jordan is Amman, its official language is Arabic, and its official religion is Islam. It is governed as a unitary parliamentary monarchy. Jordan's area is 89, 342 square kilometres, and its population is 10, 658, 123.

History: When Islam spread, Jordan was part of the Arab-Islamic state. Later, it came under the rule of the Mamluks and then the Ottomans. After Partition War I, Jordan emerged from Ottoman control. In 1921, it became the Emirate of Transjordan under British mandate, with Emir Abdullah I as its leader.

When Abdullah I sought independence from British influence, he was assassinated. His son Talal succeeded him but lost mental stability, leading to his son Hussein ascending the throne. Jordan gained independence as a kingdom after Partition War II.

Jordan has been a site of ancient settlements dating back to 10, 000 BCE. The world's oldest amphitheatre was discovered in Jordan's Wadi Faynan, dating back to 9, 600 BCE. The country takes its name from the Jordan River.

Throughout history, Jordan was influenced by the larger civilizations surrounding it. The Amorites, descendants of the Canaanites, settled in Jordan and established the Philistine state. This period, around 2000 BCE, marked the first organised settlements in Jordan.

Later, the Nabataeans, believed to be Arabs from Yemen, dominated Jordan until 106 CE. In 62 CE, Jordan, Palestine, and Syria came under Roman rule for 400 years before falling under Byzantine control.

Jordan escaped Roman rule after the Islamic armies captured Damascus, and the Arab peninsula was freed from Roman influence.

It remained under Umayyad[21] rule until 749 CE, followed by the Fatimid[22] Caliphate in 969 CE. Subsequently, it fell under the control of the Tatars, Mamluks, and Ottomans, with Ottoman rule lasting from 1516 to 1918.

In 1921, Jordan came under British mandate and declared independence on 25 May 1946, becoming the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

During the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948 and the Six-Day War, Jordan supported Palestine directly. Later, it provided indirect support based on political circumstances.

In 1999, after the death of his father, King Abdullah II ascended to the throne. Following this, he signed a "peace treaty" with Israel and the United States. Making peace with Israel is often interpreted as betraying the Palestinian cause and aligning with U.S. interests. Consequently, Jordan has been seen as supporting all of the United States' policies of violence and oppression in the Middle East.

Demographics of Jordan

The population comprises Arabs and Circassians. Religious beliefs include 92% Muslims, 6% Christians, and 2% following Bahá'í[23] and Druze[24] faiths.

Natural Resources

Jordan is not rich in natural resources. It has reserves of phosphate and potash. While it has some oil, it is not at an exportable level. The majority of Jordan's land consists of deserts. The Great Rift Valley lies along the north and south of the Jordan River. Jordan's most fertile lands are under Israeli occupation.

Jordan and Its Relationship with BMENA

Jordan's involvement in BMENA cannot be separated from its relationship with Israel. Despite gaining independence from the United Kingdom on 25 May 1946, Jordan has struggled to achieve true autonomy. When the British withdrew from the region, they established dependency structures through collaborative monarchies. As the United States assumed leadership of the imperialist bloc, Jordan's monarchy aligned itself with U.S. imperialism to maintain its power.

After the defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, significant migrations from Palestine to Jordan occurred, with Palestinian refugees constituting about one-third of Jordan's population. The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) continued its struggle against Israel from the 1970s onward, operating from bases in Jordan. Israel used this as an excuse to occupy significant parts of East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and key areas along the Israel-Jordan border.

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[21] The Umayyads were the first major Islamic caliphate, ruling from 661 to 750 CE. The Umayyads were a prominent clan from the Quraysh tribe in Mecca. They rose to power after the assassination of the fourth caliph, Ali, marking the end of the Rashidun Caliphate and the beginning of the Umayyad dynasty.

[22] Fatimid Caliphate (909–1171 CE) was a prominent Islamic dynasty and one of the major Shia caliphates in history. It is known for its political power, cultural achievements, and contributions to Islamic civilization. The Fatimids claimed descent from Fatimah, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad, and her husband, Ali ibn Abi Talib. They were adherents of Ismaili Shia Islam, a branch of Shia Islam that follows the line of imams descended from Ismail, the son of Imam Jafar al-Sadiq.

[23] The Bahá'í Faith is a monotheistic religion founded in the 19th century by Bahá'u'lláh in Persia (modern-day Iran). It emphasizes the unity of all people, the harmony of science and religion, and the essential oneness of all religions.

[24] The Druze are a religious and social community that originated in the 11th century in the Middle East. They follow a monotheistic belief system influenced by Islamic, Gnostic, Neoplatonic, and other philosophical teachings. While the Druze are often associated with Islam due to their historical roots, they form a distinct and independent religious tradition.

Jordan, under pressure from Israel, declared war to expel Palestinian refugees and Palestinian organisations from its land. With Israel's support, it expelled Palestinian organisations from its territories, and these organisations sought refuge in Lebanon.

Although all Arab states cooperated with imperialist powers, they supported Palestine against Israel in the Israeli-Palestinian issue. The influence of Baas Arab nationalism is significant in this regard. After the defeat in the 1967 Six-Day War, this situation changed, and many Arab states began secret relations with Israel. In 1970, Jordan openly cooperated with Israel and declared war against Palestinian organisations. In the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, while appearing neutral, Jordan maintained secret relations with Israel and thus took sides.

Jordan's open relationship with Israel was formalized after the Oslo Accords of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in 1993, with the signing of the Wadi Araba Agreement on 26 October 1994. On 25 July 1994, under U.S. pressure, Israel-Jordan talks began in Washington, and the Washington Declaration was signed. On 26 October 1994, Jordan became the second Arab country, after Egypt, to sign an agreement with Israel in the Arava Valley.

According to this agreement:

1. Jordan was granted a protective status for the holy sites in Jerusalem.
2. The sharing of the waters of the Yarmouk River.
3. Agreement for 50 million cubic metres of water annually to be provided to Jordan from the dam built by Israel on the Jordan River.

Israel did not withdraw from the territories occupied by Jordan. These areas were declared a "secure zone" to prevent possible attacks from Palestinians and continue to be under Israeli occupation.

Despite Israel's occupation policies and massacres against Palestinians, Jordan was one of six countries that signed a normalisation agreement with Israel in 2020. The meaning of Jordan's normalisation agreement with Israel is that Jordan ensures the security of Israel's borders. Israel's security, in this context, means the security of U.S. imperialist interests.

The United States has been forcing its allied Arab countries to sign "normalisation" agreements with Israel, aiming to create a bloc of collaborators from these states.

LEBANON

Official name: Lebanese Republic. It is an Arab and Middle Eastern country located on the eastern Mediterranean coast. Its capital is Beirut. The homeland of the ancient Phoenician [25] civilization, Lebanon and its coasts, are located here. To the north and east is Syria, and to the south is Israel. Lebanon's area is 10, 452 km², and its population is approximately 6, 185, 000. The official language of Lebanon is Arabic, with Armenian and French also spoken.

Populations in Lebanon: 93% Arabs, 6% Armenians, 1% others. 54% of the population is Muslim, 40.4% Christian, and 5.6% Druze. Among Muslims, there are both Shi'a and Sunni groups, with the majority being

[25] The Phoenicians were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who originated in the region of the eastern Mediterranean, in what is now modern-day Lebanon, parts of Syria, and northern Israel. They are most famous for their maritime skills, including establishing one of the earliest and most influential trading networks across the Mediterranean Sea. The Phoenicians were renowned as traders, shipbuilders, and navigators.

Shi'a. Over the decades, imperialists have used these religious and sectarian differences among the Lebanese people to instigate conflict between them.

History of Lebanon:

Lebanon declared its independence on 26 November 1941, and it was accepted on 22 November 1943. The Phoenicians, a seafaring community, are the indigenous people of Lebanon. Later, this region came under the control of many empires, including the Assyrians, [26]Babylonians, [27]Persians, and the Macedonian Kingdom.

From 64 BCE onward, Lebanon came under Roman rule and became part of the province of Syria. After the permanent division of the Roman Empire, it remained under the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire).

Lebanon's territories were among the most active regions in the Roman and Byzantine Empires, and its coastal cities, which were key points in Eurasian trade, continued this function during the Islamic period. After the Battle of Yarmouk[28], Muslims established control over what are now Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine. The region became highly important for both Christians (for religious reasons) and Muslims (for trade). As a result, the area saw battles for dominance between Muslims and Christians. After the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate, local governors declared their independence, and by the 9th century, Lebanon came under the rule of the Tulunids[29]. Later, the Fatimids took control.

In the 12th century, Crusaders entered Lebanon and captured all the coastal cities by 1124. However, the mountainous regions of Lebanon remained under Muslim control.

Lebanon came back under Muslim rule during the time of Saladin, and later, the Mamluks took control. During the Fatimid period, sects such as the Druze, Ismailis, and Alawites became more prominent in the region.

In 1516, during Sultan Selim I's campaign in Syria and Egypt, Lebanon fell under Ottoman control.

After the Ottoman Empire's involvement in Partition War, I and its defeat on the Sinai and Palestine fronts, Lebanon was occupied by the British and French in 1918. After the war, the Great Lebanon State was formed, which became part of the French Mandate for Syria and Lebanon. Lebanon declared itself a republic in 1926, and its independence was recognised in 1943. The French withdrew from Lebanon in 1946.

Geographical Structure of Lebanon:

The country's primary geographic feature is the Lebanon Mountain Range (Jabal al-Lebanon), which runs north to south, covering about half of Lebanon's total area. The mountains extend for about 160 km and are primarily composed of limestone. The highest peak in the northern part of the range is Qurnat as-Sawda, which reaches 3, 088 metres.

Between the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean lies a narrow coastal plain, which in some places is up to 40 kilometres wide. The Bekaa Valley lies between the Lebanon Mountains and the more eastern Anti-Lebanon Mountains (Jabal ash-Sharqi).

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[26] The Assyrians were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who originated in the region of Mesopotamia, in what is now modern-day northern Iraq, northeastern Syria, and parts of Turkey and Iran. They are best known for their powerful empire, which existed from around 900 BCE to 609 BCE, and for their contributions to military strategy, governance, and culture.

[27] The Babylonians were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who lived in Mesopotamia, in what is now modern-day Iraq. They are particularly famous for their contributions to law, science, art, and architecture, and for establishing the Babylonian Empire, one of the most influential civilizations of the ancient Near East.

[28] The Battle of Yarmouk was a pivotal battle fought between the Byzantine Empire and the Rashidun Caliphate in 636 CE. It was one of the most significant battles in the early Islamic expansion and marked the end of Byzantine control over the region of Syria. The victory of the Rashidun Caliphate at Yarmouk led to the rapid Muslim conquest of the Levant, including the Byzantine territories of Syria, Palestine, Jordan, and parts of Anatolia.

[29] The Tulunids were a Turkic dynasty that ruled over Egypt and parts of the Levant during the 9th century**.** The Tulunid dynasty was founded by Ahmad ibn Tulun**,** who established an independent Muslim state within the Abbasid Caliphate.

Flora:

The dense forests of cedar trees, especially in the Lebanon Mountains, have made the Lebanon cedar famous in plant geography, which is named "Cedrus libani" (Lebanon cedar). The cedar was used extensively in shipbuilding during ancient times across the Mediterranean world, but the number of these trees has dwindled. As a result, other types of pine trees were planted in the region. Even with the decline in forest areas, the Lebanon Mountains are still the most densely forested area in the Middle East.

Lebanon has many short rivers that flow from the slopes of the Lebanon Mountains to the Mediterranean. The most significant of these are the Leontes (Litani) River, which originates in the Bekaa Valley and flows south into Lebanon's borders, and the Orontes (Asi) River, which flows north and passes through Syria before reaching Turkey and the Mediterranean.

Education in Lebanon:

All schools in Lebanon are managed by the Ministry of Education. According to a 2005 report by the United States, half of the 140, 000 students in Lebanon attend the country's only public university, the Lebanese University, while the other half are enrolled in 42 private universities. Lebanon has long been known as one of the most modern, free, and educated sectors in the Arab world. As of 2003, the literacy rate for the population aged 15 and older is 87.4%. Among men, this rate is 93.1%, while among women, it is 82.2%.

The Lebanon Issue

The root cause of the civil war in Lebanon, which lasted from the 1970s to the 1990s, lies in imperialism. The issue began after the Partition War II when Palestinian lands were seized, and European Jewish populations were resettled to create the state of Israel.

The Palestine-Israel issue is a national cause of the Arab people, despite the collaborationist Arab regimes. Due to the sensitivity of the Arab peoples toward the Palestine issue, even though Arab leaders collaborated with imperialists, they had to align themselves with the Palestinian struggle.

One of the primary goals of the imperialists was to neutralize countries that sided with the Palestinian cause and ensure Israel’s security. Israel is the root cause of the peoples of the Middle East implemented by imperialism. Israel represents U.S. and EU imperialism in the region.

In the early years of Lebanon's independence, despite its complex religious and sectarian structure, it was one of the most organised and prosperous countries in the Middle East. However, after Israel’s occupation of much of Palestine in 1967, Palestinian resistance fighters settled in Lebanon, making it the centre of resistance against Israel. In response, Israel and imperialists began fuelling the sectarian and religious divisions in Lebanon. Since 1975, the Muslim-Christian conflict in Lebanon turned into a civil war. The army completely lost its control over the country

Lebanese Civil War

Between 1975 and 1990, approximately 150, 000 to 230, 000 people were killed in the Lebanese Civil War. Around 350, 000 people were injured, and more than a million Lebanese people fled the country.

The civil war began on 13 April 1975, and ended on 13 October 1990, with the Taif Agreement.

The main cause of the civil war was the Palestinian resistance. After the 1967 Six-Day War defeat, there was a significant migration of Palestinians to Jordan and Lebanon. Palestinian organisations moved their headquarters to Jordan. Israel attacked Jordan to expel Palestinian groups and continued to target Palestinian organisations. In 1973, Palestinian organisations left Jordan and settled in Lebanon. By 1975, Palestinian refugees constituted 35% of Lebanon’s population.

Imperialists and Israel used Lebanon's religious and sectarian divisions to create various groups against Palestinian organisations and the Palestinian people, leading to civil war.

Development of the Civil War

Initially, despite its complex religious composition, Lebanon was one of the most organised and prosperous countries in the Middle East. However, after the expulsion of the PLO from Jordan, Palestinian organisations moved to Lebanon and continued the armed struggle against Israel from there. Israel and the imperialists took advantage of Lebanon's religious, sectarian, and ideological divisions, stirring conflict between the people.

Sectarian conflicts began between Palestinians, Maronites[30], and other Lebanese groups.

Previously, there were issues between Muslim and Christian Arabs over demographic dominance.

From the 1970s onward, Muslims gained demographic superiority and began to demand greater political power, leading to the Muslim-Christian conflict escalating into a civil war by 13 April 1975. The army lost control over the country. In response, Syria intervened on behalf of the Christians in 1976, after President Francie called for help.

To stop the fighting, the heads of state from Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia met in Riyadh on October 17-18, 1976, and made the following decisions:

1. A ceasefire would begin on October 21, and the warring parties would return to the borders that existed before April 1975.
2. A 30, 000-strong Arab Peace Force would be formed, primarily consisting of Syrian soldiers.
3. PLO guerrillas would remain in Lebanon but would respect Lebanon's sovereignty and security.

However, many PLO guerrillas rejected the final condition. Israel took this opportunity to occupy southern Lebanon up to the Litani River and declared it a "Security Zone".

Israel then besieged Beirut and forced the PLO to leave Lebanon. Under the name "Peacekeeping Force, "U.S., French, and Italian troops entered Lebanon. On 21 August 1982, the PLO left Beirut.

After the Palestinian organisations left, Israel began to withdraw from southern Lebanon in 1985. However, the withdrawal reignited the Muslim-Christian conflict. Syria then intervened in Lebanon, and Iran also indirectly participated. From late 1989, the PLO began to return to southern Lebanon.

In 1970, the Lebanese issue began, and the civil war began in 1975, going through various stages. The war caused severe material damage and loss of life. By the time the war officially ended in 1991, Lebanon and Beirut were reduced to ruins, with 150, 000 Lebanese dead. The Syrian military presence in Lebanon continued until 2005.

Hezbollah's Reality in Lebanon

Hezbollah is a Shiite political and military party in Lebanon, with both civilian and military wings. It was founded in 1982, primarily to expel Israel from southern Lebanon and later to destroy Israel. Hezbollah's current Secretary-General is Hassan Nasrallah. It was formed from the merger of Shiite groups, including the Amal Movement, which participated in the Lebanese Civil War. Hezbollah also runs institutions such as hospitals, schools, and agricultural aid associations for the poor in Lebanon.

During the Lebanese Civil War, Hezbollah carried out several operations to expel U.S. and European forces from Lebanon. In 1983, an attack on the U.S. Embassy killed 63 people, 17 of whom were Americans. Later that year, an attack on U.S. barracks killed 241 American soldiers. The U.S. blamed Iran for these attacks, and soon after, withdrew all its soldiers from Lebanon.

Since its founding, Hezbollah has been supported by Iran, both militarily and economically, in its efforts to spread the Ayatollah Khomeini regime in the Middle East. Despite this, Hezbollah's consistent anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle has made it a respected power throughout the Middle East.

[30] The Maronites are an ethnoreligious group primarily associated with the Maronite Church, an Eastern Catholic Christian sect. The Maronites predominantly reside in Lebanon and are one of the largest Christian groups in the country.

Post-Civil War Period

The Taif Agreement signed in 1990 officially ended the civil war. However, Hezbollah did not disarm as required by the Taif Agreement and continued its guerrilla warfare against the Israeli army and southern Lebanon. Israel completely withdrew from Lebanon on 15 May 2000. However, the Syrian army maintained its presence in Lebanon.

On 14 February 2005, former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri was assassinated. The responsible parties were never definitively identified, but imperialists claimed Syria was behind the assassination and used it as a reason to pressure Syria to withdraw its troops from Lebanon. In April 2005, Syria withdrew its forces from Lebanon.

In May 2005, Hezbollah increased its votes significantly in the elections and became part of the National Unity Government formed in July 2005. Hezbollah gained international respect after its heroic resistance in the 2006 Israel-Lebanon War, in which Israel suffered its first defeat.

During the Arab Spring, Hezbollah also stood by the people of Syria against imperialist aggression. It is generally accepted as a legitimate resistance organisation in the Arab and Muslim worlds, but it is listed as a terrorist organisation by the U.S., Canada, Israel, Australia, and Saudi Arabia. The European Union, however, has not taken a firm stance on this matter.

Conclusion

Although Lebanon declared independence from French colonialism, it has never truly been independent. It remains heavily dependent on French and U.S. imperialism, with strong collaborationist elites. Imperialists have used Lebanon's internal divisions to fuel conflict, particularly by portraying themselves as the protectors of the Christian population and justifying military and political intervention.

Despite all efforts, imperialist interventions have met with significant resistance from the Lebanese people. The reason for Lebanon's inclusion in BMENA is to break this resistance, especially the dismantling of Hezbollah. However, despite all efforts, the imperialist-backed ruling elites have been further exposed, while Hezbollah continues to grow stronger militarily and politically.

Today, the main responsibility for Lebanon's current economic, political, and social crises lies with imperialism.

SYRIA

The official name is the Syrian Arab Republic. Located in the Middle East, it shares borders with Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Iraq, and Turkey, while in the Mediterranean, it neighbours the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and the Republic of Cyprus. Its capital and largest city is Damascus, followed by major cities like Aleppo, Latakia, and Homs.

Population Structure

According to the 2010 census, Syria had a population of 21, 018, 334. However, due to the war, this number decreased to 18, 507, 587 by 2019. The official language is Arabic, with other spoken languages including Kurdish, Neo-Aramaic, and Turkish. Syria's total area is 185, 180 square kilometres.

Geography and Climate

Situated on the eastern Mediterranean, Syria has a diverse geography comprising forests, fertile plains, high mountains, and desert regions. The Ansariyah Mountains, running north-south, are an extension of Turkey's Nur Mountains. The Anti-Lebanon Mountains stretch along the coast toward Israel, preventing the sea's climatic influence from penetrating inland. In southeastern Syria lies the Syrian Desert.

Economy

The Mediterranean coasts and the Euphrates River basin provide fertile agricultural land. Agriculture and livestock farming are the primary livelihoods for the population. Syria's underground resources, notably petroleum and phosphate, play a significant role. The economy is supported by agriculture, tourism, trade, and petroleum. Before the imperialist attacks, the World Bank classified Syria as a "lower-middle-income country."

In 2010, the economy heavily depended on the petroleum and agricultural sectors. The petroleum sector accounted for approximately 40% of export revenues. Offshore explorations revealed significant petroleum reserves in the Mediterranean seabed between Syria and Cyprus. The agricultural sector contributed about 20% to GDP and provided 20% of employment.

Syria's petroleum resources, once a major revenue source, are now largely controlled by the U.S. in occupied regions. Since 2014, Syria has transitioned from being an oil exporter to an importer. Beyond petroleum, all underground and surface resources in occupied territories are being plundered. The imperialist assault has severely crippled Syria's economy.

Demographic Structure

Syria's population consists of 60–70% Arabs, 7–10% Kurds, 5–6% Assyrians, 5–6% Turkmen, 3% Armenians, and 1% Circassians. Additionally, there are Palestinian and Iraqi refugees in the country.

Religious Structure

The population is 71% Muslim (60% Sunni, 11% Alawite), 16% Christian, and 3% Druze. There are also small numbers of Ismaili and Twelver Shiites, Jews, and Yazidis. Syria does not have an official state religion, adhering instead to secularism.

Historical Background

Throughout history, Syria has been governed by the Canaanites, Hebrews, Arameans, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Umayyads, Abbasids, Ayyubids, Seljuks, Mamluks, Crusaders, and the Ottoman Empire.

Damascus was the Umayyad Empire's centre and the regional administrative hub for the Mamluk Sultanate. In 1260, it became the Mamluk capital but was destroyed in 1400 by Timur. In 1517, it came under Ottoman rule and remained so for 403 years.

After Partition War I, Syria broke away from Ottoman control. Following the Franco-Syrian War in 1920, it lost independence and became a French colony until 1946.

Post-independence in 1946, Syria briefly united with Egypt in 1958 to form the **United Arab Republic,** separating again in 1961. During the Six-Day War of 1967, Syria lost the Golan Heights, which Israel unilaterally annexed in 1981.

Ba'athism

"Ba'ath"translates to "renaissance" or "resurrection". It is an Arab nationalist ideology advocating the development and creation of a unified Arab state led by a revolutionary government. The ideology's creators were Syrian intellectuals **Michel Aflaq, Zaki al-Arsuzi,** and **Salah al-Din al-Bitar.**

Ba'athism promotes the enlightenment of Arabs and the renaissance of their culture, values, and societies. It supports single-party states and opposes multi-party systems indefinitely. Based on Arab nationalism, Pan-Arabism, Arab socialism, and social progress, Ba'athism is secular. A Ba'athist state endorses varying degrees of socialist economics and public ownership in key industries but opposes the confiscation of private property. Ba'athists argue that their ideology is the only path to a free and unified Arab society.

BA'ATHISM IN SYRIA

The union project between Egypt and Syria lasted only three years, ending in 1961. Young officers and radical intellectuals gaining power within the Ba'ath Party redefined Pan-Arabism at the party's 6th National Congress, emphasising anti-Israel sentiments while excluding the oil-rich Gulf monarchies from the anti-Israel struggle. The congress also strengthened the party's call for socialism, replacing the focus on Arab unity with the concept of "socialism in one country." It advocated more decisive measures, such as nationalisation, industrial initiatives, and land reforms, requiring a confrontation with the bourgeoisie.

This new political direction faced opposition both from the bourgeoisie and traditional Ba'athists led by Michel Aflaq. The Muslim Brotherhood, backed by the commercial bourgeoisie, responded with an uprising in Hama in 1963. This strengthened the position of Aflaq's nationalist faction within the Ba'ath Party, leading to the formation of a government under liberal Salah al-Din al-Bitar.

The new government aimed to satisfy the bourgeoisie and urban middle classes, promised respect for constitutional rights, and declared the public sector sufficiently large. However, this approach failed to gain acceptance either from the opposition or the left wing of the Ba'ath Party. The bourgeoisie, mistrusting a socialist regime it couldn't control, reduced investments and transferred capital abroad.

Recognising that the bourgeoisie couldn't be appeased without full control, the Ba'ath left regained power and overthrew Bitar's government. This marked the beginning of Ba'ath's short-lived "socialist transformation" in 1965, characterised by nationalizing major industries, monopolizing foreign trade, controlling domestic trade, marginalising the commercial bourgeoisie, and enacting land reforms.

Islamist opposition, allied with the commercial bourgeoisie, rose against these changes, organising a merchants' strike, but it was defeated. The socialist orientation of the Ba'ath Party was disrupted by the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and the loss of the Golan Heights. The defeat weakened the party's socialist faction and empowered "pragmatic" military officers led by Hafez al-Assad.

At the 4th Regional Congress in 1968, Assad challenged party leadership, arguing for prioritizing military expenditures financed by Gulf monarchies. He proposed forming an "Eastern Front" with Gulf states, Jordan, and Iraq to address foreign currency shortages by strengthening the private sector. In 1970, after defying Ba'ath leadership's directive to mobilise the Syrian army against Jordan's King Abdullah to support the Palestinians, Assad was removed from his position. In response, he staged a military coup and seized power.

Assad purged opposition within the Ba'ath Party while maintaining connections with the masses. Economically, he adopted liberal policies and sought reconciliation with Gulf monarchies, while politically establishing the "National Progressive Front, "including Nasserists, Arab socialists, and communists.

In the 1970s, Assad sought reconciliation with the religious sector and the bourgeoisie. Presenting himself as a devout Muslim, he expanded the clergy and revived the private sector. However, he couldn't dispel the perception that the regime was dominated by the Alawite sect. In 1976, the Muslim Brotherhood launched anti-regime attacks in Hama, escalating into a broader rebellion that lasted until 1982, when it was brutally suppressed.

In the 1990s, Ba'ath policies shifted toward strengthening the bourgeoisie, with the state assuming a regulatory role. Under Bashar al-Assad, who succeeded his father in the 2000s, efforts were made to develop economic and political relations with imperialist powers, though these fell short of their expectations, keeping Syria under scrutiny.

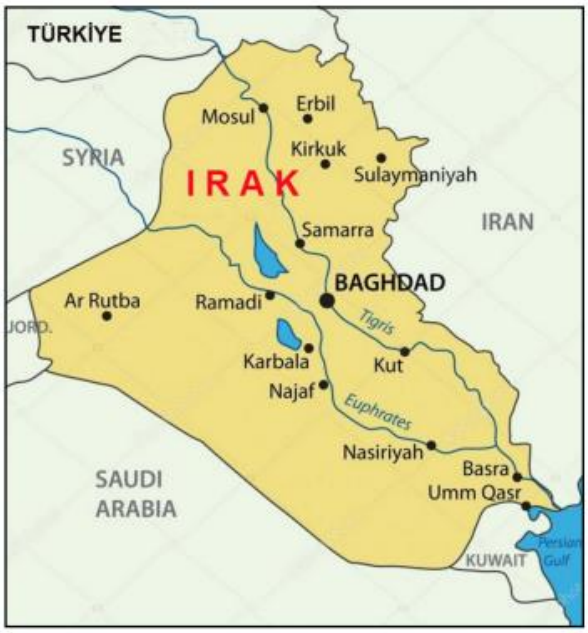
Although the Ba'ath Party embraced socialist economic policies in the 1960s, its reliance on the petty bourgeoisie hindered their implementation. The party faced internal conspiracies and coups. Politically, Syria aligned with the Socialist Bloc until the Soviet Union's collapse in the 1990s, while economically attempting to balance public ownership with private enterprise.

Hafez al-Assad's tenure saw the preservation of feudal structures, the strengthening of the commercial bourgeoisie, and the state's role reduced to regulation. The regime became oppressive, conducting massacres against Kurds and Sunni groups and severely restricting rights and freedoms.

Conclusion:

1. The Ba'ath Party in Syria has never been a truly socialist party or government despite its socialist ideology from its foundation. Due to its petty-bourgeois class character, it became a petty-bourgeois dictatorship.
2. Due to its petty-bourgeois character, instead of moving toward socialism through a popular revolution, it remained in power through military coups and repression. It avoided confronting feudal tribal structures and landowners and worked to develop the bourgeoisie.
3. The regime turned into an oppressive dictatorship, relying not on the people but on the petty bourgeoisie for governance.
4. In the political sphere, until the 1990s, the Ba'ath Party developed relations with the Soviet Union and cut ties with imperialist countries, closing the country to imperialist markets. After the collapse of the socialist system in the 1990s, Hafez al-Assad, in an effort to maintain his rule, sought to develop relations with imperialist countries but did not fully open the country to imperialist exploitation.
5. In the 2000s, Bashar al-Assad, who replaced his father Hafez al-Assad, did not resist the imperial demands of the United States under BMENA. Although he did not completely surrender to these demands, he sought a compromise.
6. Under BMENA, Syria became a target for two main reasons:
    a- Despite the collapse of the socialist system, the Ba'ath Party did not fully open the country to the economic, military, and political domination of the U.S. and EU imperialists.
    b- The Ba'ath regime's refusal to fully submit to the U.S.'s imperial strategy and its inability to be dismantled placed Syria among the primary targets after Iraq within BMENA. The Ba'ath regime was seen as an obstacle to the neo-colonisation of Syria.
7. Since 2004, the U.S. began imposing economic and political sanctions on the Assad regime as part of BMENA. It sought to create internal conflicts through NGOs. During the Arab Spring, when these efforts failed, the U.S. tried to overthrow the regime by arming collaborating Islamist organisations. After 10 years of attacks, it failed, and by 2021, the U.S. had to accept the Assad regime it had tried to topple.
8. The Assad regime's resistance to the U.S.-led attacks under BMENA is historically significant. The inability to overthrow Assad after a 10-year war disrupted BMENA and undermined U.S.-EU imperialist strategies throughout the Middle East, shaking their global dominance.
   On the other hand, states supporting Syria's resistance, such as Russia, Iran, and China, expanded their influence in the region.

IRAQ



The official name of the country located in Western Asia is the Republic of Iraq. Its neighbouring countries are:

North: Turkey, East: Iran, Southeast: Kuwait, South: Saudi Arabia, Southwest: Jordan and West: Syria

The capital and largest city of Iraq is Baghdad. It is governed as a Federal Parliamentary Republic.

Iraq declared independence from the United Kingdom on 3 October 1932 and proclaimed itself a republic on 14 July 1954. The official languages are Arabic and Kurdish, with Armenian, Syriac, and Turkmen also spoken locally.

Iraq has an area of 437, 072 km² and a population of approximately 40, 000, 000. It holds a strategic position in the Middle East and is one of the Gulf's most significant countries due to its petroleum reserves. Before the invasion, Iraq held the world's third-largest petroleum reserves after Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. While it retains this potential, the destruction from war and the plundering of its revenues have diminished its economic contribution.

Demographics of Iraq

Arabs: 75–80%, Kurds: 15–20%, Others (Turkmens, Syriacs, Chaldeans, Nestorians, Assyrians, and others): 5%

Religious beliefs

97% of Iraq's population is Muslim. Among Muslims: Sunni: 32–37%, Shia: 60–65%
Shia Arabs live in the south, Sunni and Shia Arabs coexist around Baghdad, and Sunni Kurds, Yazidis, and Turkmens are predominantly in the north.

Iraq has a young population, with 42% under the age of 14. However, due to sanctions and the destruction caused by war, the infant mortality rate is extremely high at 6.2%. The literacy rate is 58%.

The Sunni sect is composed of Arabs and Kurds, while Shia Muslims include Arabs and Turkmens. The Christian population (3%) consists of Syriacs, Chaldeans, Assyrians, Sabaeans, and others.

Economy of Iraq

Iraq's economy relies on agriculture, tourism, trade, and oil exports. As mentioned, Iraq has the world's third-largest oil reserves. Despite suffering massive economic and physical destruction from two U.S. invasions in 1991 and 2003, Iraq has the potential to recover quickly. Today, the production of petroleum and related products is controlled by imperialist corporations. The 2003 U.S. invasion opened Iraq to significant exploitation by imperialism.

Culture of Iraq

Iraq's culture is shaped by the Mesopotamian civilization, Islam, and traditional Arab and Kurdish cultures.

History of Iraq

Iraq is home to Mesopotamia, where some of the oldest civilizations in the world were born.

Iraq became part of Islamic territories between 633–642 CE.

It experienced its golden age during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods when Baghdad became a key cultural and trade centre.

After the conquest by Muslims in 637, it became the centre of Islam during the rule of Ali ibn Abi Talib.

The Battle of Siffin between Ali and the Umayyads also took place within Iraq's borders. This battle marked the beginning of sectarian and ethnic struggles in the region.

After the Umayyads, the Abbasids dominated the region until 1055, when the Seljuks took control.

Apart from the Abbasid period (750–1258), Iraq has been under empires with external capitals, such as the Umayyads, Mongols, Ilkhanates, and the Ottoman Empire.

In 1258, Iraq suffered a massive destruction during the Mongol invasion. The world's largest library at the time, the Baghdad Library, was destroyed, with its books thrown into the Tigris River, which reportedly ran black with ink for days. This loss set back scientific progress by centuries.

Between 1499–1508, Iraq came under Safavid control, which deepened the divide between Sunnis and Shias.

In 1639, Iraq was ceded from Iran to the Ottoman Empire and remained under Ottoman rule until 1917.

Partition of the Middle East in the First Partition War

The First Partition War largely revolved around the division of Ottoman territories. The Ottoman lands in the Middle East were partitioned between British and French imperialists based on the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916.

In this agreement, British officer Mark Sykes and French officer François Georges Picot met in Cairo in 1916 and divided the region on a map they prepared at the table. The agreement created artificial states on the map. However, these borders were not drawn randomly. The new borders aimed to divide and weaken the population along religious, sectarian, and ethnic lines, creating a demographic structure that would ensure constant conflict and dependence on imperial powers.

According to the agreement:

- Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine became British territories.
- Syria and Lebanon were designated as French territories.

British Mandate Period in Iraq (1920–1932)

Following Ottoman rule, the British attempted to govern Iraq directly through colonial governors but failed due to widespread uprisings. Instead of direct governance, they installed Faisal, a descendant of Muhammad bin Abdullah, as King of Iraq, enabling them to control the country through a local collaborator.

The Kingdom of Iraq (1932–1958)

In 1930, the Iraqi government signed a 25-year treaty with Britain, paving the way for independence. In 1932, Iraq joined the League of Nations as an independent state. However, after King Faisal's death in 1933, ethnic and sectarian conflicts began to surface.

In 1935, following Italy's invasion of Abyssinia[31] (Ethiopia), Middle Eastern countries formed the Saadabad Pact[32] to counter Italian aggression.

Two military coups occurred in Iraq in 1936 and 1941, reflecting the power struggle between German and British imperialists.

- The 1936 coup established German influence.
- The 1941 coup restored British dominance in Iraq.

The rise of national and social liberation movements after Partition War II impacted the Middle East, spurring the development of Arab nationalism. Organisations like the "Arab Spring" were established, and the idea of uniting Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon into one country was proposed. Although this vision of unity failed due to internal contradictions, Egypt and Syria temporarily united between 1958 and 1961 to form the United Arab Republic, which dissolved when Syria withdrew.

The Baghdad Pact

In the 1950s, the influence of socialism began spreading rapidly in the Middle East. To counter this, the United States formed the Baghdad Pact in 1955, comprising Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Britain, aiming to curb socialism's growth in the region.

Abolition of the Monarchy and the Proclamation of the Republic

At the same time, the Ba'ath Party, which was influenced by socialism and Arab nationalism, gained strength in Iraq, opposing U.S. policies. In 1958, the Iraqi army overthrew the monarchy in a coup and proclaimed a republic. Shortly thereafter, Iraq announced its withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact in 1959.

This shift in Iraq disrupted the balance of power in the Middle East. Following Iraq's example, a similar coup occurred in Syria. Egypt, Syria, and Iraq severed ties with the United States and the United Kingdom, instead aligning with the Soviet Union politically and economically.

In response, the U.S. intervened in Lebanon, and Britain occupied Jordan under the pretext of stabilizing unrest in these countries.

On 8 November 1963, members of the Ba'ath Party and nationalist officers staged a coup. General Abdul Salam Arif emerged as the new leader, initiating a nationwide crackdown on communists.

Ba'ath Regime (1968–2003)

The Ba'ath Party, meaning "resurrection" in Arabic, was established in Syria in 1940. Its founders, **Salah al-Din al-Bitar** and **Michel Aflaq,** envisioned a political and nationalist ideology aimed at uniting the Arab nation into a single socialist state. The party was officially founded in Syria on 7 April 1947, with the slogan "Unity, Freedom, and Socialism." While initially focused on Syria, the Ba'ath Party also influenced Iraq, where it played a critical role in toppling the monarchy and establishing the republic.

On 17 July 1968, a coup led by **Saddam Hussein** brought the Ba'ath Party to power in Iraq. Saddam consolidated his authority by eliminating rivals.

Hasan al-Bakr assumed the roles of President and Prime Minister, while also becoming the leader of the newly established Revolutionary Command Council and the Regional Command of the Ba'ath Party. His leadership consolidated significant experience in governance. The Ba'ath Party leveraged its highly organised structure to dominate nearly all state institutions.

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[31] Abyssinia is the former name of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is one of the oldest independent nations in Africa (and the world). Except for the Italian occupation between 1936 and 1941, it has never been subjected to foreign domination. Ethiopia is a country with a rich history extensively documented in historical records.

[32] The Saadabad Pact was a four-party non-aggression agreement signed on July 8, 1937, at the Saadabad Palace in Tehran. The signatories were Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

In an effort to expand its support base, the party halted conflicts with the Kurds in 1970 and sought alliances with various nationalist and leftist political groups, including the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). However, by 1974, tensions resurfaced, leading to a breakdown in relations first with the Kurds and then with the communists. This marked a return to a one-party regime, further centralising power within the Ba'ath Party.

In 1976, Saddam Hussein assumed the role of Prime Minister and took over several significant powers from Hasan al-Bakr. By July 1979, Saddam officially became the President of Iraq, solidifying his control over the country's leadership.

The Iraq-Iran War (1979-1988):

The conflict between Iraq and Iran was heavily influenced by the United States. In 1979, Iran's U.S.-backed Shah regime was overthrown through Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Revolution, establishing an anti-American theocratic regime. The U.S., exploiting tensions between Iraq and Iran, incited Iraq to attack Iran.

In 1975, Iraq had made concessions to Iran to address the Kurdish issue. However, following Iran's regime change in 1979, Iraq capitalised on the situation with U.S. support and launched an attack on Iran. Throughout the war, the U.S. supported Iraq. The ten-year war caused significant losses for both countries. A ceasefire was signed in 1988, bringing an end to the conflict. During this period, Saddam Hussein further strengthened his grip on power in Iraq.

First Gulf War (1990–1991):

In August 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait, accusing it of overproducing oil and encroaching on Iraqi territory.

Iraq declared Kuwait its 19th province, prompting a U.S.-led coalition to launch an offensive under the guise of liberating Kuwait. The war ended with Iraq's withdrawal in 27 February 1991.

After the ceasefire on 28 February 1991, uprisings began in the north among the Kurds and in the south among the Shiites. These uprisings were violently suppressed by Saddam's regime, leading to mass killings. The United Nations used this as a pretext to impose no-fly zones over northern and southern Iraq. In response to Iraq’s violation of this restriction, the United States conducted airstrikes on Iraq in 1993, 1996, 1998, and 2001.

Following the Gulf War, the UN imposed a comprehensive trade embargo on Iraq. In 1996, this embargo was partially eased through the Oil-for-Food Programme, which allowed Iraq to sell oil in exchange for food and medicine. However, the embargo resulted in a tragic humanitarian crisis, with over 500, 000 children reportedly dying due to a lack of medicine and food.

Iraq's Occupation (2003):

Despite the embargo imposed on Iraq after the First Gulf War, the U.S. was unable to overthrow Saddam's regime. It failed to establish a compliant government in Iraq. By the early 2000s, Iraq had begun a rapid recovery and was resisting the U.S.

The U.S., using the pretext of the September 11 attacks on the Twin Towers, allied with the UK and launched an attack on Iraq on 20 March 2003, under the guise of ***disarming Iraq of weapons of mass destruction***, ending Saddam Hussein's support for terrorism, and "liberating" the Iraqi people. On 9 April 2003, they entered Baghdad and overthrew Saddam’s regime. On April 15, Iraq was fully occupied.

All the justifications for the U.S. invasion of Iraq were lies. For example, the claim of "disarming Iraq of chemical weapons" was completely fabricated by the CIA, as admitted by those who made up the lie.

Through the invasion of Iraq, the U.S. declared its world empire and sought to force all the peoples and nations of the world to bow to its empire. As we mentioned at the beginning of our book, the invasion of Iraq was part of the U.S. imperialist strategy. With the invasion, the U.S. declared its empire. Saddam's regime was the "extreme" example for the countries the U.S. wanted to subjugate. Immediately after the

invasion of Iraq, the U.S. threatened Iran, Syria, Libya, and North Korea by saying, "Either you bow down, or your fate will be the same."

The invasion of Iraq, the dragging of Saddam's statue through the streets by a rope, and the looting of Baghdad were part of this threat. The invasion of Iraq and these threats had a significant impact on all the peoples of the world. However, the overt occupation conditions sparked resistance. At the darkest moment of despair, the Iraqi people turned their bodies into bombs, rushing into the occupiers' ranks and blowing themselves up.

The invasion of Iraq, along with the resistance it created, marked the beginning of the end for the U.S. empire.

Even in its most disorganised and backward form, the Iraqi resistance dragged the invaders into an inescapable quagmire. Anti-American sentiment surged to unprecedented levels among the peoples of the entire Middle East and the world.

The images of torture at Guantanamo prison camp, with Afghan prisoners being tortured, spread the despair that the U.S. had tried to instil, replacing it with anger against the U.S. The Afghan people also began their resistance in 2005.

The U.S. maintained its physical occupation of Iraq until 2011. Its goal was to destroy Saddam's regime and create a compliant government to re-colonise Iraq. However, it cannot be said that they fully succeeded in this. In order to overthrow Saddam's regime, the U.S. used every form of division within Iraq, such as the Arab-Kurd conflict, Shiite-Sunni conflict, tribal disputes, etc., to weaken the Iraqi people.

For example, in opposition to Saddam's regime, the U.S. deepened the Shiite-Sunni divide and encouraged Shiites to cooperate. As a result, the Shiite-led government established a political dominance for Iran. The Shiite-Iraqi government increased Iran's sphere of influence in the Middle East rather than expanding U.S. dominance.

In conclusion, all the justifications for the U.S. invasion of Iraq are lies. The U.S. invaded Iraq for the following reasons:

1. To overthrow Saddam's regime, which had resisted the U.S. since the early 1990s, and to establish a compliant government for re-colonisation.
2. Iraq, with the third-largest oil reserves in the Middle East and its strategic geographical position, was an obstacle to the U.S. imperialist strategy, so the U.S. invaded to control it.
3. To intimidate all the countries and peoples the U.S. wanted to dominate by occupying Iraq.
4. To seize all of Iraq's natural and economic resources.
5. The resistance of the Iraqi people marked the beginning of the end of the U.S. imperialist strategy.
6. Despite all its shortcomings, the Iraqi resistance demonstrated that the vast military-economic power of U.S. imperialism was like a paper tiger.
7. The invasion of Iraq and the resistance sparked anti-American sentiment in the Middle East and among the world's peoples. The U.S. now struggles to justify and dare to openly invade any other country.
8. The sectarian, ethnic, and tribal divisions in Iraq showed that the only alternative to these harmful, weakening artificial separations is the ideology of socialism, which unites the people.

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

Iran, located in Southwest Asia, is a large country with an area of 1, 648, 195 square kilometres and a population exceeding 84 million (2020 estimate). It ranks 18th in the world by land area.

Iran is bordered to the south by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, and to the north by the Caspian Sea. Its neighbours include Azerbaijan and Armenia to the northwest, Pakistan and Afghanistan to the east, Turkey and Iraq to the west, and the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman to the south.

The capital city of Iran is Tehran. According to Article 12 of its constitution, Iran's official religion is Islam, and the official sect is Twelver Shia Islam.

Languages Spoken in Iran

The official language of Iran is Persian (Farsi). Other recognised languages include Azeri, Balochi, Kurdish, Arabic, and Turkmen.

Ethnic Composition

The population of Iran consists of 61% Persians, 16% Azeris, 10% Kurds, 2% Turkmens, 6% Lurs, 2% Balochs, 2% Arabs, and 1% others.

Iran operates as an Islamic Republic.

Its geopolitical significance stems from its rich history, dating back to 4000 BCE, and its status as one of the world's oldest continuously inhabited civilizations. Iran has held strategic importance throughout its history due to its central location in Eurasia. It is considered a regional power and is a member of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, and OPEC.

The political system of Iran is based on the constitution adopted following the 1979 revolution. The highest state authority is the Supreme Leader.

Iran holds a significant position in international energy security and the global economy due to its vast oil and natural gas reserves.

Geography

Iran is one of the most mountainous countries in the world, with its landscape shaped by mountain ranges such as the Caucasus, Zagros, and Alborz. These ranges separate various basins and plateaus, with the western region being the most mountainous and densely populated.

Mount Damavand, located within the Alborz range, stands at 5, 604 metres, making it the highest peak in Iran and the tallest mountain west of the Hindu Kush.

The country experiences a harsh continental climate in its interior regions due to the high mountains that block rainclouds. Iran's major deserts include the Dasht-e Kavir in the central north and the Lut Desert in the south. Large plains are primarily found along the Caspian Sea and the northern edge of the Persian Gulf, particularly around the Shatt al-Arab river delta.

Economy Highlights

Iran's economy is a mix of planned economic policies, state ownership in major industries like oil, small-scale private enterprises, and agriculture. In 2006, approximately 45% of the government budget came from oil and gas revenues, while 31% came from taxes and fees.

Investments in agriculture have boosted production. Numerous dams have been built for irrigation, increasing exports of agricultural products such as dates, flowers, and pistachios.

Iran's main trading partners include China, Germany, South Korea, France, Japan, Russia, and Italy.

Iran is ranked among the top 10 tourist destinations globally. However, in terms of tourism revenue, it ranks 89th in the world. In 2004, 1, 659, 000 tourists visited Iran, mostly from Central Asian republics and other Asian countries, with a smaller number from Europe and the United States.

While agriculture and livestock are not major exports, they are critical for the livelihoods of the population. Many nomadic communities sustain themselves through livestock farming. Silk production and high-quality caviar from sturgeon along the Caspian coast are also vital to the economy.

Despite the importance of agriculture, livestock, and handicrafts for the livelihood of the Iranian people, the national economy is heavily reliant on oil and natural gas revenues. It is estimated that Iran holds 10% of the world's oil reserves and 20% of its natural gas reserves.

History of Iran

Archaeological evidence from prehistoric remains across the Iranian plateau suggests the presence of settlements as early as 4000 BCE.

During the 3rd and 2nd millennia BCE, the proto-Iranians emerged following the separation of the Indo-Iranians. Aryan (ancient Iranian peoples) communities likely migrated and settled on the Iranian plateau in multiple waves during this period. These proto-Iranians divided into "Eastern" and "Western" groups, primarily due to migration.

By the 1st millennium BCE, the Medes (1), Persians (2), Bactrians (3), and Parthians (4) populated the western regions, while the steppes north of the Black Sea were home to the Cimmerians (5), Sarmatians (6), and Alans (7). Other groups settled in the mountainous areas near the northwestern border of the Indian subcontinent and the region now called Baluchistan. Tribes such as the Scythians spread westward to the Balkans and eastward to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

In 625 BCE, Cyrus the Great (8) united the Medes and Persian empire (9), establishing the Achaemenid (10) Empire. It became the largest empire of its time, stretching from the Indus and Oxus rivers in the east to Anatolia and the Mediterranean, including Athens and Egypt. The teachings of Zoroastrianism (11) played a key role in the expansion of the Achaemenid Empire, promoting equality, human rights, and the abolition of slavery.

In 480 BCE, the Persians captured and burned Athens, but the Greco-Persian Wars, which continued throughout the 5th century BCE, culminated in the Greeks expelling the Persians in 449 BCE.

Alexander the Great and the Seleucid Empire

In 333 BCE, Alexander the Great defeated the Achaemenids at the Battle of Issus, incorporating their lands into his empire. After Alexander's death, the Seleucid Empire (12) governed Iran until 327 CE. Following the Seleucids' departure, Iran experienced a prolonged period without centralised governance, leading to the rise of various states such as the Arsacid Dynasty (13), Medes, Assyrians (14), and Parthians.

The Sasanian Empire (224 CE – 651 CE)

The Sasanian Empire (15), established in 224 CE, played a significant role in developing the Silk Road, connecting civilizations such as China, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and Rome. Renowned academic institutions like the Nizip School and the Gundeshapur Academy (16) were founded during this era, and written culture flourished. The national epic of Iran, the *Shahnameh*, was composed during this period.

Arab Conquests and Islamic Influence

The Sasanian Empire ended with the Muslim Arab invasions in the 7th century CE. Although Iran fell under the rule of the Umayyad Caliphate, the Islamisation of Iran was a gradual process. Persian literature, philosophy, science, and art significantly influenced Islamic civilization.

Later Dynasties and Mongol Invasions

The Abbasids ruled after the Umayyads, and in 822 CE, the Tahirid Dynasty declared independence, forming the Persian Tahirid dynasty. The Samanid (17) era (9th–10th centuries) marked a cultural renaissance, reviving Iranian identity and solidifying the Persian language's continuity.

From 900 to 1200, the Ghaznavids (18) and Seljuks ruled Iran. However, administrative power was shared, with Iranian viziers holding key positions in state councils and institutions like the Nizamiyyah.

In 1218, Iran was invaded by Genghis Khan, resulting in the deaths of over half a million people. Resistance to the Mongol invasion reduced the population from 2.5 million to 250, 000. Timur later invaded Iran, causing further destruction. Iran's population did not recover until 800 years later. Despite Timur's reign, Persian culture heavily influenced his empire.

Safavid Dynasty and Subsequent Periods

The Safavid dynasty (19) (1501–1736) established a Shiite Islamic state, which grew into a major political power under Shah Ismail. The Safavid Empire eventually fell due to Afghan uprisings. The Afsharid Dynasty succeeded the Safavids, followed by the Zand Dynasty. In 1794, the Qajar Dynasty (20) was established, with Tehran as its capital.

Modern Era

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, Iran faced occupation attempts by Russia and Britain but retained its sovereignty. The discovery of oil in 1908 made Iran a focal point for imperialist powers.

In 1921, Reza Pahlavi, working under British influence, staged a coup, overthrowing the Qajar dynasty. By 1925, he became the Shah of Iran. Under Reza Pahlavi, Iran centralised its governance, abolishing the semi-autonomous status of regions like Azerbaijan, Khuzestan, and Luristan. The use of non-Persian languages was banned, and an intensive policy of "Persianisation" suppressed the existence, cultures, and languages of other ethnic groups in Iran.

Reza Shah followed a policy of balance between Britain and the Soviet Union in foreign affairs between 1925 and 1940, but in the 1940s, he started moving closer to Germany. In 1941, during Partition War II, Britain and the Soviet Union invaded Iran to gain access to its railways. After the occupation, the Allied powers did not accept Reza Shah's demands to expel German officials from the country. As a result, Reza Shah Pahlavi was removed from power and his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was made Shah.

In 1943, at the Tehran Conference, the USSR, Britain, and the U.S. decided to rebuild Iran. In 1945, in regions under Soviet occupation, Azeris declared the Azerbaijan National Government, and in 1946, Kurds declared the Kurdish Mahabad Republic. After the Soviets withdrew from the region, Iran did not recognise these autonomous regions.

After Partition War II, the rise of national liberation movements further fuelled nationalism in Iran. The demand for the nationalisation of oil grew in the country, and the parliament passed a decision in favour of nationalisation. However, this process was part of a neo-colonial approach by Britain and the U.S. towards Iran. Despite the parliamentary decision, Prime Minister Razmara did not implement the nationalisation of oil. He was assassinated, and the public revolted. The Shah was forced to appoint the leader of the National Front, Mohammad Mossadegh, as Prime Minister.

Mossadegh's first action was the nationalisation of oil and the development of relations with the USSR. However, this situation upset the U.S., and through the CIA, a coup was orchestrated within the military, forcing the Shah to remove Mossadegh from office. This led to a public uprising in support of Mossadegh. The Shah fled the country and went to Rome.

On 19 August 1953, the U.S. and Britain, in collaboration with the CIA, executed Operation Ajax, arresting Mossadegh. The Shah was brought back from Rome and reinstated to his throne. A consortium was formed between U.S. and British monopolies to operate Iranian oil, with Iran receiving a 50% stake.

After Mossadegh's removal in 1953 and the reinstatement of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Iran entered a phase of new colonisation under U.S. control, with the Shah becoming the U.S.'s top collaborator.

The Development of the Revolutionary Movement in Iran

The socialist movement in Iran began to develop in the 1920s. However, with the rise of Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1925, socialists were not allowed to organise due to constant operations and arrests.

After the Soviet invasion in 1941 and the end of the war, nationalism, socialist ideologies, and organisations within the working class quickly grew. Despite the Shah's collaboration with Britain and the U.S., and the attempted coup by the U.S., the people's demand for the nationalisation of oil led to the appointment of Mossadegh as Prime Minister, and the Shah was overthrown. However, the Tudeh Party (People's Party of Iran), which led the socialist mass movement, lacked the perspective and courage to seize power and thus could not prevent the neo-colonialist policies of the U.S.

After Mossadegh was arrested through a U.S.-British operation and Reza Shah was reinstated, two-armed Marxist-Leninist organisations, The Fedayeen and The Mojahedin, emerged from the Tudeh Party, advocating armed struggle.

From 1953 to 1979, Iran underwent a similar process to Turkey in terms of the U.S.'s neo-colonialism. Iran was organised militarily and economically as a police state for the Gulf countries by the U.S.

During the 1960s and 1970s, revolutionary armed movements grew in Iran. However, there was also an Islamic faction, known as the "Mullahs," which opposed both U.S. imperialism and the Shah's regime.

The socialist movement in Iran formed an alliance with the mullahs to overthrow the Shah's regime. As a result, the Shah was overthrown in early 1979, but power was seized by the mullahs. After coming to power on 16 January 1979, the mullahs launched a major operation of arrests, torture, and massacres against the socialist organisations they had allied with to overthrow the Shah.

The Iranian Islamic Revolution and Aftermath

After Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, reinstated by the U.S. and Britain through Operation Ajax, became a complete puppet of the U.S., neo-colonialist policies were rapidly implemented in Iran. The distorted capitalist development, characterised by imperialist dependence, migration from rural areas to cities, and the effects of neo-colonial economic, political, and social relations, deeply affected the Iranian people.

The Shah's obvious collaboration with the U.S., the economic, political, and military presence of the U.S. within the country, and the overall situation led to the development of the Iranian people's anti-American consciousness.

The popular anti-imperialist—mostly anti-American—reaction was organised under two political ideologies. The first was the Marxist-Leninist armed movements, and the second was the mullahs, who organised within the masses with the slogan "religion is under threat" due to the decay caused by distorted capitalism in Iranian cultural values.

The mullahs were also anti-imperialist, and notably anti-American. However, they were more organised than the Marxist-Leninist left, which lacked a goal for power among the broader masses.

Because the ideologies of the Mullahs and the left overlapped on the basis of anti-imperialism, an alliance was formed to overthrow the Shah's regime. In January 1978, the first large-scale public protests against the Shah began. Workers' strikes, university students and professors' protests, and intellectual movements paralyzed the country and its economy. In an attempt to suppress the protests, the Shah's regime killed thousands of people. Despite this, the protests could not be suppressed, and the Shah fled the country on 16 January 1979.

On 1 February 1979, the religious leader of the mullahs, Ayatollah Khomeini, who had been in exile in France, returned to Iran.

The Iranian military, Marxist-Leninist guerrilla groups, and the mullahs triumphed in street battles against the Shah's loyal special forces. The Shah's regime collapsed completely. On 1 April 1979, Khomeini declared the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In December 1979, a theocratic (21) constitution was approved, and Khomeini was confirmed as the country's religious leader.

In the following years, Khomeini's regime initiated operations to purge and eliminate all opposition forces, especially communists, which had initially allied with them to overthrow the Shah. Hundreds of thousands were arrested, subjected to torture, and executed. Tens of thousands were killed without trial, through torture or summary executions.

Khomeini declared the People's Mojahedin Organisation as "combatants against God" and the communists as "apostates" and carried out mock trials, executing 30, 000 militants in 1988. It is believed that tens of thousands of others were killed by torture or execution by firing squad until 1988.

The 1979 Revolution and how it turned into a counter-revolution, along with the experiences in Iranian prisons, is narrated in the book "Crying Tulips". Here is a section from it.

Organisation, Programme, and Courage

"Because I spoke English, I was in contact with the world press. I remember a reporter from an American television station asking me, 'What will happen next?' and I said, 'When Khomeini comes from Paris, the masses will seize power. The people will govern the country in a democratic and just way.' Unfortunately, I wasn't the only one who misunderstood Khomeini's intentions. I thought he no longer wanted to engage in politics and would return to Qum to fulfil his religious duties.

The reporter pressed further, 'How will the people use this power?' I replied, 'Probably through the Shoras (councils).' I don't think any of us had more than a vague idea about the resources we had at our disposal or how dangerously we were heading into uncertain territory.

As the snow melted in Tehran, with the reopening of the university and the fall of the Shah, we experienced a true Spring of Peace. Indeed, this period was generally called the 'Spring of Freedom'. The university had turned into a joyful chaos. No longer the place of disconnected intellectuals, it was now overflowing with people eager to learn and teach. Everyone carried a white book, sometimes even holding several in their arms, trying to support their chins with them. These white books were the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and many others that had been banned before. Now, they were being printed and distributed as cheaply as possible, with no covers. They were eagerly snatched up by those who had been deprived of them for so long. Not only were they now tasting the forbidden fruit, but they were also demolishing the walls of the orchard with bulldozers.

Every corner was filled. In one corridor, you could find workers from oil refineries explaining to a group how to use an AK-47 rifle. In another corner, a group of Islamic students might be praying. In the front yard, another group could be debating the agricultural policies that should be adopted... The university was buzzing with the crowd of people, discussing various topics.

Revolutionary poet and dramatist Said Sultanpur, just released from prison, organised a politically charged poetry event. He had set up a street theatre for agitation and propaganda, practicing their work on the grass. Everywhere, speakers from various political groups surrounded by crowds who were either agreeing or asking questions.

The Faculty of Fine Arts had turned into a "liberated" gallery. Artists and activists filled the hallways, even sweeping rooms. The walls were decorated with previously banned paintings. The university had transformed into an art gallery. All of Iran's cultural life seemed to be there, with people

flooding in. The workers and peasants, previously deprived of such beauty, came to see and experience art.

Every kind of politics that had overthrown the Shah was represented at the university, from communists to Islamists, each governed by a Shora. This mirrored other developments across Iran, as workers took over factories and peasants seized land, now deciding democratically, through their Shoras, how to govern these assets.

Certain political parties had surrounded specific blocks. The Faculty of Engineering had become the headquarters for the Fedayeen. Young people, with Kalashnikovs in hand and bundles of newspapers, were constantly entering and exiting, filling the air with energy. It resembled the role of Smolny during the Russian Revolution.

These headquarters also functioned as classrooms. One day, while passing by, I had the chance to attend a lecture by Huma Nategh, an Iranian literature professor and progressive woman. Over 500 people were listening attentively to her lecture on the contributions of women to armed struggle. The Faculty of Engineering had become something of a revolutionary "tourist attraction" for villagers coming to see the "armed youth" who had taken over the country's leadership.

The university excluded no one. And, of course, there were eccentric individuals. One of them was Zehra Hanım. She was of an unknown age, possibly 70, with a face deeply lined with age. She wore a loose chador, tying the sleeves of a sweater around her waist, and a black headscarf. Despite her short stature, she walked in a way that defied the passing years. Like other villagers who had lost their assets, she had returned to the warmth of the village home and the security of the annual harvest. For her, the clergy had a particular meaning. She had declared herself the nemesis of the left. She would throw herself into the midst of a lively socialist debate and, with all the strength of her lungs, scream, 'Down with Marx, Engels, Lenin, and all your godless communists!' When she realised she had everyone's attention, she would turn to those watching and scold them, 'You're talking about workers. I am a worker. What have you done for me? You will corrupt our women and youth. Only Islam can give us the answer we seek, in this world and the hereafter.' The listeners would bite their lips, trying to stifle their laughter. If she noticed, which she usually did (for she was not particularly refined or understanding), she would walk straight up to the most cheerful "guilty" party, grab them by the throat, and, despite her old age, slap their face with the back of her hand for mocking an old woman and a worker.

Later, it was learned that Zehra Hanım had been mentored by Ghotbezade, one of the first foreign ministers of the Islamic regime. She had even been presented on TV as Khomeini's greatest supporter. Ghotbezadeh was later executed by firing squad for allegedly plotting a coup against Khomeini in collaboration with the CIA.

Our liberating, open education had spread across the country. Once a week, I would drive 100 kilometres to Ghazvin to give lectures at the university there. Anyone could attend my lectures. The topics ranged from issues in industrial Shoras to the nature of land reform. Many Fedayeen members, hundreds of young people, would attend. Each time, I spent two full days with them, discovering new problems and possibilities. The discussions quickly shifted from 'How do we push the revolution further?' to 'Why isn't the revolution progressing?' I began to focus more critically on the new Islamic regime's reluctance to grant progressive privileges to workers and peasants. Our revolution was being taken from us and was starting to turn against us. The regime took action against the workers' and peasants' Shoras. Khomeini, allying with feudal and capitalist forces, called for a jihad against the Kurds and workers. This attack against the democracy that the revolution had won was not limited to the Kurds and workplaces. Through Hezbollah, Khomeini also showed his ugly face against universities and other educational institutions.

Under the guise of an "Islamic Cultural Revolution, "he shed the blood of the students and teachers who had fought so courageously against the Shah. This counter-revolution brought with it gender discrimination and eradicated all freedom of expression."

(Dr. Riza Gaffari, Crying Tulips, pp. 65-69)

The Anti-American Stance of the Khomeini Regime and the U.S. Objective in Iran under BMENA

After the overthrow of the Shah, which transitioned into the Shia Islamic revolution in Iran, Khomeini's regime maintained an anti-American stance despite purging the left-wing and communist factions it had allied with initially. The U.S. has engaged in both overt and covert interventions aimed at toppling Khomeini's regime from 1979 to the present.

On 4 November 1979, a group of Iranian students stormed the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, accusing the embassy of espionage, and took 52 American diplomats hostage for 444 days. Although the U.S. attempted a rescue operation, it failed.

Subsequently, the U.S. encouraged Saddam Hussein in Iraq to wage war on Iran, which began on 22 September 1980. The resulting Iran-Iraq War, which continued until 1988 with U.S. support for Iraq, led to over 100, 000 Iranian deaths and left between 500, 000 and 1 million Iranians injured.

The imperialists continually pressured Iran's mullah regime on human rights issues—accusing it of anti-democratic practices such as arrests, torture, executions, and massacres. They imposed economic, political, and military sanctions in an effort to overthrow the regime. These efforts have been ongoing since 1979, but despite these pressures, the mullah regime has not been overthrown.

U.S. goals regarding Iran, within the framework of BMENA, are as follows:

1. To overthrow the anti-American mullah regime and replace it with a cooperative government aligned with neo-colonial relations.
2. Iran's geographical importance, with its location between the Persian Gulf and Asia, and its vast natural resources, including petroleum and natural gas, make it strategically significant.
3. Iran is extremely important due to its vast size of 1.64 million square kilometres, a large population of 85 million, and its position as one of the world's richest countries in terms of petroleum and natural gas reserves. Additionally, Iran possesses significant potential in other natural and mineral resources, further highlighting its strategic importance.
4. From the perspective of the United States, Iran is important both because it has a vast potential to be exploited and because a large power like Iran being outside its control poses an obstacle to the exploitation policies in the Middle East.
5. For the imperialist system, any small piece of land or tiny community in the world that they cannot dominate is considered a great danger. An example of this is the tiny island of Cuba; since the 1960s, the United States has used every possible means—provocations, assassination attempts, embargoes, sanctions, and so on—to overthrow socialism in Cuba.
6. The real purpose of sanctions against Iran is to weaken its mullah regime, which hinders the exploitation of its resources by imperialist powers.

Iran: Anti-American but Not Truly Anti-Imperialist

Although Iran's mullah regime has consistently maintained an anti-American rhetoric since the Islamic Revolution, it is not genuinely anti-imperialist. After Partition War II, the U.S. became the dominant force in imperialist politics, but Iran's Islamic Revolution offers no real alternative to the capitalist-imperialist system. Despite its anti-American stance, the mullah regime's policies largely align with state-driven capitalism.

The regime has maintained relations with other imperialist nations outside the U.S., continuing economic exchanges. The regime's control over key sectors such as oil and mining has prevented imperialists from fully exploiting Iran, making it a target of ongoing imperialist ambitions. However, despite the regime's anti-American stance, it has not developed a comprehensive anti-imperialist approach.

Iran, on the other hand, has not been able to maintain a consistent anti-imperialist stance in the face of imperialist attacks on peoples and countries. It has not stood alongside the struggles for the liberation of the people. Instead of recognising the central contradiction between the oppressed peoples and the imperialists, it has pursued a policy based on its immediate interests.

For example, during both the U.S. attack on Iraq in the early 1990s and the invasion in the 2000s, Iran did not stand against imperialist aggression. It sought to "rub Saddam's nose in it" due to the war it had with Iraq in the 1980s. In the 2003 invasion, Iran, even though it knew that the next target of the U.S. attacks would be itself, stayed silent and tried not to "provoke" the U.S. However, the U.S. goals were very clear and explicit. After the invasion of Iraq, the U.S. announced its targets, listing countries like Iran, Syria, Libya, and so on. It laid out its policies for the entire Middle East through BMENA. Iran failed to develop a strategy in response to these U.S. attacks. It remained silent until attacks started in Libya, which led to the downfall of Gaddafi's regime, and in Syria, targeting Assad's regime. A consistent anti-imperialist would stand against imperialist attacks wherever they occur in the world.

Today, Iran's position alongside Syria is positive. Syria's resistance and the polarisation surrounding this resistance have largely disrupted the policies of U.S. and EU imperialists and their collaborators. However, the U.S. will not abandon BMENA if the entire Middle East becomes a bloodbath. It will continue its attacks by shifting its strategies. Regardless of which country in the Middle East is attacked, it must be understood that the primary target is Iran. Iran, based on this reality, must take a stand against these attacks.

We know how the Mullah regime in Iran, up until the 1990s, killed tens of thousands of revolutionaries through torture, executions, and firing squads. We also know the policies of denial and massacre against the Kurdish people and other ethnic groups. Since the Mullahs came to power in Iran in 1979, they have not brought democracy, freedom, or prosperity to their people. The exploitation of the people has continued under the Mullah regime, and Iran is not truly anti-imperialist.

Despite all of this, revolutionaries must stand with Iran against imperialist attacks. This is because the goal of the imperialist attacks on Iran is to reorganise the country in a way that aligns with neo-colonialism, without blocking the imperialists' Middle East policies.

The fact that the regime in Iran is reactionary and anti-democratic does not justify imperialist aggression or necessitate that revolutionaries remain neutral. No global development or conflict is independent of the imperialism-people contradiction. Revolutionaries' duty is to define their stance against imperialism.

The U.S. has always tried to legitimise its attacks by citing the anti-democratic nature of the regional regimes and their dictatorial leaderships. The invasion of Iraq, the fragmentation and plundering of Libya and Syria, and the killing of hundreds of thousands of people have all been justified with these claims. The sanctions and attacks on Iran are similarly justified by the U.S. as being due to the anti-democratic nature of the Mullah regime.

Fascist, reactionary, anti-democratic regimes in any country are the internal problems of the people of that country. They cannot be overcome with the support of imperialists. There is no example of this ever being true. People cannot be free without independence, and they cannot establish democratic governance in their countries. Collaborating with imperialists in the name of "overthrowing dictatorships" means tying oneself to imperialism. It means handing the country over to imperialists and allowing its plunder. Iraq, Libya, and Syria are the most recent examples of this.

FOOTNOTES FOR THE IRAN SECTION

1. The Medes were an ancient Iranian people who inhabited the northwestern region of present-day Iran. The Greeks referred to their homeland as "Media". The Medes were first mentioned in records from the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, where they were called "Mada". The current name for the Medes is derived from the Ancient Greek term Mê*dos. T*heir historical timeline spans from approximately 678 BCE to 549 BCE.
2. The Persians, also referred to as Fars or Ājams in Ottoman terminology, are an Iranian ethnic group primarily residing in Iran. Etymologically, the term "Fars" originates from the word "Pars". Due to the influence of Arabic, which lacks the "P" sound, "Pars" evolved into "Fars, "with "P" replaced by "F". In Arabic, both sounds are represented with a shared closed "a" sound. The history of Persian states stretches back over 2, 550 years, encompassing dynasties such as the Achaemenids and the Sassanids. The Persian language, Farsi, *belon*gs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. Many Persian poets and scholars of historical significance have left a lasting legacy.
3. Bactria, also known as Tokharistan, was an ancient region located between the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Oxus River (modern Amu Darya). Its centre was the city of Bactra, also referred to as Balhika or Bahdi in ancient times, corresponding to present-day Balkh in Afghanistan. Currently, the area includes the boundaries of Mazar-i-Sharif, encompassing the historical region of Balkh.
4. The Parthian Empire, 247BCE-224 CE also known as the Arsacid Empire, was a significant political and cultural power in ancient Iran. It was the third native dynasty to rule the region, following the Medes and the Achaemenids.
5. The Cimmerians (*Kimmeroi* in Ancient Greek) were likely a nomadic and warlike people of Indo-European origin. They inhabited a vast region stretching from the Volga River (Idil) to the northern areas of the Black Sea, referred to as Cimmeria, from the 14th and 10th centuries BCE to the first half of the 8th century BCE. Historical Period: ca. 1300 BCE – ca. 300 BCE
6. The Sarmatians were a nomadic equestrian people who spoke Sarmatian, a Scythian language belonging to the Eastern Iranian branch. They inhabited the region between the Vistula and Volga rivers, extending to the northern and southeastern areas of the Caucasus, from the 6th century BCE to the 4th century CE.
7. The Alans were a nomadic people of Scythian-Sarmatian origin. In ancient times, they lived in the area that is now Kazakhstan. At the beginning of the Common Era, a large portion of the Alans crossed the Volga River and settled around the Don River, Crimea, and the North Caucasus, where they established dominance for many years. The name "Alan" is believed to be derived from a variation of the Aryan word, which has roots in the Iranian languages.
8. Known as Cyrus the Great or Old Cyrus in Greek, he was the founder and first king of the Achaemenid Empire, the first Persian state in history. He became the king of Anshan around 557 BCE under the vassalage of the Medes. Birthplace: Anshan, Iran. Date of Death: December 4, 530 BCE. Place of Death: Near the Syr Darya River (Seyhun)
9. Persian Empire: The Persian Empire is divided into two periods: ancient and modern. The ancient period begins with the Achaemenid Dynasty and ends with the Sassanid Dynasty. The modern period starts with Nader Shah expelling the Afghans and Russians from the country in 1736 and ends in 1925 when Reza Shah ascended to the throne, marking the fall of the Persian Empire and the establishment of Iran.
10. Achaemenid Empire: Also known as the Achaemenids, the Achaemenid Empire was founded by Cyrus the Great in the 6th century BC. It lasted from 550 BC to 330 BC.
11. Zoroastrianism: Also known as Mazdayasna, Zoroastrianism is a religion founded in Iran by Zoroaster about 3, 500 years ago. It became the official religion of three major Persian empires and is known for its dualistic and eschatological beliefs. Zoroastrianism is considered one of the world's oldest monotheistic faiths.
12. Seleucid Empire: The Seleucid Empire was a Hellenistic empire established after the death of Alexander the Great. It was founded by Seleucus I Nicator, one of Alexander's generals. The empire lasted from 323 BC to 63 BC, with its capital initially at Seleucia and later at Antioch.
13. Arsacid: Also known as Parthian, the Arsacid dynasty was the ruling dynasty of the Parthian Empire. Parthian, a Northwestern Iranian language, was spoken in what is now Iran's northwest and much of Khorasan. It was the official language of the Parthian Kingdom from 248 BC to 224 AD.

14. Assyrian Empire: The Assyrian Empire was an ancient Semitic empire that existed from 2025 BC to 612 BC in Mesopotamia. The Assyrians were a Semitic-speaking people who established one of the most powerful empires of the ancient Near East.
15. Sassanid Empire: The Sassanid Empire was the last pre-Islamic Persian Empire, founded after the defeat of the last Arsacid king, Artabanus IV, by Ardashir I. It lasted from 224 AD to 651 AD, with its capital at Ctesiphon.
16. Gundeshapur Academy: The Gundeshapur Academy was a renowned learning institution in the Sassanid Empire. It was famous for its contributions in medicine, philosophy, theology, and science. Located in Gundeshapur, it became one of the world's most important medical centres during the 6th and 7th centuries.
17. Samanids: The Samanid Dynasty (819–999) was a Persian dynasty that ruled over Central Asia and Eastern Iran. After the fall of the Seferid and Islamic dominance in Iran, the Samanids became the first native rulers. Their period is considered the foundation of Iranian national identity.
18. Ghaznavids: The Ghaznavid Dynasty (963-1186) was a Turkish dynasty that ruled over Transoxiana, Afghanistan, Northern India, and Khorasan. The Ghaznavids were named after the city of Ghazni, which remains in Afghanistan.
19. Safavid Dynasty: The Safavid Dynasty ruled Iran from 1501 to 1736. The dynasty's origins lie in a Sufi order in Ardabil, Azerbaijan. The Safavids established Shia Islam as the state religion and made Tehran their capital.
20. Qajar Dynasty: The Qajar Dynasty was established in 1794 by the Qajar tribe of Azerbaijan and ruled Iran until 1925. They played a significant role in the modern development of Iran.
21. Theocracy: Theocracy refers to a form of government where religious authorities hold political power. In the simplest terms, it can be defined as a system where the clergy (e.g., ulema in the Ottoman Empire) is responsible for the governance, and political decisions are based on religious principles.

SAUDI ARABIA

The official name is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It is the largest country on the Arabian Peninsula. It is bordered by Jordan to the northwest, Iraq to the northeast, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to the east, Oman to the southeast, Yemen to the south, the Persian Gulf to the northeast, and the Red Sea to the west.

The cities of Mecca and Medina, considered "holy" by Muslim countries, are located in Saudi Arabia. The capital of Saudi Arabia is Riyadh, its official language is Arabic, and its official religion is Islam. The country is governed as a unitary absolute monarchy.[33] The total land area is 2, 149, 690 km². As of 2019, the estimated population was 34, 218, 169.

Social Structure in Saudi Arabia

The majority of the Saudi Arabian population consists of Arabs descended from local tribes. Along the Persian Gulf coast, there is a minority Iranian community. A significant portion of the service sector

[33] Absolute Monarchy: A system of government in which legislative and executive powers are concentrated in the hands of the ruler. In this system, the ruler holds the highest and sole authority within the state.

workforce consists of foreign labourers. Other sectors of the economy are also largely dependent on foreign workers.

Approximately 97% of the Saudi population is Muslim, with 85% of them following the Salafi Sunni[34] sect. The Shiite Muslim population is estimated to be around 10-15%. The Saudi monarchy perceives Shiites as its biggest internal threat.

History

For thousands of years, Arabs lived as nomadic tribes across much of the Arabian Peninsula. The birth of Prophet Muhammad in Mecca in 570 increased the region's historical significance. However, when the Umayyad dynasty made Damascus its capital, the centre of the Islamic world shifted to Syria (692).

From the 16th century until World War I, the Arabian Peninsula remained under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

In the 1730s, a Salafi movement[35] emerged and was embraced by the Saudi family in 1745. In 1902, Abdulaziz Bin Saud, who was in exile in Kuwait, returned to Riyadh and initiated efforts to reestablish political unity. In response, the Ottoman government appointed Abdulaziz's father, Abdurrahman, as the governor of Riyadh.

During the Balkan Wars, as the Ottoman Empire reduced its military presence in the region, Arab forces, under Wahhabi Imam Abdulaziz Bin Saud, rebelled in 1913, seizing Hasa. Between 1921 and 1926, they expanded their territory by capturing Ha'il, Mecca, Jeddah, and Asir. In 1926, Abdulaziz Bin Saud declared himself King of Hejaz, and in 1932, he was proclaimed King of Saudi Arabia.

Economy

Oil was first discovered in Saudi Arabia in 1936. Today, the country possesses some of the world's largest oil reserves and is one of the leading oil producers globally.

Despite its vast land area, much of Saudi Arabia is covered by deserts. Around 90% of the country's economy relies on oil and petroleum-related exports. Additionally, due to the presence of Mecca and Medina, which attract millions of Muslim pilgrims annually, tourism revenues also play a significant role in the country's economy.

As one of the world's largest oil exporters, all oil resources in Saudi Arabia are owned by the Saudi royal family. The kingdom itself is essentially considered the property of the House of Saud.

Saudi Arabia: The U.S.'s Number One Collaborator in the Middle East

Since declaring its independence, Saudi Arabia has been in collaboration with British and American imperialists. Due to the presence of Mecca and Medina within its borders, Saudi kings see themselves as the custodians of Islam.

Until the 1970s, Saudi Arabia adopted a conciliatory approach while supporting the Palestinian cause. However, over time, it became one of the most loyal collaborators of the U.S. and Israel in the region. While the U.S. intervened in Iraq, Libya, Syria, Afghanistan, and many other countries under the pretext of bringing "democracy and freedom, "it has never objected to Saudi Arabia being ruled as a monarchy by a single family.

Saudi Arabia is among the top buyers of U.S. weapons and has never opposed American policies in the Middle East. Even when it appeared to "support" the Palestinian cause, it maintained a reconciliatory stance and cooperated behind the scenes.

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[34] Wahhabism: Although rooted in Salafism, Wahhabism was formally established as a religious-political movement or sect in the 18th century by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. However, the term "Wahhabism" is primarily used by its opponents rather than by its followers.

[35] Salafism: An Islamic belief movement whose foundations were laid by Ibn Taymiyyah. The term "Salaf" means "those who came before" and traditionally refers to the group consisting of Prophet Muhammad, his companions, and those who followed them with purity of belief.

Saudi Arabia has been the U.S.'s primary supporter in various conflicts, including the two attacks on Iraq, interventions in Libya and Syria, sanctions against Iran and the Arab Spring movements, as well as operations in Sudan and Yemen. The country continues to fight against the Houthis in Yemen on behalf of Western imperialist interests, alongside the UAE.

With its immense wealth from oil and backing from the U.S., Saudi Arabia seeks to establish its leadership over other Muslim nations in the region. However, this has led to continuous conflicts, with Saudi Arabia often playing a leading role. At its core, this struggle is about leading the alliance of U.S. collaborators in the Middle East.

Despite Its Loyalty, Saudi Arabia Is Also a Target of BMENA

Despite its cooperation, Saudi Arabia was among the 22 countries the U.S. sought to reshape under BMENA. The reason? The concentration of all wealth and power in the hands of a single ruling family does not entirely align with the neo-colonialism model. While monarchies and fascist dictatorships are not necessarily obstacles, parliamentary systems that allow a façade of democracy are often more suitable for neo-colonial rule.

The selection of Turkey as a "model country" in BMENA was no coincidence. The U.S. has historically supported both military juntas and civilian fascist dictators in its neo-colonies. Almost every neo-colonial country has experienced military coups because their people have resisted imperialism. Neo-colonialism has often been enforced through open or covert fascist dictatorships. However, if revolutionary movements have not gained enough strength, the most convenient system for imperialism is a pseudo-democratic parliamentary model that creates the illusion of democracy.

One of the objectives of BMENA was precisely this. Saudi Arabia was one of the 22 targeted countries but was not a primary focus. During the Arab Spring, the U.S. concentrated on Libya and Syria rather than Saudi Arabia, allowing the Saudi monarchy to consolidate its power.

The role of Saudi Arabia and similar collaborators has exposed the hypocrisy of the so-called "Arab Spring" narrative. While the U.S. and its allies claimed to be "toppling dictatorships to bring democracy and freedom" in Libya and Syria, their closest allies—Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, Kuwait, Jordan, Bahrain, and Morocco—remain authoritarian monarchies.

Saudi Arabia, which was ruled by a monarchy where women had no voting rights, could not drive or even go outside without permission, positioned itself as the leader of these collaborating regimes. Meanwhile, figures like Turkey’s Recep Tayyip Erdoğan were presented as "model leaders" by Western powers.

These quickly exposed the contradictions in the Arab Spring's stated objectives.

In November 2020, Saudi Arabia was among six countries that signed a "normalisation" agreement with Israel. The masks are now off in Saudi-Israel relations. As U.S. influence in the region declines, it seeks to build a bloc of collaborators like Saudi Arabia. The defining trait of this bloc? Hostility toward Iran and unwavering support for Israel.

BAHRAIN

Its official name is the Kingdom of Bahrain.

It is an island country located in Asia, in the Persian Gulf.

To the southeast of Bahrain is Qatar, and to the west is Saudi Arabia.

Bahrain is connected to Saudi Arabia by the King Fahd Causeway, a 25 km road that spans the sea from the northwest.

The capital of Bahrain is Manama, and the official language is Arabic. As suggested by its official name, Bahrain is ruled by a monarchy.

It declared its independence from the United Kingdom on 16 December 1971. Its surface area is 765 km², making it a small island nation. The population stands at 1, 569, 446.

Bahrain is considered one of the most evident examples of the divide-and-rule policies of imperialist powers.

Geographical Structure of Bahrain

Bahrain consists of three main islands: Bahrain, Muharraq, and Sitra. Its coastlines are suitable for navigation and the approach of ships. The majority of the population is settled in the northern part of the country, and there are no settlements in the south.

Demographic Structure

The estimated population of Bahrain in 2020 is around 1, 885, 000. The population in 1950 was 116, 000. The rapid increase in population is due to the influx of migrant workers. More than half of the population consists of foreign migrants and workers. As a result, the male-to-female ratio is highly disproportionate, with 154 men for every 100 women, which is the highest ratio in the world after Qatar and the UAE. The ruling Khalifa dynasty, based on Sunni Islam, is a minority in Bahrain. The majority of Bahrain's population is Shiite. Migrants, who make up more than half of the population, are subject to the foreigner law. The majority of these migrants are from South Asia, and many are from the Middle East and North Africa. Shiite Persians (referred to as "Acem") are also a group that migrated to the country in ancient times.

History

Bahrain has been a settlement for humans since ancient times, primarily due to its strategic location in the Persian Gulf. This location made it a target for conquest by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Persians, Arabs, Ottomans, Portuguese, Iranians, and British. Bahrain was used as a base to dominate the Persian Gulf.

From the 7th century until the 16th century, Bahrain was under Arab rule. In 1521, it was captured by Portuguese sailors. In 1559, it became an Ottoman base. The Portuguese recaptured it, and then in 1602, it came under Iranian control. The Khalifa dynasty established its rule in Bahrain.

From 1602 to 1783, Bahrain was a battleground between the Iranians and Arab tribes.

From 1773 to 1971, Bahrain was under British sovereignty. It gained its so-called independence from Britain in 1971. However, in reality, it became tied to the United States through neo-colonial relations.

Bahrain's Economy

According to the 2011 Index of Economic Freedom published by the Heritage Foundation (associated with the Wall Street Journal), Bahrain is the "freest" economy in the Middle East and ranks 10th in the world.

This means that Bahrain's economy is entirely under the control of imperialist monopolies. The wealth of Bahrain is open to imperialist exploitation. As mentioned earlier, Bahrain, Oman, the UAE, and Kuwait are clear examples of the "divide and rule" policies of imperialists, where they create cooperative monarchs from tribal elites and exploit the resources of these nations through their monarchs and emirates.

Bahrain's economy is heavily dependent on petroleum exports, with 60% of its economy relying on oil. Pearl production also plays an important role in the economy. However, women are not seen as part of the labour force, with only about 15% of women employed.

Bahrain and the Arab Spring

As mentioned earlier, Bahrain was established as a satellite state under the United States' "divide and rule" strategy. The goal of the United States under BMENA is to reshape the country in accordance with neo-colonial relations to prevent losing control over its satellite state.

Bahrain is important for the United States due to its oil reserves and its strategic location in the Persian Gulf.

During the Arab Spring, Bahrain became one of the countries that exposed the hypocrisy of the imperialists.

In the Arab Spring, the people of Bahrain revolted against the monarchy. Despite being one of the wealthiest countries in the world in relation to its population, the people's demand was "Justice, jobs, bread, freedom." This was because the country's wealth went to the imperialist monopolies and a small ruling Khalifa dynasty, not to the working people. On 14 February 2011, the people occupied government buildings.

The ruling Khalifa dynasty in Bahrain is a small Sunni minority, while the majority of the population consists of Shiites and migrant workers. These groups united in their demands for jobs, bread, justice, and freedom and called for the monarchy to be overthrown and a transition to a "democratic" system.

While imperialists "supported" similar demands for democracy and freedom in Tunisia and Egypt during the Arab Spring, they cooperated with organisations to overthrow leaders they called "dictators", such as Gaddafi in Libya and Assad in Syria, through destruction and chaos. However, in Bahrain, the opposite happened: the people's uprising was suppressed with the intervention of the Gulf Cooperation Council led by Saudi Arabia. 51 people were killed, further solidifying the monarchy's rule.

Why was this the case? Did the people of Bahrain not deserve "democracy"? The monarchy is a collaborator with the United States, and those seeking "democracy" were seen as outside U.S. control, so democracy and freedom were not a priority.

The reason is clear: if the uprising by the Shiite Persian majority succeeded, it could have led to a government strengthening Iran's influence in Bahrain. Therefore, while the imperialists raised global outrage over the deaths of protesters in Libya and Syria, they remained silent about the 51 killings in Bahrain.

Conclusion

1. One of the goals of BMENA in Bahrain is to ensure the security of the U.S.-backed monarchy.
2. During the Arab Spring, imperialists focused on securing the monarchy's power by prioritizing it over the rhetoric of "democracy and freedom," even at the cost of 51 lives.
3. While protests in Libya and Syria were exaggerated and portrayed as popular uprisings, the news of the 51 people killed in Bahrain was covered up.
4. It is clear that due to the contradictions between the ruling monarchy and the people who hold the country's wealth, the monarchy will always see itself as under threat.

OMAN

Its official name is the Sultanate of Oman.

It is located on the southeastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula in Southwest Asia. To the northwest, it borders the United Arab Emirates, to the west, Saudi Arabia, and to the southwest, Yemen. To the south and southeast, it is bordered by the Indian Ocean, and to the northeast, by the Persian Gulf.

The capital of Oman is Muscat. The official language is Arabic, and the official religion is Islam. Oman is governed by a unitary absolute monarchy.

It gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1970.

Its area is 309,501 km², and its estimated population in 2018 was 2, 829, 473.

History

Human settlement in what is now Oman dates back 10, 000 years. The roots of Oman's current tribal system extend back to migrations from the southwestern Arabian Peninsula that began in the 2nd century AD. Tribal conflicts and invasions from Iran continued until the 7th century when the region embraced Islam. After adopting Islam, the Ibadis[36]m sect, which is part of the Kharijit[37]e tradition, created a political unity for the people.

In 751, with the unification of the tribes, a state was established under the rule of imams, lasting until 1154. After 1154, the period of tribal rule took over, which lasted until 1428, marking a period of instability. Due to its dependence on maritime trade, control over the coastal regions strengthened, while internal regions lost control. The Imam regime returned between 1408 and 1507.

In 1507, the coastal areas of Oman were taken by the Portuguese. In 1521, it was briefly controlled by the Ottoman Empire before being retaken by the Portuguese. The Ottoman Empire regained control between 1581 and 1588, and Oman remained under Portuguese control until 1624.

In 1624, Imam Nasr Bin Mushrud was elected by the Omani people, ending the conflicts among the tribes and driving the Portuguese out of Oman.

From 1624 to 1737, the Omani Empire was established. In 1737, Iran took control of Oman by exploiting tribal conflicts.

By the early 1800s, with tribal reconciliation, Imam Ahmad Bin Said was elected and defeated the Iranians, establishing the Al Said dynasty. This dynasty took control of Oman's maritime trade. With cooperation from the British, the unity of Oman was maintained until 1856.

After the death of Said Bin Sultan, succession disputes led to the division of Oman into two parts in 1861: Zanzibar and Oman and Muscat.

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[36] Ibadism (Ibadīyya) is a sect that emerged after the Battle of Siffin and the subsequent arbitration incident, when a group of people separated from Ali al-Murtada's army and became part of the faction known as the "Muhakkimah." This group, along with the Kharijites, was part of a broader movement.

[37] Kharijism, or Khawārij, is a political sect within Islam that emerged in the first century of the Islamic era (Hijri) and has manifested in various forms over the centuries. It constitutes about 2% of the Muslim world. Historically, one of the most extreme factions of the Kharijites, the Azāriqa, held the view that those they considered outside their group were not true Muslims, accusing and condemning them as infidels (takfīr) and killing them.

Today, the most moderate branch of the Kharijites is known as the Ibadis. They are predominantly found in the Sultanate of Oman, where they make up an estimated 70% of the population. Small populations of Ibadis also live in Algeria, Tunisia's island of Djerba, Zanzibar, and some areas in Tanzania. On the other hand, the "Omani Ibadis" reject the claim that they are a branch of the Kharijites.

Between 1913 and 1932, the Ibadism sect established an autonomous government in the interior of Oman, while the Ibadism imam, supported by Saudi Arabia, tried to push for independence. However, in 1959, with British assistance, the independence movement was suppressed, and full control was restored under Taimur Bin Faisal.

Oman People's Liberation Front Struggle

Said Bin Taimur ruled Oman from 1932 to 1970 under British colonial authority, implementing a repressive policy against the people. After Partition War II, socialist ideas that had an impact worldwide also influenced the Omani people. In 1965, revolutionaries in the Dhofar region of Oman formed the Oman Liberation Front[38] and started a guerrilla war.

The result of the guerrilla warfare and the people's independence struggle was the British departure from Oman in 1970. The Sultanate of Oman declared its independence, but the political leadership remained unchanged.

In 1975, under the leadership of the Oman Liberation Front, the people revolted against the monarchy. Qaboos Bin Said El Abu Said carried out a coup in the palace, replacing his father, and suppressed the uprising with massacres.

After the British left, Oman fell under the influence of the United States. The Omani sultans cooperated closely with U.S. imperialism and acted together with other Arab states that also collaborated with the U.S.

Oman is a member of organisations like the Arab League, the United Nations, and the Gulf Cooperation Council. During the Gulf War, it opened its bases to the United States.

Oman Economy

Oil and natural gas are important export products. Asbestos, marble, limestone, chromium, and gypsum are the country's main natural resources. Approximately 1 million workers from Southeast Asian countries such as Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh are employed in Oman.

Oman's population is around 3 million. Of this, 75% are Ibadhi Muslims, while the remaining 25% consists of Shi'a, Sunni Muslims, and Hindus.

Oman and the Arab Spring Process

On 17 January 2011, the people of Oman rose up demanding bread, justice, democracy, and freedom. Sultan Qaboos bin Said Al Said, who had been ruling Oman since 1975, suppressed the uprising with police terror, killing 6 people, and implementing partial economic and political reforms. The dictatorship of Sultan Qaboos bin Said, who had ruled Oman for 46 years, and his terror against the people, never made it to the agenda of bourgeois media even for a single day. Sultan Qaboos further consolidated his power.

[38] The Oman Popular Liberation Front was established in 1965 in the city of Dhofar, Oman, with the intention of forming an independent state. The organization, founded by Musallim Nafi and Yusuf Alevî, began its guerrilla struggle on June 9, 1965. The group identified itself within the Arab nationalist movement, but after the Six-Day War, Nasser's failures, the British withdrawal from Aden, and the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, it shifted its focus towards the socialist movement. Its primary goal was "to expel British imperialism from the Gulf."
In September 1968, at the second congress, revolutionaries took control of the organization. This leadership, influenced by Maoism, changed the name of the organization to the "People's Liberation Front of the Occupied Gulf."
The uprising was crushed in 1976 after Sultan Qaboos, who came to power in Oman with support from the Shah of Iran, suppressed it.

QATAR

The official name of Qatar is the State of Qatar. It is a country in the Persian Gulf, located on the eastern side of the Arabian Peninsula. Its only land border is with Saudi Arabia, while the rest of its borders are surrounded by the Persian Gulf. Geographically, Bahrain lies to its northwest, Saudi Arabia to its west and south, the United Arab Emirates to its east, and Iran to its north. The capital city of Qatar is Doha.

With a total area of 11, 586 km², Qatar's estimated population in 2020 was 2, 795, 484. The most striking and paradoxical aspect of Qatar's population is that only 11.6% are Qatari citizens, while 88.4% are foreign workers who have come to the country for employment.

History of Qatar

For many years, Qatar was governed under the rule of local tribal chiefs. Since the region was predominantly inhabited by nomadic tribes, its administration frequently changed hands.

In the 19th century, control of the region passed to Mohammed Al Thani, the great-grandfather of the current emir. Throughout history, the ruling emirs maintained their authority by cooperating with the dominant regional powers.

From 1852 to 1913, Qatar was under Ottoman rule as a district of the Lahsa Sanjak within the Basra Vilayet. The Al Thani family served as Ottoman-appointed governors (kaymakam). However, due to the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Empire withdrew its forces from the Middle East in 1913 and relinquished its rights over Qatar. By 1915, the Ottoman Empire had completely withdrawn from Qatar.

In November 1916, Qatar came under British rule. It remained a British protectorate until 3 September 1971, when Qatar declared its independence and broke free from British control. However, like many other nations in the Middle East and North Africa, Qatar's independence remained largely symbolic, as the United States holds significant influence over the country.

Qatar's Economy

Despite having a population of only 2.8 million, Qatar boasts a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of $357.3 billion, making it one of the richest countries in the world with a per capita income of $138, 910. This immense wealth is largely derived from oil and natural gas.

Oil was first discovered in Qatar in the 1940s. Before this discovery, the country's economy relied on fishing and pearl diving. However, after the emergence of the oil and gas industry, Qatar's economy became almost entirely dependent on petroleum and its byproducts. Nearly all consumer goods in Qatar are imported from abroad.

Although Qatar is classified as one of the world's richest countries, its wealth distribution is highly skewed. The Al Thani ruling family controls nearly 90% of the nation's revenue, meaning that the per capita income statistic does not reflect actual economic conditions for most people.

During the Arab Spring, foreign workers in Qatar—who contribute significantly to the country's GDP—staged protests demanding "bread, justice, and freedom."

Demographics of Qatar

99% of Qatari citizens are Muslim.

The native population consists of various Arabized tribal groups.

However, the real demographic divide is between Qataris and the massive number of foreign workers, who mainly come from the Philippines, Nepal, and India.

Foreign workers make up approximately two-thirds of the population, totalling around 1.8 million people.

The wealth generated from oil and natural gas has excluded most Qataris from labour-intensive production and turned them into a largely non-working elite.

Most Qatari nationals work as senior executives or government officials rather than engaging in manual labour.

All production and labour-intensive jobs are carried out by foreign workers.

These workers do not have the same rights as Qatari citizens and are subject to strict immigration laws.

Qatar also has one of the most gender-imbalanced populations in the world.

There are 329 men for every 100 women, and in the 25-54 age group, this ratio rises to 461 men per 100 women due to the influx of male labourers.

Geography of Qatar

The Qatar Peninsula extends 160 km into the Persian Gulf from Saudi Arabia. The southern part of the country is covered by deserts.

The wealth generated from oil and natural gas has transformed Qatar, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain into lands of extreme luxury for their ruling elites.

While strict Sharia laws apply to the general population, the ruling families engage in extravagant and decadent lifestyles.

Qatar has become a playground for the world's wealthiest people, with nightclubs, seven-star hotels, casinos, and luxury desert events catering to their extravagant desires.

The Qatar Crisis

A long-standing rivalry exists among Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the UAE, Kuwait, and Egypt over who will be the dominant pro-Western power in the Middle East. These nations frequently exploit internal conflicts within each other's territories to gain an advantage.

For example, in Egypt, Qatar supported the Muslim Brotherhood, while Saudi Arabia backed the military coup led by Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.

In Syria and Libya, these countries funded opposing rebel factions.

In June 2017, a coalition of 11 countries led by Saudi Arabia (including the UAE, Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Mauritania, Senegal, Djibouti, Comoros, the Maldives, the Libyan Tripoli government, and the Yemeni Hadi government) cut diplomatic, economic, and political ties with Qatar, accusing it of supporting terrorist organisations. They imposed a 13-point sanction list, closed Qatar’s air and sea routes, and placed the country under an economic blockade.

However, Qatar refused to comply with the sanctions. Turkey and Iran sided with Qatar.

Since Turkey lost its position as a model country for "Moderate Islam" within the framework of BMENA, it allied itself with the Muslim Brotherhood despite being in different positions in Syria.

On the other hand, Iran supported Qatar to counter Saudi Arabia, which is the leader of U.S. allies, thereby narrowing the U.S. sphere of influence and expanding its own. Turkey established a military base in Qatar and sent troops for support.

As a result, the issue between Saudi Arabia and Qatar, along with the 11-nation alliance, stems from the struggle over who will lead the pro-U.S. Arab states in the Middle East. These conflicts are likely to continue under U.S. control and without harming U.S. interests. During this process, the U.S. has maintained relations with both sides and has found an opportunity to sell even more weapons. Saudi Arabia and Qatar are the first and second largest buyers of U.S. arms. If conflicts among these allies ever threaten U.S. regional policies, BMENA will intervene.

Currently, as Iran's influence over Qatar has begun to increase, the U.S. has intervened and is working to reconcile the Saudi Arabia-Qatar dispute.

Within the framework of BMENA, the policy toward Qatar revolves around its demographic contradiction, where only 11.6% of the population consists of Qatari nationals, while 88.4% are foreign workers. Despite this contradiction, the U.S. seeks to secure its interests in Qatar through BMENA.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES (UAE)

The United Arab Emirates, or UAE for short, is a country in the Middle East located in the southeastern part of the Arabian Peninsula, bordering Oman and Saudi Arabia.

The UAE consists of seven emirates: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ajman, Fujairah, Ras Al Khaimah, Sharjah, and Umm Al Quwain. The capital of the UAE is Abu Dhabi, while its largest city is Dubai.

The UAE has a total area of 83, 600 km² and an estimated population of 9, 890, 400 as of 2020. Of this population, only 16.5% are UAE nationals, while 83.5% are foreign workers.

The government is a federation of emirates. The country gained independence from Britain on 2 December 1971.

History of the UAE

In the 16th century, the region came under Portuguese rule.

In the 17th century, the British took control of the area, including present-day UAE.

In 1819–1820, the Qawasim tribe, along with Hanbalis[39] from the interior of Arabia, launched attacks on the coastal ports under British control. To secure maritime trade, the British signed a ceasefire agreement with these tribes in 1820, giving the region the name "Trucial Coast."

In 1892, the British established a pact known as the "Exclusive Agreement, "placing the region's foreign policy under British control.

From 1873 to 1947, the Trucial Coast was administered by the British East India Company and later by the British Foreign Office.

In 1971, with the British withdrawal from the Persian Gulf, the emirates formed a federation under the name "United Arab Emirates" and declared independence on 2 December 1971.

[39] The Hanbali School or Hanbalism is a school of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) in Islam. A follower of the Hanbali school is called a Hanbali. The Hanbali School refers to the rulings and legal methodology derived from Islamic sources by Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal according to his own principles. Muslims who adhere to the beliefs of Ahl al-Sunnah (Sunni Islam) and follow this school in their acts of worship and daily affairs are called Hanbalis. In the Hanbali School, the primary sources of law are the Qur'an and Hadith. If there is no definitive evidence in these sources, then the opinions of the Sahaba (companions of the Prophet) that do not contradict them are followed. If there is a contradiction, the opinion closest to the Qur'an and Sunnah is preferred. If no stronger evidence is available, transmitted reports (hadith) take precedence over qiyas (analogical reasoning), which is used as a last resort. The Hanbali School places significant emphasis on transmission and narration rather than rational deduction. Today, Hanbali followers are primarily found in Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia, particularly in the Gulf countries.

Although the UAE is nominally independent, politically and militarily, it is a satellite of U.S. imperialism. Economically, it serves as a financial hub for global monopolies and illicit businesses, as well as an entertainment centre.

Economy of the UAE

The UAE's primary source of income is oil. It produces over 2 million barrels of oil per day, with total reserves estimated at 64.75 billion barrels. The country also has significant natural gas reserves, producing 25.5 billion cubic metres in 1992, with total reserves estimated at 5.5 trillion cubic metres. Oil and gas revenues make up 47% of the UAE's GDP.

The leading industries in the UAE are petroleum-related facilities and by-product manufacturing. Other industries include cement, aluminium, cables, and tile production. Manufacturing accounts for 7% of GDP.

Despite its desert terrain, the UAE has developed partial agricultural production using modern methods. Agriculture and livestock contribute 2% to GDP.

The UAE facilitates investments by imperialist monopolies and has a significant presence in global trade, especially through its ports.

Dubai, one of the emirates, is home to the world's tallest skyscraper and some of the most luxurious hotels.

The UAE has one of the world's highest levels of income inequality. Two-thirds of its population consists of labourers and workers who, despite generating wealth, remain extremely poor compared to the country's overall wealth. About 83.5% of the population consists of foreign workers. Meanwhile, the wealthiest third of the population ranks among the world's richest individuals.

Cities like Dubai and Abu Dhabi serve as global hubs for shopping, entertainment, gambling, prostitution, and all kinds of extravagant experiences for the wealthy.

The UAE, like Saudi Arabia and Qatar, is one of the largest purchasers of U.S. weapons. Its main trading partner is the United States.

The UAE is a federation of seven emirates governed by a monarchy. While each emirate has domestic autonomy, they are collectively governed in foreign affairs under the UAE.

The UAE finances numerous pro-imperialist proxy groups in conflicts across Libya, Syria, and Yemen. In Yemen, it has played a key role, along with Saudi Arabia, in suppressing the Houthi resistance.

In November 2020, the UAE was one of the Arab states that signed a normalisation agreement with Israel.

Under BMENA, U.S. policies toward the UAE primarily aim to safeguard its strategic interests. During the Arab Spring, rather than supporting the democratic aspirations of the people, the U.S. backed the ruling emirates to ensure the stability of their regimes.

KUWAIT

The official name is the State of Kuwait. It is located in the northeastern part of the Arabian Peninsula, on the coast of the Persian Gulf. To the north, it borders Iraq, and to the south, it shares a border with Saudi Arabia. With a total area of 17, 818 km², Kuwait's estimated population in 2020 is 4.5 million. The capital of Kuwait is also Kuwait City. It is ruled by an emir and gained its independence from Britain on 19 June 1961.

History of Kuwait

The first settlement in the region was made by the Ancient Greeks in the 4th century BCE. In 123 BCE, it came under the control of the Parthians. In 224 CE, the Sassanian Empire established its rule, laying the foundations for the modern-day state of Kuwait.

In the 19th century, along with other settlements on the Arabian Peninsula, Kuwait came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. In 1899, Kuwait lost its territories to the Ottoman Empire and became a British protectorate, gaining semi-independent status under British protection.

In the 1930s, rich oil reserves were discovered. Kuwait gained its independence from Britain in 1961.

In 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait, claiming that Kuwait had violated agreements related to oil extraction. This led to the Gulf War, led by the U.S. and other imperialist forces, which drove Iraq out of Kuwait.

Kuwait's Economy

Kuwait holds the fifth-largest oil reserves in the world. 95% of its exports and 80% of the country's revenue come from oil. Kuwait is the 7th richest country in the world based on GDP.

In 1967, Kuwait supported Arab countries in the Six-Day War against Israel and imposed an oil embargo on countries that supported Israel. Similarly, in 1973, it imposed another oil embargo on countries supporting Israel, lasting until 1974. 40% of Kuwait's oil has been jointly managed by BP and Gulf Oil since 1974. During the Iran-Iraq War, Kuwait sided with Iraq.

After the Iraqi invasion, Kuwait's economy suffered significant damage. Following Iraq's withdrawal, Kuwait paid 17 billion USD to the U.S. in war expenses and spent 50 billion USD to rebuild its destroyed oil facilities.

Kuwait navigated the Arab Spring with only minor cabinet reshuffles. It is heavily reliant on U.S. military and political support in its foreign policy and is one of the important collaborators in the implementation of U.S. policies in the region.

AFGHANISTAN

The official name is the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. It is a landlocked country located in the southern part of Central Asia. To the east and south, it borders Pakistan, to the west is Iran, to the north are Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, and to the northeast it shares a border with China. The total area of Afghanistan is 652, 000 km², and its capital is Kabul.

Demographic Structure

According to estimates in 2019, Afghanistan's population is approximately 32, 225, 560. Of this, 46% are in the 0-14 age group. The 15-60 age group accounts for 52.9% of the population. The infant mortality rate is 160.23 per 1, 000 live births, one of the highest in the world. The fertility rate is 6.69 children per woman, yet the population growth rate is about 2.67%.

Afghanistan is one of the top countries in terms of refugees sent abroad. About 23.6 out of every 1, 000 people hold refugee status. The average life expectancy is 48.16 years for men and 43.34 years for women. The literacy rate is very low, at just 10%. Afghanistan is one of the poorest countries in terms of GDP per capita.

Ethnic Groups in Afghanistan

According to the U.S. Department of State in 2010, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan is the Pashtuns, constituting 42% of the population. Tajiks make up 27%, Uzbeks 9%, Hazaras 9%, Aymaks 4%, Turkmens 3%, and Baluchs 2%. The remaining 4% consists of other ethnic groups.

The majority of the population consists of Iranian ethnic groups such as Persian-speaking Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras, Aymaks, and Baluchs. The largest minority group is the Turks, which includes Afghan Uzbeks and Afghan Turkmens.

99% of Afghanistan's population is Muslim, with 80% being Sunni and 19% being Shia. The remaining 1% belong to other religions.

Afghanistan's Economy

Being landlocked, Afghanistan's economy is based on agriculture and animal husbandry. 80% of the population works in agriculture, 10% in industry, and 10% in services.

The industrial sector mainly focuses on small-scale production of textiles, soap, furniture, shoes, fertilizer, cement, handmade carpets, natural gas, oil, coal, and copper extraction. Although not sufficiently utilised, Afghanistan holds significant copper reserves.

Agricultural and livestock products include opium poppy, wheat, fruits, hazelnuts, wool, and leather. Export products include opium poppy, fruits, hazelnuts, handmade carpets, wool, cotton, leather, precious stones, and jewellery. In 2055, Afghanistan's exports amounted to 471 million USD, while imports reached 3.87 billion USD.

Afghanistan is the world's largest producer of opium poppy, supplying 90% of global production. Some of this is exported legally for medical purposes, but a significant portion is illegally exported as heroin or raw material.

In terms of GDP per capita, Afghanistan ranks 169th out of 186 countries according to 2018 data.

History of Afghanistan

Human life in Afghanistan dates back at least 50, 000 years, and settled life began around 9, 000 years ago. Civilizations that evolved in the region include the Indus Valley (1), Oxus (2), and Helmand

(3) civilizations (around 3000 BCE). The Iron Age (described in the Avesta, the holy book of Zoroastrianism) followed, marking the rise of writing and culture.

The region, then known as Ariana, came under the control of the Persian Achaemenid Empire in the 6th century BCE, reaching as far as the Indus River. In the 4th century BCE, Alexander the Great conquered the region, and the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom formed the easternmost part of the Hellenistic world.

Following the conquest of the Maurya Empire (4), Buddhism (5) and Hinduism (6) spread throughout the region. Kushan Emperor (7) Kanishka (8) played a significant role in the spread of Mahayana (9) Buddhism to China and Central Asia.

Afghanistan was ruled by various Buddhist dynasties, including the Kidarites, Alkhons, Nezak Huns, Zunbil, And Türk Shahs, and others.

Islamisation of Afghanistan occurred in the 7th century, particularly during the Sasanian, Saffarid, Samanid, Ghaznavid, and Ghurid dynasties, between the 9th and 12th centuries.

Afghanistan later came under the rule of the Khwarezmian, Halaqi, Timurid, Lodi, Suri, Babur, and Safavid Empires.

Afghanistan's modern political history began in 1709, when the Hotaki dynasty declared independence under Mirwais. In 1747, Ahmad Shah Durrani established the Durrani Empire with Kandahar as its capital.

In the late 19th century, Afghanistan played a key role as a buffer state between the British Indian Empire and the Russian Empire during the “Great Game”. (10)

In the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842), the East India Company briefly occupied Afghanistan. The Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880) resulted in Afghanistan remaining under British influence.

In 1919, **Amanullah Khan** declared Afghanistan’s independence from Britain, leading to the Third Anglo-Afghan War. He emerged victorious and **declared full independence on 19 August 1919.**

Afghanistan-Soviet Union War

Afghanistan was one of the "Green Belt" countries of imperialism surrounding the Soviet Union, aimed at preventing the spread of socialism, just like Turkey and Iran. On this basis, the imperialist powers supported reactionary collaborationist governments in the country. Especially in Muslim countries, they created radical Islamist organisations to oppose communism and used them as counter-guerrilla forces.

However, despite this, the cooperative Shah regime in Iran was overthrown in 1979, and Marxists came to power in Afghanistan. To overthrow this government, the U.S. organised and armed religious groups like the Taliban, instigating civil war. The socialist government that came to power requested military aid from the Soviet Union in the face of attacks from U.S.-supported Islamist organisations. In response, the Soviet Union entered Afghanistan on 24 December 1979. The Soviet Union's entry turned the civil war into the Afghanistan-Soviet Union war. The U.S. provided military and material support to the Islamist groups in Afghanistan. This war lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union, under the revisionist leadership in the Soviet Union.

U.S. and Coalition Forces' Invasion of Afghanistan

After the Afghan-Soviet war ended, the Afghan civil war began, which lasted from 1992 to 1996. The war was between the Taliban, used by the U.S. against the Soviet Union, and the Northern Alliance, which controlled northern Afghanistan. The Taliban, which advocated for the establishment of a Sharia state, took control of Kabul and most of the country. By 1996, it established its rule based on Sharia law.

The U.S. had organised radical Islamist groups in Muslim countries to form a "Green Belt" against the spread of socialism. However, after the collapse of the socialist bloc, the unchecked imperialist exploitation caused these organisations to turn against the imperialists. They started to obstruct imperialist policies. In Afghanistan, the Taliban was already a target of imperialism. They supported the Northern Alliance against the Taliban and imposed sanctions on them.

On 11 September 2001, Afghanistan was blamed for the responsibility of the Al-Qaeda attack on the U.S. The U.S. claimed that Al-Qaeda had settled in Afghanistan, was protected by the Taliban regime, and was provided resources. In November 2001, under the leadership of the U.S., over 60 countries formed a Coalition force to invade Afghanistan. The Taliban regime was overthrown, and a collaborative government was established. However, the war in Afghanistan continues to this day. The Taliban has regained control of many regions of Afghanistan.

At the same time, while the imperialists were at war with the Taliban in Afghanistan, they used and continue to use them in Syria and Libya.

Conclusion

Due to its geographical location, Afghanistan has been seen as a buffer by imperialists. From the 1830s to 1919, it was a buffer zone for the British to stop the Russian Empire. From the 1950s to the 1990s, it was one of the buffers used by the U.S. to prevent the spread of socialism.

Under BMENA, Afghanistan faces several challenges:

1. It is a barrier to creating a stable collaborative government due to its inability to establish one in line with neo-colonial relations. The goal is to end the U.S.-opposing resistance and install a pro-American government.
2. Afghanistan is rich in underground resources, including copper mines.
3. 80% of the population lives in rural areas, and the capitalist market has not fully developed in the country.
4. Any individual who resists imperialism – even if they are the only one – is considered a threat.

Afghanistan-U.S. War

As mentioned above, Afghanistan was already a target of imperialism before the September 11 attacks. The Taliban's Sharia regime was merely a pretext for the U.S. Imperialists have made deals with many countries governed by Sharia law; the issue was whether these regimes were collaborators of the U.S.

The 11 September 2001, attacks provided the pretext for the U.S. to impose its imperialistic strategy, claiming to bring the world under its control. "Terror" was used as an excuse to target all peoples, organisations, and states. The U.S. sent a message to the world, saying, "Either you are with me, or you are my enemy." The invasion of Afghanistan, the torture in Guantanamo Bay prison, and the images that spread from there, along with torture centres established in Eastern Europe, secret interrogation centres on planes and ships, were meant to instil fear across the world and, for a time, they succeeded. Iraq was also invaded by the U.S. empire.

The resistance in Iraq influenced Afghanistan as well. Since 2005, under the leadership of the Taliban, a strong resistance against the U.S.-led Coalition forces, consisting of more than 60 countries, has been ongoing. By 2020, the imperialists found themselves stuck in Afghanistan and began searching for a way out.

1. Despite the fact that the Taliban, a reactionary group, led the resistance against the U.S.-led Coalition forces, the resistance is important because it has thwarted the imperialists' attempts at occupation. Supporting the resistance and opposing the occupation should be the duty of revolutionaries and progressives.
2. Even if reactionary organisations like the Taliban succeed in driving the imperialists out of their countries, they cannot provide liberation for the Afghan people. Since 1979, the Afghan people have suffered greatly because of reactionary groups like the Taliban. After the imperialist coalition forces withdraw, the civil war in Afghanistan will continue. On one side, the U.S.-collaborating Northern Alliance, and on the other, the Taliban. The Taliban does not have a policy for the liberation of the people, and there is no guarantee that the Taliban will not reconcile with the

imperialists. In fact, the Taliban, who they are currently fighting in Afghanistan, are being used by them in Syria and Libya.

3. The Afghan war demonstrates that socialism is the only path to the liberation of the people. In a multi-ethnic country like Afghanistan, with different religious and sectarian beliefs, the only ideology that can unite and sustain the people as brothers is socialism. Although religious organisations lead the resistance against occupation under open invasion conditions, they cannot lead the people to liberation.

The Taliban, the Group the U.S. Fought for 20 Years, is Now Its Collaborator

During the time the book was being prepared for publication, in mid-2021, the U.S. announced that it would withdraw from Afghanistan. Of course, this was not a surprise to anyone.

The U.S., having learned from the resistance of the Iraqi and Afghan people how deep a quagmire it had sunk into with its open occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan, began seeking ways to get out of this quagmire when Obama came to power. In fact, in 2011, the U.S. withdrew its troops from Iraq and announced that it would withdraw from Afghanistan as well. Since then, during both Obama's and Trump's presidencies, negotiations with the Taliban continued. While fighting in Afghanistan, the U.S. even allowed the Taliban to open a political bureau in Qatar, and Taliban militants were used against Gaddafi in Libya and Assad's regime in Syria.

Joe Biden also announced during his presidential campaign that the U.S. would withdraw from Afghanistan, and indeed, by mid-2021, he declared that all NATO forces, including coalition forces, would leave by August 31. As a result, the Taliban quickly gained control of the country in a short time. The puppet government that had collaborated with the U.S. during the 20 years of war fled before August 31 even arrived. By mid-August 2021, the Taliban had established control across the country and took power.

Although the U.S. and the EU imperialists did not officially recognise the Taliban's rule, the Taliban has become the new collaborator of the imperialists in Afghanistan. Indeed, when the U.S. and NATO coalition forces withdrew from Afghanistan, they left behind all military weapons and ammunition for the Taliban.

The Taliban, with its newly established sharia state, will likely try to ideologically influence the Muslim Central Asian countries known as the "Turkic Republics". This effort will be part of the broader imperialist strategy. Russia and China, who are neighbours to this region, will try to keep it in a constant state of turmoil.

On the other hand, Russia, China, and Iran will likely want to develop their own policies over Afghanistan to end U.S. military and political dominance after the U.S. defeat in the 20-year war.

Footnotes:

1. **Indus Valley Civilization** or **Harappa Civilization**, spread over a vast area that formed the backbone of the Indus Valley, is the oldest urban civilization in South Asia, believed to have emerged around 3300 BCE.
2. **Oxus Civilization**, located in modern-day Turkmenistan, northern Afghanistan, southern Uzbekistan, and western Tajikistan, thrived between 2200-1700 BCE and is a key example of Central Asia's Bronze Age culture.
3. **Helmand Culture** of Western Afghanistan was a Bronze Age culture from the third millennium BCE, exemplified by sites like Shahr-i Sokhta, Mundigak, and Bempur.
4. **Maurya Empire**, an ancient empire in India during the Iron Age, spanned from 322 BCE to 185 BCE under the Maurya dynasty.
5. **Buddhism**, with over 500 million adherents worldwide, originated in India and later spread throughout Southeast and East Asia.

6. **Hinduism**, a comprehensive belief system and way of life, predominantly found in India, Nepal, and Bangladesh, is the third-largest religion in the world.
7. **Kushan Empire**, a dynasty that ruled the northern part of India and Central Asia, flourishing from the 2nd century BCE and founded after the fall of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom.
8. **Kanishka I** or **Great Kanishka**, was a ruler of the Kushan Empire, known for his military, political, and spiritual successes.
9. **Mahayana Buddhism**, one of the three main branches of Buddhism, originated in India and spread to Central Asia and China in the 1st century CE.
10. **The Great Game**: A strategic, economic, and political rivalry between the British and Russian Empires over supremacy in Central Asia (1870-1890).

PAKISTAN

The official name is the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and its capital is Islamabad. It is a country in South Asia, with a 1, 046 km coastline along the Arabian Sea to the south. It shares borders with Afghanistan and Iran to the west, China to the north, and India to the east.

Pakistan gained independence from India in 1947 following the war in British-ruled India. It is a federation consisting of six regions. The country covers an area of 769,095 km² and, according to 2018 estimates, has a population of 212,228,286 making it the 6th most populous country in the world.

The official languages are Urdu and English. Pakistan is home to the world's second-highest peak, K-2 (Godwin Austen), which stands at 8, 611 metres and is part of the Himalayas.

Ethnic Composition of Pakistan

Due to historical, social, and cultural influences from South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, Pakistan has a diverse ethnic and linguistic landscape. The main ethnic groups in different provinces are:

- Punjabis in Punjab (1)
- Sindhis in Sindh (2)
- Pashtuns in the North-Western region (3)
- Baloch people in Balochistan (4)

More than 60 local languages are spoken in Pakistan. English is used as the official language in government, legal, and business affairs, while Urdu is the national language. Each province's population primarily speaks its own regional language.

Approximately 96.68% of the population is Muslim, with Sunnis forming the majority and Shias making up 20% of the Muslim population. The remaining 3.32% consists of Christians, Hindus, Sikhs (5), and Buddhists.

History of Pakistan

The mass spread of Islam in South Asia began in the 11th century with the establishment of the Ghaznavid Empire. In 1526, Babur ended the Delhi Sultanate and established the Mughal Empire, which ruled until 1612.

The British started expanding their influence in the 17th century through the East India Company, which opened its first factory in 1612. Over time, the British colonisation of the region intensified. The

first uprisings, considered part of the independence movement, began in 1858. By 1859, these revolts were violently suppressed, and the British Crown took direct control, making all of India a British colony.

As British rule deepened in the late 19th century, local resistance movements increased. Under leaders like Ahmed Khan and Agha Khan, the All-India Muslim League was founded in 1906 and was supported by the British.

By the 1920s, independence movements in India intensified. Despite Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent resistance, the armed struggle led by the Bhagat Singh movement even affected Britain itself.

In 1947, when India gained independence, the British decided to partition the country. Under the leadership of the All-India Muslim League, Pakistan was created on 14 August 1947. In 1971, the region known as "East Pakistan" declared independence and became Bangladesh, leading to ongoing tensions between the two nations.

Even after independence, Pakistan remained under strong British political influence. Like many former colonies, it has faced continuous economic, political, and social crises, along with military coups and political assassinations.

With its vast natural resources and a population exceeding 200 million, Pakistan is a major market for global powers. As a nuclear-armed country, it has been subjected to external influences, particularly through the U.S.'s BMENA aiming for greater American control.

Economy of Pakistan

Pakistan's economy exhibits characteristics typical of a neo-colonial state. It lacks a strong heavy industry and is shaped to serve the needs of global powers. Since its separation from India, political instability has hindered the development of a deep capitalist market.

Despite its large population, Pakistan utilises only a small portion of its workforce. Employment is divided as follows: 25.1% in agriculture, 21.3% in industry, 53.6% in services Pakistan's main exports include textiles, leather goods, chemicals, sports equipment, carpets, and rugs.

In terms of purchasing power, Pakistan ranks as the 25th largest economy, while nominally, it is the 38th largest. Although the country is semi-industrialized, its major industrial hubs are located along the Indus River.

Footnotes:

(1) **Punjab** is a geographical and cultural region in South Asia, covering parts of eastern Pakistan and northern India.

(2) **Sindh** was an ancient kingdom on the shores of the Black Sea, ruled by the Sindhi people, a subgroup of the Meotians.

(3) **Pashtuns** are an Iranian ethnic group primarily residing in southeastern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan. Their language, Pashto, belongs to the Iranian language family. Historically, they were known as "Afghans" before the term was used for the entire country.

(4) **Baloch people** primarily live in Pakistan's Balochistan province, as well as parts of Iran and Afghanistan. They speak Balochi and Brahui languages.

(5) **Sikhs** follow Sikhism, a monotheistic religion that emerged in the 15th century in Punjab, India, under Guru Nanak's teachings. The term "Sikh" comes from the Sanskrit word *śiṣya,* meaning "disciple" or "student."

SOMALIA

The official name of the country is the Federal Republic of Somalia. It is located in East Africa, in the geographical region known as the Horn of Africa. Since the U.S. intervention in 1993, there has been no centralised government control in most parts of the country. The collaborative government, established under the name of the "Transitional National Government" by imperialists, only controls a small portion of the country.

The capital of Somalia is Mogadishu, and its official languages are Somali and Arabic. 85% of Somalia's population consists of ethnic Somalis, while the remaining 15% includes Benadiri, Bantus, and others.

The total area of Somalia is 637,657 km², and according to 2020 estimates, its population is 15,893,219.

Somalia's Economy

Somalia has historically been one of the most important trade centres of the ancient world and was located along the Silk Road trade route.

The country possesses significant gold and oil reserves. Being directly adjacent to the Indian Ocean, approximately 65% of its economy is based on livestock and agriculture. Camels, sheep, goats, and cattle are raised. 15% of Somalia's land consists of fertile, arable soil, and the lands along the rivers are suitable for irrigated farming.

The main agricultural products are corn, millet, sesame, beans, cotton, sugar beet, sorghum, and bananas.

The major minerals extracted in Somalia include sea salt, limestone, sandstone, clay, meerschaum, gypsum, iron, tin, bauxite, titanium, and uranium.

Moreover, untapped reserves of natural gas and oil have also been identified in the country.

As seen above, Somalia has substantial above-ground and underground resources, including agriculture, livestock, and natural minerals. However, despite these resources, Somalia remains one of the poorest countries in Africa.

Maritime trade and seafood are great sources of wealth for the country, yet Somalia is mostly known for piracy, images of starving children with bloated bellies, and arid lands.

The reason behind this paradox is that Somalia is rich, but its wealth has not been left to its own people.

In 1993, the United States, with UN approval, militarily intervened in Somalia, and since then, the country has been embroiled in a civil war lasting over 30 years—though the conflicts in Somalia date back even further.

History of Somalia

Rock paintings in the northern regions of Somalia indicate that settled life existed as early as 9, 000 BCE. Additionally, ancient burial sites suggest that funerary traditions have existed for at least 4, 000 years in Somalia.

Ruins of pyramidal structures, tombs, and ancient stone-walled cities point to an ancient civilization in the Somali Peninsula. The writing system of this civilization remains undeciphered.

Moreover, historical trade records show that Ancient Egypt and Mycenaean Greece had trade relations with the Punt Kingdom, believed to have existed in present-day Somalia as early as 2000 BCE.

Between 2000–3000 BCE, camels domesticated by the ancient Somalis were introduced to Ancient Egypt and North Africa.

During the Classical period, Somali city-states such as Mossylon, Opone, Malao, Mundus, and Tabae established a maritime trade network with Phoenicians, Egyptians, Ptolemaic Greeks, Parthians, Sabaeans, Nabataeans, and the Roman Empire.

Due to its geographic location, powerful Somali empires dominated regional trade throughout the Middle Ages. Some of these empires included the Ajuran Empire, the Adal Sultanate, the Warsangali Sultanate, and the Gobroon Dynasty.

When the Ottoman Empire expanded into the Middle East, Somalia remained under Ottoman rule for a long period.

In 1869, after the opening of the Suez Canal, the British Empire invaded the region to control the route between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

The British occupied the northern Somali coast, while the Italians took over the southern regions.

The British-controlled region became known as British Somaliland (1887–1960) and remained a British colony until 1960.

The Italian-controlled region became known as Italian Somaliland (1889–1941) and remained under Italian rule until 1941, when the British seized control of the entire country.

In the Somali interior, the Dervish State, led by Mohammed Abdullah Hassan, managed to push the British back to the coastal regions four times. However, British airstrikes eventually defeated the independence movement.

The Italian-controlled regions fell under British control in 1941, and Britain ruled all of Somalia until 1960.

Somalia Gained Independence from Imperialism and Established a Socialist Government

Following Partition War II, anti-colonial movements spread across Africa, influencing Somalia as well.

On 1 July 1960, Somalia gained independence from Britain.

In 1969, a socialist revolution was carried out under the leadership of Mohamed Siad Barre. He called his governance model "African Socialism".

- He cut all ties with imperialist countries and developed relations with the Soviet Union.
- He nationalized all banks and industrial institutions.
- He implemented volunteer labour programmes and used national wealth for public infrastructure like roads, water, education, and healthcare.
- He collectivized agriculture through agricultural cooperative farms.
- He banned tribalism, feudalism, and landlordism.

The socialist movements and governments in Africa during the 1960s, 70s, and 80s are subjects of separate research. However, what is clear is that during this period, many African countries gained independence and established socialist governments.

Even though African nations expelled British, French, and Italian imperialists, the United States used neo-colonial strategies to reassert control over these regions. The U.S. employed various methods to achieve this goal:

- After the departure of European colonisers, the CIA intervened in African countries.
- The U.S. promoted tribal kings, dynasties, and sultans among collaborators from the colonial era.
- Their main goal was to suppress revolutionary movements and prevent socialist revolutions.
- They instigated tribal, religious, sectarian, and regional conflicts in African nations.
- They funded, armed, and militarily supported collaborationist groups against socialist governments.

When socialists took power in Somalia in 1969, the U.S. attempted to destabilise the government by stirring internal divisions.

When this failed, the U.S. provoked Ethiopia into war with Somalia.

However, in 1974, Ethiopia itself experienced a socialist revolution, nullifying the U.S.'s strategy.

Undeterred, the U.S. exploited the Ogaden Autonomous Region—a Somali-inhabited area in Ethiopia—to provoke a war between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1977–1978.

This war ended with the intervention of Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Imperialist Exploitation Interests Underlie All Bloody Conflicts in Africa

While discussing countries within the framework of BMENA, we have briefly touched upon their histories. Imperialists have destroyed the history, historical consciousness, languages, and cultures of the people. In many African countries, the official and educational languages are English, French, Italian, or Arabic.

In the 19th century, the consciousness of black Africans was at a level where they believed "**God created them to be slaves of white men**. "However, as seen in the example of Somalia, civilizations existed as far back as 9, 000 BCE. They had already been using writing by 4, 000 BCE.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries—and even today—African peoples are incited to fight each other based on tribal, sectarian, religious, and ethnic differences. The forces that eradicated African historical consciousness and pitted them against each other based on religions, sects, races, tribes, and clans are the same forces that promoted slavery, colonialism, and today's imperialism.

In Somalia, from the moment it was established, the United States—through the CIA and counter-guerrilla organisations—tried to overthrow the socialist government by exploiting contradictions between clans, tribes, and sects.

In 1988, the U.S. provoked Mohamed Farrah Aidid against Mohamed Siad Barre's government, igniting a civil war. This process coincided with the collapse of the Soviet Union, leading to the downfall of the socialist system under Barre's rule with the support of imperialists. As a result, Somalia fell into a power vacuum, and the civil war escalated.

The UN Intervention in Somalia Was an Act of Imperialist Aggression

Following the U.S. attack on Iraq in 1991, the United Nations Security Council, under U.S. leadership, decided to intervene in Somalia at the beginning of 1993.

After the first Gulf War, economic, food, and medical embargoes imposed by imperialists led to the deaths of 500, 000 children in Iraq. Meanwhile, TV screens worldwide were flooded with images of malnourished Somali children with bloated bellies and emaciated people whose ribs were visible. Using these images as justification, the U.S. pushed for a United Nations Security Council resolution on 3 December 1992, for a so-called "humanitarian intervention" in Somalia.

Resolution 794 of the UN Security Council cited the collapse of central authority due to civil war, the need to restore order and security, and the humanitarian necessity of aid distribution. As a result, the "UN Peacekeeping Force (UNITAF)"was created, and the intervention in Somalia began in January 1993.

The term "intervention" is merely a guise for imperialist aggression. Justifications such as "humanitarian aid, restoring order, and ensuring security" are nothing more than demagogic excuses designed to legitimise imperialist assaults.

The UN intervention began with massacres akin to a manhunt. The so-called "restoration of order and security" was, in reality, about securing oil facilities. As soon as the U.S.-led UN Peacekeeping Force entered Somalia, their first action was to establish a collaborationist government and sign agreements granting oil extraction rights to multinational corporations such as Conoco, Amoco, Chevron, and Phillips.

However, the conditions of occupation in Somalia fuelled resistance against the imperialists. Consequently, the UN occupation forces were compelled to withdraw from Somalia on 3 March 1995.

Post-UN Withdrawal Period in Somalia

After the withdrawal of UN occupation forces, several independent or autonomous regions were declared between 1998 and 2006. The first was Puntland in 1998, followed by Jubaland later that same year. In 1999, a group called the Rahanweyn Resistance Army (RRA) established an autonomous

administration in southern and central Somalia. Subsequent years saw the establishment of the Galmudug Autonomous Region.

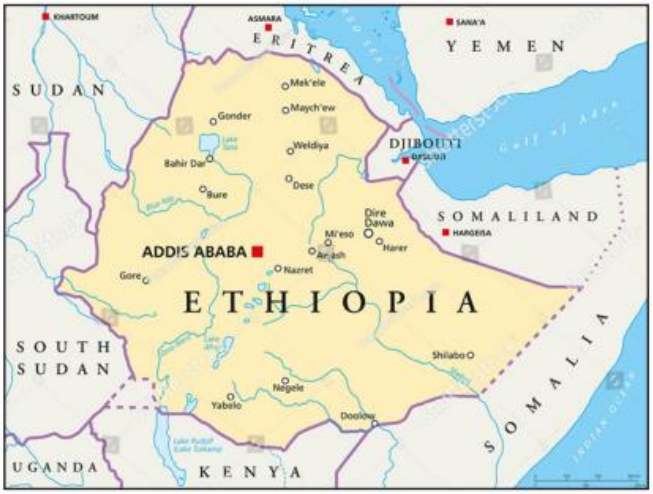
Even before the UN forces attacked Somalia, Somaliland had declared full independence in the east of the country in 1991. Though no country in the world officially recognises Somaliland, it still claims to be independent and operates under a separate administration.

Since 1988, the civil war in Somalia—instigated by imperialists—has never ceased. In 2004, a peace agreement was signed between the Transitional National Government and the Somali Reconciliation and Restoration Council, resulting in the formation of the Federal Transitional Government. However, as of 2021, sectarian, tribal, and regional conflicts continue.

Conclusion

1. Somalia has always been geopolitically significant throughout history. The historic Silk Road passed through this region. It serves as a key maritime trade route connecting the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Controlling this route remains a priority for imperialists today, just as it was in the past. The continuous struggle for dominance over Somalia is driven by its strategic location.
2. This route is a major passage for intercontinental trade and energy transportation between the East and the West.
3. Somalia is rich in untapped natural resources, including oil, natural gas, gold, and uranium. These valuable underground resources have not yet been fully plundered by imperialists.
4. Between 1969 and 1988, Somalia was governed under a socialist system despite its shortcomings, remaining outside imperialist exploitation. However, starting in 1969, the U.S. engaged in various provocations, incitements, and internal war attempts to overthrow the socialist system.
5. The U.S. attack on Somalia in 1993, orchestrated through a UN Security Council resolution, was aimed at establishing a collaborationist government in the aftermath of the socialist bloc's collapse.
6. The imperialists failed to achieve their desired outcome from the 1993 invasion of Somalia. However, by inciting internal conflicts and keeping factions at war with each other, they weakened Somali society and made it dependent on external powers. The imperialists have been directly responsible for the 30-year-long civil war by openly or covertly supplying weapons to all warring groups.
7. Since the 1990s, Somalia has lost over 100, 000 people in the civil war. Imperialists are undoubtedly responsible for this loss. However, if the global population does not learn the right lessons from this, the suffering of the Somali people will continue as the "fate" of other oppressed nations.
8. Imperialists have not achieved their full objectives in Somalia under BMENA. However, by fostering artificial divisions, conflicts, and dependencies, they maintain control over the country. Even though they have not completely plundered Somalia, they continue to benefit from ongoing conflicts that sustain their arms industries.
9. Ethnic, religious, sectarian, tribal, and clan-based conflicts are artificial contradictions fuelled by imperialism. The fundamental contradiction for all people is imperialism itself. The solution to Somalia's internal conflicts lies in recognising and addressing this fundamental contradiction.

ETHIOPIA



A country located in the east of Africa, in the Horn of Africa. Its official name is the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The capital city is Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia is bordered by Eritrea to the north, Djibouti and Somalia to the east, Sudan and South Sudan to the west, and Kenya to the south. Its total area, including lakes, is approximately 1, 200,000 km². Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa. According to 2018 estimates, its population is 109,224,414.

Demographic Structure of Ethiopia

Ethiopia is home to over 80 different ethnic groups. Some of the major groups include the Oromo, Amhara, Tigray, Sidama, Somali, Afar, and Gurage peoples. The Oromo are the largest ethnic group, making up 35% of the total population.

Religious beliefs and sects in Ethiopia also vary.

- 62.7% of the population is Christian, divided into:
  - 43.5% Orthodox Christians
  - 18.6% Protestants
  - 0.7% Catholics
- 33.9% of the population is Muslim, belonging to both Sunni and Shia sects. The Sunni Muslims are further divided into Shafi'i and Salafi groups.
- 2.7% practice Animism (1), and 0.6% follow other religions.

Languages Spoken in Ethiopia

The official language of Ethiopia is Amharic (2), which is written using the Amharic script, a unique alphabet different from the Latin script. Due to the country's ethnic diversity, many local languages and dialects are spoken. English is the most widely spoken foreign language.

Ethiopian Economy

Ethiopia's economy is heavily dependent on agriculture.

- Agriculture accounts for 50% of the GDP and 90% of exports.
- 80% of the workforce is employed in agriculture.
- Only 20% of the land is used for agriculture, and most of it relies on rain-fed traditional farming, rather than modern irrigation. This makes Ethiopia vulnerable to droughts and famines.

The main grain products are grown for domestic consumption. The main export agricultural product is coffee, which contributes 15% to Ethiopia's GDP. More than 15 million people are employed in the coffee industry.

Ethiopia has the largest livestock population in Africa. Leather exports are one of Ethiopia's most important sources of income.

The manufacturing industry accounts for 5% of GDP, with over 40% of it consisting of food and beverage production (especially vegetable oil and flour products). Industrial investments were initially state-controlled, but after the 1990s, privatisation policies were implemented. The textile and garment industry is dominant in the manufacturing sector.

The mining sector has a limited role in the Ethiopian economy. However, Ethiopia produces large amounts of limestone, clay, and marble.

History of Ethiopia

Archaeological excavations in Ethiopia's Afar region have uncovered 3-million-year-old human skeleton remains. The first historical records mentioning Ethiopia date back to 5, 000 BC.

The first known state in Ethiopia was the Kingdom of D'mt, which emerged in the 8th century BC. D'mt collapsed in the 1st century BC, giving rise to the Kingdom of Aksum. At its peak, the Aksumite kingdom expanded to include present-day Eritrea, Djibouti, Sudan, Somalia, and Yemen.

Ethiopia is one of only two African countries that were never colonised by European imperialists (the other being Liberia).

In 1993, a referendum led to Eritrea's independence, cutting Ethiopia's access to the Red Sea and turning it into a landlocked country.

Until the 1970s, Ethiopia was ruled as a monarchy under Emperor Haile Selassie. In 1974, a popular uprising led to the military taking power under a group called DERG.

Although Ethiopia was never colonised, from the 1950s onward, it became economically, militarily, and politically dependent on the United States. However, the socialist DERG government cut ties with the U.S. and aligned itself with the Soviet Union.

Ethiopia-Somalia Conflict

Ethiopia is divided into 10 ethnic-based regional states and two autonomous cities (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa). One of these regions is Ogaden, an autonomous region populated by Somali people.

After the revolution, Ethiopia strengthened ties with the Soviet Union, while the U.S. encouraged Somalia to invade Ethiopia's Ogaden region in 1977.

With military support from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and South Yemen, Ethiopia repelled the invasion, and Somalia withdrew from Ogaden in 1978.

Ethiopia-Eritrea Conflict

Eritrea had been a part of Ethiopia for 200 years. In 1890, Italy colonised Eritrea as part of its plan to control trade routes between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

After Italy lost Partition War II, Eritrea was placed under United Nations administration from 1941 to 1952.

On 2 December 1950, the UN General Assembly decided to federate Eritrea with Ethiopia, against the wishes of the Eritrean people. This led to the Eritrean War of Independence, which began on 1 September 1961, and lasted 30 years.

In 1991, Eritrean forces defeated Ethiopia, and Eritrea became an autonomous republic. A referendum in 1993 led to Eritrea's full independence, making it an UN-recognised state.

From 1998 to 2000, Ethiopia and Eritrea fought another border war, which ended in 2000. A peace agreement between the two countries was finally signed in 2018.

Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic country with ongoing internal conflicts based on ethnicity, religion, and sectarian divisions.

The Collapse of the Socialist Government and The Aftermath

Ethiopia was governed by the Ethiopian Workers' Party under the General Secretary Mengistu Haile Mariam until 1987. Between 1987 and 1991, another civil war broke out, and in 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Bloc, the socialist government in Ethiopia also fell.

From 1991 to 2019, Ethiopia was governed by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition of political movements from the autonomous regions.

The organisations that made up the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) included:

- TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front)
- ODP (Oromo Democratic Party)

- SEPDM (Southern Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement)

Meles Zenawi, from the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), led the EPRDF and ruled Ethiopia until 2012. After Zenawi's death, inter-ethnic conflicts continued until 2018. In 2018, the parliament appointed Abiy Ahmed Ali as prime minister. On 22 June 2019, an attempted military coup sought to overthrow Abiy Ahmed Ali, but it failed. Elections were supposed to be held in 2020, but they were postponed due to pandemic-related precautions.

Although elections may take place in Ethiopia and a leader from one ethnic group or another may come to power, internal conflicts will not cease in a country so fragmented along ethnic, national, religious, and sectarian lines.

Ethiopia, like Eritrea, Somalia, and Djibouti, is a country full of various contradictions and conflicts involving global powers such as the U.S. and the EU, as well as regional actors like Russia, China, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the UAE, all pursuing their own interests. Amid these struggles, there is no salvation for the Ethiopian people.

Footnotes:

(1) Animism: Also known as vitalism, this is the belief that nature as a whole and every individual entity within it possesses a spirit beyond its physical existence. It is also a religious perspective that attributes spiritual significance to natural phenomena, animals, or objects in nature and worships them accordingly.

(2) Amharic: A language belonging to the Southern Semitic branch of the Semitic language family. It is the native language of the Amhara people in northern and central Ethiopia and is spoken as a first language by approximately 15 million people, with a total of 25 million speakers worldwide. Amharic is the second most spoken Semitic language in the world after Arabic.

ERITREA

Eritrea is a country located in the northeastern part of East Africa. It is bordered by Sudan to the west, Ethiopia to the south, and Djibouti to the southeast. The country's eastern and northeastern borders stretch along the Red Sea, with Saudi Arabia and Yemen directly across. The Dahlak Archipelago and some of the Hanish Islands belong to Eritrea. The capital city of Eritrea is Asmara. Eritrea's area is 117,600 km², and according to 2020 estimates, its population is approximately 6.08 million.

Eritrea's Independence

Eritrea was an Italian colony from 1850 to 1941. After Italy lost World War II, Eritrea came under British mandate until 1951. Following a decision by the UN, it was incorporated into Ethiopia in 1952. On 24 May 1991, Eritrea effectively separated from Ethiopia after winning a 30-year-long war. Eritrea legally became an independent state on 24 May 1993.

Demographic Structure of Ethiopia

Although Eritrea is a small country, it is home to several ethnic groups. Around 80% of its population is made up of Tigray and Tigre peoples, who are descendants of the Semitic populations that migrated from Southern Arabia between 900-500 BC. Additionally, Eritrea's population includes 4% Afars and 3% Italians. Though Eritrea does not have an official language, Arabic, Tigrinya, and English are commonly used in official settings. Local languages such as Tigre, Saho, Bilen, Afar, Kunama, Nara, and Hedareb are also spoken.

Education in Eritrea

Eritrea's education system consists of five stages: primary, middle, high school, and university education. The core principles of the educational system aim to promote local languages, self-development, and the fight against poverty. Other goals include fostering useful citizens and promoting gender equality, ethnic unity, and technological awareness while preventing discrimination.

Religious Beliefs in Eritrea

The two main religions in Eritrea are Christianity, which constitutes 63% of the population, and Islam, with 33%. The Eritrean government officially recognises Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism, Protestantism, and Sunni Islam.

Economy of Eritrea

The economy of Eritrea primarily depends on agriculture and livestock. About 85% of the population lives in rural areas, with most engaging in pastoralism. Two-thirds of the rural population are semi-settled, while the remaining third are nomadic. The GDP per capita is around 150 dollars, and the industrial sector is quite underdeveloped.

Eritrea's Foreign Relations

On the international level, Eritrea is a member of the African Union and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

History of Eritrea

Archaeological finds in Eritrea include human skulls dating back a million years and agricultural and maritime tools dating to around 3500 BC. During the medieval period, after the collapse of the Axumite Empire, the lands now known as Eritrea were divided into various tribal territories. From the 8th to 13th centuries, northern and western Eritrea were under the control of the Beja people, a Muslim group. The Bejas spread Islam across much of Eritrea, and a large Islamic community, including the Umayyad Caliphate, emerged. Eritrea later came under the control of the Abbasids and, eventually, the Ottoman Empire, which also controlled the territories of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Sudan, establishing dominance over the Red Sea. Eritrea remained under Ottoman rule until the 1890s, when it became an Italian colony.

Eritrean Independence War

Eritrea's struggle against Italian colonialism began in 1869 and lasted until 1941. After Italy lost in Partition War II, Eritrea came under British mandate. In December 1950, the United Nations General Assembly decided to unite Eritrea with Ethiopia. Eritrea remained an autonomous region of Ethiopia from September 1951 until November 1962. The Eritrean people's desire for independence was never consulted, and the union was formed to serve imperial interests. As a result, resistance against Ethiopia began, leading to Ethiopia annexing Eritrea as its 14th province in 1962.

The Eritrean War for Independence began on 1 September 1961 and lasted 30 years until 1991. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) led the war, achieving victory on 29 May 1991. After independence, Eritrea was referred to as the State of Eritrea, but it remained under Ethiopian influence in

foreign relations until Ethiopia withdrew in 1995. Eritrea officially gained legal independence following a 1993 referendum.

Eritrea is home to both Christian and Muslim populations, with various sects within these religions. Additionally, nine different ethnic groups live in the country. Issues such as land disputes and ethnic tensions have been exacerbated, contributing to ongoing conflicts. During the war for independence and after, internal conflicts persisted. Between 1972 and 1974, and again in 1980-1981, Eritrean internal civil wars erupted between the EPLF and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF).

The first uprisings in Eritrea occurred in the 1960s under the leadership of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), supported by socialist regimes like Syria and Egypt. As the movement grew, divisions arose based on religion, ethnicity, and tribal lines. The Marxist-Leninist ideology of the EPLF grew stronger and took the lead in the late 1970s. Following independence, the EPLF's leader, **Isaias Afwerki,** became the first president of Eritrea. The EPLF later transformed into the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ).

After independence, Eritrea launched the Warsai Yikalo Programme to repair the devastation caused by 30 years of war and quickly improve the standard of living. This programme focused on military service, healthcare, education, and agriculture, utilising national resources.

Current Situation

Religious conflicts continue between tribes, and the Eritrean government views the country as being in a state of war, which leads to frequent postponements of parliamentary elections. Radical Islamic organisations supported by Arab nations like Saudi Arabia and the UAE are also present in the country, promoting the idea of merging Eritrea with Ethiopia. This policy has been a longstanding objective of U.S. imperialism.

There are two reasons for this: first, Ethiopia's collaboration with imperialism; and second, Eritrea, often referred to as "Africa's North Korea", does not fully open its land to imperialist exploitation. The current government in Eritrea represents a method that imperialists oppose. From the beginning, imperialist powers have been against the independence gained under the leadership of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The internal conflicts during and after the independence process are a result of this.

The region known as the Horn of Africa, which includes Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somalia, holds significant strategic importance. Once we examine the strategic value of this region and the conflicts occurring there, the reasons behind the wars and clashes will become clearer.

DJIBOUTI

Djibouti, a country in East Africa, is officially known as the Republic of Djibouti. It is bordered by Eritrea to the north, Ethiopia to the west and south, and Somalia to the southeast. The country has coastlines along the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, and it is just 20 km away from Yemen on the Arabian Peninsula. The capital city is Djibouti City. The official languages are Arabic and French. With a land area of 23, 200 km², Djibouti is a small country, and its population is under 1 million, estimated at 921, 804 in 2020.

Although Djibouti declared its independence from France on 27 June 1977, it is still often referred to as "French Somaliland."

Democratic Structure of Djibouti

The two main ethnic groups in Djibouti are the Issa clan of the Somali people and the Afars. The Somali population, which migrated from the Arabian Peninsula in the 1000s, is Arab in origin. About 94% of the population is Muslim, the majority following the Shafi'i school of Sunni Islam. The remaining population is Christian.

Djibouti's Economy

Due to its small size, limited population, and scarcity of natural resources, Djibouti has very few economic resources. There are no rivers, and clean water sources are also limited. The country is home to two salt lakes, Alali and Assal, formed by geological depressions. The main resource in Djibouti is salt, and it is the country's primary export. Djibouti's strategic location, however, makes it significant. Located at the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, which connects the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden to the Arabian Sea, Djibouti is one of the most important maritime transit points in the world. The country has become a hub for imperialist military bases, with over 20, 000 foreign military personnel and civilians, including from France, the U.S., Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, and China, operating there. Additionally, Turkey and Russia are attempting to establish bases. Djibouti earns around 200 million dollars annually from leasing its military bases to imperialist powers.

The ports of Djibouti also have strategic importance due to their location on the trade routes for oil and natural gas between the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Peninsula, and surrounding countries. Ethiopia, facing border disputes with Eritrea, uses Djibouti's ports for international trade. Djibouti's ports are also key transit points for trade between Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and Africa. The importance of Djibouti's ports is also highlighted by the fact that the railway system linking Ethiopia to the sea ends in Djibouti.

China's trade with Africa also passes through Djibouti, making it a vital point for commerce. The end point of Ethiopia's railway network is in Djibouti, adding to its strategic importance. Djibouti's ports serve as key hubs for intercontinental maritime trade.

Despite having no significant natural resources, Djibouti has leveraged its strategic location to generate economic activity. The country has allowed imperialist powers to use its land as military bases. The operation of Djibouti's ports is managed by the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Although the UAE runs these ports at only 50% capacity to boost its own ports' significance, the revenue from the ports is an important source of income for Djibouti.

In addition, the Maucha Islands, located just 15 km from Djibouti City, have been transformed into a luxury hotel and casino centre for the bourgeoisie. While officially considered an independent country, Djibouti has become a base state for imperialist powers, both economically and militarily. Its sovereignty is questioned, as the country lacks its own independent military or police force. French military and police personnel are responsible for maintaining internal security and borders. Djibouti's education system is conducted in Arabic and French, with French teachers and no compulsory primary education. The country exports live animals, meat, leather, and salt, but imports most of its other needs.

Ultimately, Djibouti's so-called independence is essentially a façade, with the country fully integrated into the system of imperialist exploitation and control.

Historical Background of Djibouti

Djibouti's history dates back to the 3rd century BC when migrants from the Arabian Peninsula, known as the Afar people, settled in the region. Later, the Somalis arrived from the south, with the Afar settling in the north and the Somalis in the south. Islam spread to the region in the 7th and 8th centuries through the Arabs. Up until the 16th century, Djibouti remained under Arab control, after which it came under Portuguese and later Ottoman rule.

The strategic importance of the Horn of Africa, where Djibouti is located, became prominent after the opening of the Suez Canal. This region gained significant attention from European powers, particularly

the British, French, and Italians, during the colonial period. In the 1830s, during the division of Africa, Djibouti was assigned to France.

France's construction of ports and supply stations along the Djibouti coast in the 1890s, along with a railway linking these ports to Central Africa, increased the strategic value of the country. Following Partition War II, Djibouti was integrated into France's "overseas territories" section, and the residents were granted French citizenship, with representation in the French Senate and National Assembly. In 1957, Djibouti became known as French Somaliland, and a referendum in 1958 showed the population's preference to remain under French control.

In 1960, when other regions such as Italian Somalia and British Somalia gained independence, tensions rose between the Afars, who wanted to stay under French rule, and the Somali-origin Isaas, who supported unification with Somalia. After a second referendum in 1967, in which the Afars' preference to remain under France prevailed, violent clashes erupted. France supported the Afars, leading to massacres and forced migration of the Isaas. After the weakening of the Isaas, the Afars took control, and the country was officially renamed "Afar and Issa French Territory"following a referendum.

In 1976, a coalition between the Afars and Isaas was formed, leading to the declaration of independence as the Republic of Djibouti on 27 June 1977. However, this "independence" remains heavily debated, as Djibouti has become a base for imperialist powers controlling maritime routes between the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean. The Djibouti people mainly suffer from poverty and hunger, while the income from military bases and ports goes to a small minority collaborating with imperialist forces. Most of the population still engages in nomadic herding.

The primary goal of the U.S. and EU imperialists in the context of BMENA is to secure military bases in Djibouti, ensuring control over crucial maritime routes. In short, imperialists seek to safeguard their military footholds in the region.

THE HORN OF AFRICA REGION

The Horn of Africa, located at the easternmost point of Africa, spans around 2 million square kilometres and includes Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and Ethiopia, home to over 130 million people.

Strategic Importance of the Horn of Africa

The region gained its strategic importance with the opening of the Suez Canal. While the Suez Canal connects the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea, the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, located in the Horn of Africa, connects the Red Sea to the Gulf of Oman, the Middle East, and the Indian Ocean. It is a key point for maritime trade between the North Atlantic, Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, East Asia, and the Far East. To examine all the wars and conflicts in this region without considering its strategic location would hinder our understanding of the reasons behind these events.

From the 16th century to the mid-19th century, the entire region from the Suez Canal to the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait was under the Ottoman Empire's control. Beginning in the early 19th century, a struggle for dominance in this region began between the Ottoman Empire and the British, French, and Italian imperialists. Although the majority of the lands under Ottoman control in the Middle East and North Africa appeared to remain under Ottoman rule until the early 20th century, in reality, from the 1830s onwards, the British, French, and Italian imperialists began colonizing the region along with the Ottomans. After the opening of the Suez Canal, the British, French, and Italian empires divided Somalia, Djibouti, and Eritrea in the Horn of Africa, seeking control over the waterways and ports in the region.

When we look at these countries individually, even after gaining independence, wars continued both within the countries themselves and between them. We must understand that all these conflicts are rooted in the strategic importance and interests of the region for both imperialists and the regional countries. The geography of the Horn of Africa brings with it strategic importance, as the U.S.-EU imperialists, China, Russia, India, and the Gulf countries have all recognised the significance of this region.

The Red Sea, located between Africa and Asia, is of tremendous strategic importance as it separates the Middle East and the Far East, as well as Asia and Europe. Therefore, the Red Sea is often referred to as the "connection point between two worlds" and the "heart of the region". The Red Sea also provides the shortest route for transport between the Far East, the Mediterranean, and North Atlantic, as well as Latin America.

Bab-El Mendeb Strait: The Bab-El Mendeb Strait is a narrow passage between the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, as well as between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Located between Yemen, Djibouti, and Eritrea, the Bab-El Mendeb Strait connects the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea. Another significant feature of the strait is that it separates the Arabian Peninsula from Africa.

The Suez Canal, as well as the SUMED (Suez-Mediterranean) pipeline, sees a major part of exports from the Persian Gulf pass through the Bab-El Mendeb Strait. The narrowest point of the Bab-El Mendeb Strait is 29 kilometres wide. In 2016, the daily flow of crude oil and refined petroleum products from the strait to the U.S., Europe, and Asia reached 4.8 million barrels.

If the Bab-El Mendeb Strait were to be closed, tankers coming from the Persian Gulf would be blocked from accessing the Suez Canal and the SUMED pipeline. To understand the importance of the maritime route from the Suez Canal to the Bab-El Mendeb Strait and the Indian Ocean, one only needs to consider the scale of trade between the East and the West conducted via shipping. For instance, on 24 March 2021, the container ship “Ever Given” travelling from China to the Netherlands ran aground in the Suez Canal due to a sandstorm, causing the canal to be closed for a week. This one-week closure led to a reported loss of $70 billion in maritime transport, with $42 billion worth of cargo headed from the East to the West and $28 billion going the opposite direction. This figure does not include the daily transport of 4.8 million barrels of oil through pipelines.

Thus, if the maritime route from the Bab-El Mendeb Strait and the Suez Canal to the Mediterranean were to be blocked, ships attempting to travel from Europe and America to Asia and the Far East, or from the Far East to the Mediterranean, Europe, and the North Atlantic, would have to circumnavigate Africa.

Therefore, the region known as the Horn of Africa, which includes Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and Ethiopia, is of great importance to imperialist powers. Behind all the conflicts in these countries lies the effort to control the sea route from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, including the Bab-El Mendeb Strait.

The region, which borders Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and Yemen, has become the area with the highest concentration of sea piracy, and the local population has never given "peace"to colonial powers. This is also the reason why imperialists turned Djibouti into a base state. In Djibouti, military bases and logistical support centres of France, the U.S., the UK, Italy, Spain, Germany, China, and Japan are located. In Eritrea, there are bases belonging to the UAE, Egypt, Iran, and Israel.

After Eritrea gained independence, it severed its relations with U.S. and EU imperialists. The U.S. was always opposed to Eritrea's independence struggle against Ethiopia. However, although the U.S. could not intervene directly, it attempted to implement its policies on Eritrea mainly through Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Saudi Arabia, in particular, has been supporting Sheikh Abu Suheila Mohammed among the Muslim population to challenge the current Eritrean government, hoping for Eritrea to merge with Ethiopia. This is partly due to Iran's influence in Eritrea in political and military matters.

Ethiopia's Strategic Importance in the Horn of Africa: With a land area of 1,202,000 km² and a large population of 110 million, Ethiopia is a huge market for imperialists. Additionally, cargo ships from the East (China, Japan, India) and EU imperialists reach Ethiopia through Djibouti Port and the Djibouti-Ethiopia railway, which connects to the inland of Africa.

Somalia is located at the tip of the Horn of Africa, with one side facing the Indian Ocean and the other facing the Gulf of Aden, and it has one of the longest coastlines in Africa. Somalia also controls the sea route that connects the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Moreover, Somali-based groups have been hijacking commercial vessels passing through this region. Since 1993, the U.S. has had a military base in Somalia, but the official government recognised by imperialists has failed to control even half of the country.

Somalia, along with Eritrea and Djibouti, is rich in oil and natural gas reserves in addition to its strategic location. Somalia's strategic position is further emphasised by its neighbouring countries: Djibouti and the Gulf of Aden to the north, Kenya to the southwest, Ethiopia to the west, and the Indian Ocean to the east.

In such an important region, conflicts among tribes, religions, sects, and regions have never ceased. The main reason for this is the contradictions between imperialist powers and local forces. When imperialist powers failed to establish a government they desired in Somalia, they encouraged internal conflicts, thus ensuring that the Somali people would fight amongst themselves. The civil war in Somalia has been ongoing since the 1990s.

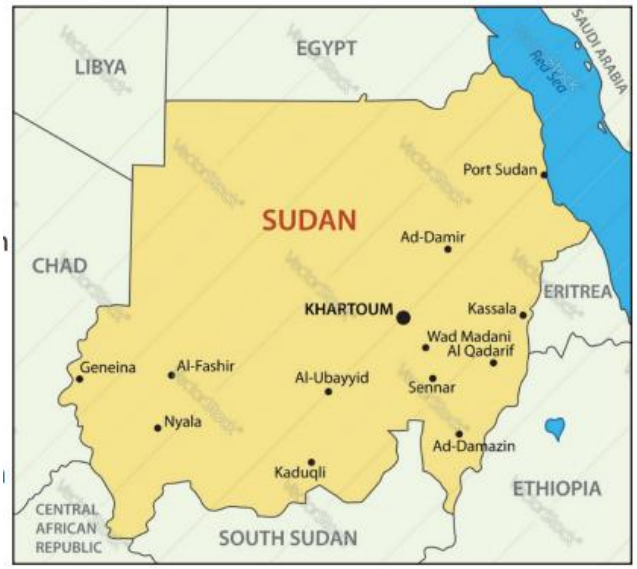
There Will Be No "Stability" for the Imperialists and Their Collaborators in the Horn of Africa

To summarise the issue:

1. The region known as the Horn of Africa has been a battlefield for imperial powers since the beginning of the colonial history due to its strategic location.
2. With the opening of the Suez Canal, the region became the shortest sea trade route from West to East. 10% of world trade and 40% of Europe's trade with the East are conducted through this route.
3. Since the 1870s, the region was divided and colonised by British, French, and Italian imperialists.
4. After the second partition war, national-social liberation struggles began in the Horn of Africa, and democratic popular governments were established in Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. During this process, imperialists fuelled the contradictions between different nationalities, religions, races, sects, tribes, and states, causing conflicts among the people.

5. After Somalia gained independence in 1969, Ethiopia in 1974, and Eritrea in 1991, the imperialists fuelled artificial contradictions between people to overthrow these socialist governments, resulting in civil wars that have continued from the 1990s to the present.
6. Djibouti has been turned into a base state for imperialists and regional states.
7. Although Ethiopia and Eritrea are not like Djibouti, they have been opened to imperialist exploitation. However, since they failed to establish regimes compatible with neo-colonial relations, they have not been able to continue their looting and exploitation as they would like. The goal of the U.S. in BMENA has been to secure the sea route from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea through the Suez Canal, and then to the Indian Ocean via the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, establishing deep neo-colonial relationships in a region with a population of 130 million and an area of 2 million km².
8. Despite all its riches and strategic location, the region called the Horn of Africa, from Somalia to Ethiopia to Eritrea and Djibouti, remains one of the areas with the highest levels of famine, hunger, and poverty. Imperialists falsely attribute the region's poverty and hunger to its "arid-desert" nature. This is not true; it is a lie created to conceal imperialist exploitation. One of the world's largest rivers, the Nile, originates from Ethiopia.
9. The U.S. tried to establish full dominance over the countries in the Horn of Africa with BMENA but failed. Today, China, Russia, and Iran, who are opposed to the U.S., are trying to establish and expand their own areas of dominance in the region. In addition, countries like Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Israel continue military and economic activities aligned with their own interests without contradicting U.S. interests.
   For example, the ports of Somalia, Djibouti, and Eritrea have been purchased by UAE companies and are operating at 50% of their capacity. The conflicting forces in the region receive direct support in the form of money, weapons, and military training, primarily from the U.S., Israel, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar, and Turkey.
10. There will never be stability for the imperialists in the region because instability, conflict, hunger, and poverty are caused by the imperialists and their collaborators.
11. The objective and subjective reality of the people in the Horn of Africa shows that the only ideology that can unite them is socialism. While imperialists foster artificial contradictions between peoples, inciting them to fight each other, socialists point out the true enemy: the exploitative imperialists, and by uniting the people, show the path to liberation.
    Imperialists do not think about the people, only their own exploitative interests. To conceal their exploitation, they make people enemies of each other. They pit them against one another. However, the constant conflict between the people prevents the stable continuation of exploitation. But they have no solution; exploitation means hunger, poverty, and misery, and hunger, poverty, and misery mean the never-ending war of the people. **Socialism is the only solution because it eliminates exploitation.**
12. Socialist movements and governments in Africa, despite all their shortcomings and the unending attacks by the U.S. to overthrow them, have made intense efforts to prevent conflicts between peoples, tribes, and regions.
13. Imperialists have destroyed the history and cultures of the African peoples to prevent their liberation and to continue their exploitation. In all colonies, the coloniser's language became the language of education, denying the people the opportunity to learn their own history and develop their cultures. In a continent with very low literacy rates, education continues in the languages of the colonisers, such as English, French, Italian, Spanish, or Arabic.

SUDAN



Sudan, officially known as the Republic of Sudan, is the third largest country by area on the African continent. Its capital is Khartoum.

Sudan, located in East Africa, shares borders with Egypt to the north, the Red Sea to the northeast, Ethiopia and Eritrea to the east, South Sudan to the south, the Central African Republic and Chad to the west, and Libya to the northwest. The Nile River divides Sudan into Western and Eastern Sudan. Near the Rafidia area in Khartoum, the White Nile and Blue Nile meet. The Nile River and its valley play a significant cultural, social, and economic role in Sudan's foreign relations.

Sudan has an area of 1, 886, 068 km², and its population is estimated to be 41, 592, 539 people as of 2020. In 2011, Sudan split into two countries, Sudan and South Sudan. Before the division, it was the largest country by area in Africa. The official languages of Sudan are English and Arabic, but people also speak various native languages, including Muwece, Beja, Fur, Nuban, and Ingessana.

Religious Beliefs in Sudan

Sudan has many religious and sectarian divisions. These differences have caused prolonged bloody conflicts, and in 2020, the state adopted secularism. About 90% of the population is Muslim, while the remaining population follows animism, Coptic Christianity, and Orthodox Christianity. Among the Muslims, the majority are Sunni, further divided into Shafi'i and Maliki sects. These religious differences have contributed to conflicts, including those in Somalia that lasted for decades and resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people.

Geographical Structure

Located in northeastern Africa, Sudan has a coastline of 853 km along the Red Sea. The country has a mostly flat geography, with mountains surrounding the southern, southeastern, and western regions, while the north is covered by deserts. About 24% of Sudan is made up of deserts. Rivers such as the White Nile, Blue Nile, and Atbara merge in Sudan to form the Nile River. The capital, Khartoum, is located at the confluence of these two rivers.

Economy of Sudan

Although Sudan is rich in both natural resources and surface resources, it remains a country where the population suffers from hunger and poverty. Its natural resources include oil, natural gas, iron, copper, chromium, zinc, lead, nickel, tungsten, mica, silver, and gold. After the division, the majority of the oil reserves went to South Sudan, but oil remains the country's most important resource.

History of Sudan

Evidence of human habitation in the area of Khartoum dates back over 5,000 years. Historically, the region referred to as Sudan extended from the Red Sea coasts to West Africa. After the Arabs entered Africa, they referred to the region as "Beladus Sudan" (Land of the Blacks). After the Arabs accepted Islam, they conquered Egypt in 639, and soon after, Muslim traders began entering Sudanese markets. The Sudanese people first encountered Islam through these traders. From the mid-7th century until the 1260s, the Arabs engaged in a series of conquests that brought Sudan under their control.

Sudan Under Ottoman Rule

When the Ottoman Empire took control of Egypt in 1517, its influence spread to Sudan. At that time, the Funj Sultanate (1) was still present in Sudan. With the Ottoman entry into Sudan, the Funj Sultanate shifted southward and continued to exist until the 1820s. In 1821, Sudan became part of the Ottoman Empire under the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt.

Start of Popular Uprisings in Sudan

In 1821, Sudan was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, a time when the Ottoman Empire was already under the control of British and French colonial powers. Since the 1730s, the Ottoman state had been serving the interests of England and France in the Middle East and Africa. Sudan's incorporation into the empire was no different. As the dissatisfaction among the Somali people grew, local religious leader Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi rallied people, calling it the "Ansar Movement" and initiating wars against the Ottomans. In 1881, the Ansar Movement established its own governance in the areas it controlled.

British Rule in Sudan

In 1885, Egypt fell under British control, and in 1889, the British took over Sudan, completely dissolving the Ansar Movement led by al-Mahdi. Despite some uprisings in the 1920s, the Sudanese people failed to achieve success. In 1956, Sudan declared its independence. However, this independence did not mark the end of colonialism, as Sudan shifted from British colonialism to new imperialist control by the United States.

Sudan Gaining Independence

In 1952, Ismail al-Azhari was elected as the head of the Sudanese National Union Party. He won the first elections and became the prime minister in 1954. At the time, Gamal Abdel Nasser was the president of Egypt, and Nasserism had a significant influence on Arab Muslims. Azhari pursued a policy of unification with Egypt but abandoned it due to the risk of civil war. By May 1955, he focused on the goal of full independence, and on 1 January 1956, Sudan declared its independence. However, shortly after, Azhari was ousted due to internal party conflicts, and the military took control through a coup.

Sudan as a Country of Military Coups

In 1965, Ismail al-Azhari was appointed as the chairman of the High Council, the equivalent of the presidency. However, due to the social crisis in the country, Sudan experienced its second military coup on 25 May 1969. Azhari was imprisoned, and his death was reported as a result of his health issues. Afterward, Sudan became a country plagued by coups, experiencing a total of 14 military coups from 1958 to 2019. (2)

The reasons behind these coups were the inability to govern the country, despite its rich natural resources. The wealth of the country was being funnelled into the coffers of imperialist monopolies and a few local collaborators. The resulting economic, political, and social crises led to military coups. Imperialists, by dividing the people along ethnic, religious, and tribal lines, fuelled civil wars and ongoing conflicts.

Sudan’s Civil War

Between 18 August 1955, and 27 March 1972, the first Sudanese Civil War took place between the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the fascist Sudanese government. The second Sudanese Civil War lasted from June 1983 to January 2005. During this period, the number of civilian casualties in Sudan's second civil war was one of the highest recorded after the Second Partition War, marking a tragic chapter in the country's history, especially in the context of the broader geopolitical turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa. The conflict left deep scars, with millions displaced and significant loss of life.

Sudan's Secularism Struggle

In Sudan, a country home to diverse ethnicities, religions, and tribes, secularism has been a constant political debate. Efforts to create a state that does not discriminate on the basis of religion, language, race, or sect began even before Sudan's independence.

After Sudan gained independence, policies of assimilation triggered independence movements among southern communities, leading to armed resistance led by **Sudanese People's Liberation Army.** In 1972, the war was halted for a time by granting autonomy to the South.

However, in 1983, President Jaafar Nimeiry's refusal to recognise that autonomy reignited the conflict. After Nimeiry's ousting in a military coup in 1985, a new government began to negotiate new autonomy for the South and the potential for secularism. However, when Omar al-Bashir seized power in another military coup in 1989, he reversed these agreements, reintroducing Islamic law, and the war resumed until 2005.

The Darfur Issue in Sudan

In the Darfur region, located 130 km west of the capital Khartoum, local and Arab tribes rely on livestock for their livelihood. Disagreements over water resources and the distribution of grazing lands were exacerbated by the effects of drought. In 2003, following a local uprising, conflicts broke out between the tribes in the region and the militia forces established and supported by the Sudanese government. In these conflicts, nearly one-third of the population of Darfur, around 2 million people, were forced to migrate from their areas. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed.

As the Sudanese government forces launched a large-scale "ethnic cleansing" campaign in Darfur, the United Nations Security Council initiated an investigation. The Darfur massacre was referred to the International Criminal Court.

In 2007, the clashes between the paramilitary forces known as the Janjaweed (Tora Bora), supported by the Sudanese government, and the Sudan Liberation Movement (Haraka Tahrir Sudan) escalated further.

Imperialists covertly sold weapons to both sides. They pitted the people against each other, making them dependent on themselves. Meanwhile, due to the support given to the paramilitary groups, the Sudanese government began to face economic and military sanctions from the U.S. and the UN.

In April 2007, the Sudanese government was forced to accept the UN's conditions as a result of these sanctions.

On 4 March 2009, the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir for "genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity" in the Darfur region.

The Division of Sudan

The developments following the 2005 agreement led to South Sudan being granted the right to self-determination in 2011. This resulted in the division of Sudan and the establishment of South Sudan.

In the referendum held between January 9-15, 98.83% of the votes were in favour of independence. However, the division of Sudan and the independence of South Sudan were not in the best interests of the Sudanese people. This separation was yet another imperialist policy.

When a country's population cannot be controlled as a whole, artificial divisions are created, fragmenting people based on religion, sect, ethnicity, and nationality to maintain control. The division and fragmentation of countries into two, three, or more parts often stem from these imperialist policies. Countries such as Vietnam, Korea, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Eritrea, Somalia, and many others have been divided through similar strategies.

If a separatist region is fighting under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist movement, efforts are made to forcibly suppress its struggle for independence. Meanwhile, parts that invoke the right to self-determination are reintegrated into dominant, collaborationist states.

These policies are not relics of the past but remain active under the framework of BMENA. The division of Sudan was also a result of these policies.

Bread Price Hikes and the Overthrow of Omar al-Bashir

In December 2018, protests erupted in Sudan due to sharp increases in bread prices, exacerbated by an economic crisis. These protests spread across the country and eventually became a national movement against the 30-year rule of Omar al-Bashir.

On 11 April 2019, the military intervened, overthrowing Bashir. Despite the military's takeover, protesters continued demanding Bashir's prosecution and a full transition to civilian rule. A power-sharing agreement was eventually signed between the military and civilian groups, stipulating a joint council for governance. The transition plan allowed for 21 months of military rule followed by 18 months of civilian leadership, with elections planned afterward.

However, opposition from the Revolutionary Front, which included armed factions, led to continued protests. On 3 June 2019, the military cracked down on protesters, killing 128 people. The violence fuelled further dissent, with a failed coup attempt on the part of military officers and former regime elements.

Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N)

The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) was founded in the South. It primarily represented the struggle of Christian Sudanese living in the South based on the principle of secularism. From 1985 to 2005, it led the war against Sudanese government forces during the civil war. The estimated number of Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) fighters reached 180, 000.

After Sudan was divided into two as Sudan and South Sudan, the northern faction of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) continued its armed struggle against Omar al-Bashir's government under the name Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N). After Bashir's government was overthrown, the Transitional Council began negotiations with armed groups in October 2019.

As part of the peace talks between the transitional government and SPLM-N in September 2020, a decision was made to adopt the principle of secularism in the country. The declaration signed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, established a consensus on the formal separation of religion and state affairs in Sudan, effectively ending the 30-year-long Sharia rule imposed during Bashir's era. The signed declaration stated:

"For Sudan to become a democratic country that respects the rights of all its citizens, the constitution must be based on the principle of separating religion from the state. If this principle is absent, then the right to self-determination must be respected."

The Disbandment of Armed Struggle in Exchange for Secularism

In exchange for the secularism agreement reached with the transitional government, SPLM-N agreed to integrate into the Sudanese army during the 39-month transition period and dissolve itself.

The key issue to highlight here is that contradictions based on secularism versus Sharia are artificial. The fundamental contradiction for the Sudanese people is against imperialism and the collaborationist fascist governments. Any struggle that fails to define this primary contradiction correctly is susceptible to deviation and co-optation by imperialist policies.

Since its founding, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement fought against the Sudanese state with the demand for secularism. Over one million people died in the two civil wars. In 2011, based on the right to self-determination, Sudan was divided into two, forming South Sudan. Under SPLM's leadership, South Sudan became a so-called "independent secular" state.

South Sudan is one of the world's significant oil-exporting countries. However, the fate of the South Sudanese people did not change after the separation. It is impossible to claim that separation was a liberation for the people of South Sudan. They continue to live in hunger and misery, just as before. As

previously mentioned, the root cause of hunger, poverty, and suffering among the people is not religious, sectarian, or racial differences but the exploitation by imperialist and collaborationist regimes.

South Sudan, despite its oil, natural gas, and rich underground and surface resources, exercised its "right to self-determination" and supposedly became independent. However, it could not escape imperialist control. Secularism did not lower bread prices nor eliminate unemployment.

As long as the labour, sweat, and natural wealth of the people are transferred to imperialists and their collaborators, secularism alone cannot solve any problem.

The reality we see in Sudan is that nationalist and religious/sectarian-based struggles obscure real contradictions and hinder the development of class struggle. They waste the energy and strength of the people for nothing. The co-optation of such movements by imperialist policies is inevitable. Collaborating with imperialists under the pretext of secularism cannot be considered "exercising the right to self-determination". The separation of South Sudan from Sudan was part of the U.S.'s BMENA.

Unable to control Omar al-Bashir's government—even though it was a reactionary dictatorship—the U.S. sought to maintain control over South Sudan by dividing Sudan into two. After overthrowing al-Bashir through a military coup in 2019 and putting Sudan on a collaborationist path, discussions about reunifying the two Sudans have started once again.

Sudan Signed a Normalisation Agreement with Israel and the U.S. – The U.S.'s BMENA Policies Continue

In October 2020, a "normalisation" agreement was signed between the U.S., Israel, and Sudan. Sudan became one of six Middle Eastern and North African Arab states to enter a "normalisation" agreement with Israel. In return for this agreement, Sudan was removed from the U.S. list of "state sponsors of terrorism."

Sudan paid $350 million in compensation to the U.S. due to past massacres. American corporations rushed into Sudan. General Electric signed an energy deal worth hundreds of millions of dollars with Sudan.

Although the collaborationist leaders signed the "normalisation" agreement with the U.S. and Israel, these policies cannot succeed without public support. Only 13% of the Sudanese people approve of the "normalisation" policies with Israel, while 87% oppose them.

As of 2021, before the Sudanese Transitional Government transitioned to civilian rule, the Sudanese Communist Party announced its withdrawal from the Transitional Government, citing its violation of the Constitutional Declaration, failure to fulfil the revolutionary masses' demands from the "December Revolution, "and inability to gain public support. Once again, the people have taken to the streets, raising demands for bread and justice.

Movements Without a Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary Claim and Understanding of Struggle Cannot Utilise Popular Uprisings to Advance the Revolution!

They Cannot Escape Being Tools of Imperialist Policies!

In 2018, the Sudanese Communist Party and leftist trade unions, professional organisations, and associations were among the leading forces directing popular uprisings to overthrow Omar al-Bashir's regime. The same pattern was seen during the Arab Spring. In Algeria, leftists largely led the mass movements. However, both the Sudanese Communist Party and leftist groups in other countries are reformist parties and movements without a Marxist-Leninist struggle aimed at seizing power. As a result, their agreements with the military coup leaders were limited to in-system reforms.

When announcing its withdrawal from the Transitional Government coalition, the Sudanese Communist Party stated:

"Removing officials of the former regime from state institutions and purging them from within the government has been futile. The removal of corrupt members of the overthrown regime has had no

impact on economic institutions. Justice has not been served, and the murderers of the martyrs have not been brought to justice."

This statement by the Sudanese Communist Party is pointless. What was expected? As long as the rotten system remains in place, changing its administrators changes nothing.

During the "Arab Spring, "communists said, "*The Muslim Brotherhood stole our revolution".* In Algeria, when the army ousted Abdelaziz Bouteflika in a coup, they said, *"The army stole our revolution."* In 1979, reformist "communists" in Iran, lacking the courage to seize power, claimed, "Khomeini stole our revolution." The issue is not that someone steals the revolution; rather, it is that these so-called communist parties and organisations lack a revolutionary goal of seizing power. What they call a "revolution" consists only of in-system reforms.

A revolution is the complete overthrow of the decayed capitalist system from the bottom up through a people's movement, the establishment of people's power, and the realisation of social revolutions through this power. A true revolution involves constructing a new socialist mode of production from the top down. Anything else claimed in the name of revolution is deception, diverting people's anger and hopes into the existing system. The Sudanese Communist Party played this role during the uprising.

After Omar al-Bashir was overthrown, the Transitional Government was composed of coup generals, imperialist-backed technocrats, and "civilian" representatives of the establishment, including the Sudanese Communist Party. The Sudanese Communist Party was well aware that the Transitional Government would not meet the people's demands, yet it willingly participated in it.

Despite its struggle since the 1950s, the Sudanese Communist Party's reformist approach prevented Sudan's civil war from developing on a class-based foundation. Instead, the conflicts continued along tribal, ethnic, and religious lines, leading to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Sudanese in a misguided struggle.

The right to self-determination was also confined within the framework of imperialist policies and the struggle for "secularism, "serving not the unity and fraternity of peoples but rather fuelling sectarian conflicts.

Had the Sudanese Communist Party pursued a class-based struggle with correct policies and a goal of seizing power, it could have developed a revolutionary movement. However, its reformist approach prevented this.

Conclusion:

1. **Sudan Was Once Africa's Largest Country Before Its Division**
   Before Sudan was divided in 2011, it was the largest country in Africa, with a land area exceeding 2.5 million square kilometres (2,505,813 km²). With its fertile lands, geostrategic location, rich underground and surface resources, and a population of over 50 million, Sudan represents a massive market for imperialist powers. However, as long as they fail to establish a fully cooperative government and ensure stability, they cannot fully exploit this market.
2. **The U.S. Pursued a Stable Collaborative Regime in Sudan Under BMENA**
   Since the early 2000s, the U.S. has imposed economic, political, and military sanctions on Sudan to achieve its BMENA goals. The division of Sudan in 2011 was one of the objectives under this project. The overthrow of Omar al-Bashir in 2019 and the subsequent "normalisation" agreement with Israel were also part of these policies. The process in Sudan is unfolding within the framework of imperialist strategies.
3. **The 2011 Division of Sudan Was Not a True Exercise of Self-Determination**
   The separation of South Sudan in 2011 was not a genuine expression of self-determination and did not benefit the Sudanese people. Imperialist powers fuelled religious, sectarian, racial, tribal, and ethnic conflicts to deepen divisions among the people. The split ultimately served imperialist interests. After Sudan was brought in line through economic sanctions, discussions about reunification with South Sudan emerged again. Any unification or separation that does not result

from the free will of the people does not serve their interests but instead aligns with imperialist policies.

4. **Agreements Based on Secularism Do Not Resolve Fundamental Social Contradictions**
   Since agreements based on secularism do not address the root causes of social conflicts in Sudan, hostilities among different groups will persist, and clashes will continue. For imperialists, the bloodshed of the Sudanese people is insignificant—whether hundreds of thousands or millions die, they exploit these conflicts to their advantage. A simple example is that U.S. arms monopolies have been the primary suppliers of weapons to all warring parties throughout Sudan's civil wars.
5. **The Root Cause of Hunger, Poverty, and Unemployment in Sudan Is Imperialist Exploitation**
   As long as the contradiction between the Sudanese people and the imperialists and their collaborators exists, the people's anger and struggle against them will not end. The imperialists will never achieve the stability they seek in Sudan.
6. **The U.S.-Led Normalisation Agreements with Six Middle Eastern Countries, Including Sudan, Are Part of BMENA**
   The U.S.'s BMENA has been largely disrupted by resistance in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and Syria. The U.S. is losing its dominant global power status, particularly in the Middle East. The downfall of the U.S. empire began with resistance in Iraq and accelerated with developments in Syria. Meanwhile, Russia, China, and Iran continue to expand their spheres of influence in the region. The "normalisation" agreements are an effort to form a power bloc with pro-U.S. Arab countries and maintain control. Moving forward, contradictions between the U.S.-EU imperialists and the Russia-China bloc will deepen, leading to new geopolitical alignments.
7. **Reformist Groups Like the Sudanese Communist Party Serve to Neutralize Public Opposition Within the Existing System**
   Lacking a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary perspective and a goal of seizing power, these groups fail to advance class struggle. Their role is to absorb and pacify public discontent rather than to lead a genuine revolutionary movement.
8. **Sudan's Liberation Lies in a Marxist-Leninist, Anti-Imperialist, and Anti-Oligarchic People's Government**
   The only ideology capable of uniting the people and eliminating hostilities is socialism. The path to an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic revolution is through an armed people's war.

Footnotes:

(1) **The Funj State (Funj Sultanate** or **Sennar Sultanate)** was a Black African kingdom established in 1504, centred in Sennar, in what is now Sudan's Nubian region. The kingdom later converted to Islam and was de facto dependent on the Ottoman Empire. In 1821, it was conquered by Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, and directly annexed into the Khedivate of Egypt.

(2) As this article was being written, another military coup took place in Sudan on 25 October 2021.

YEMEN

Yemen's Geographical Location and Strategic Importance

The official name of the country is the Republic of Yemen. It is located in the Middle East, along the coasts of the Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Red Sea, west of Oman and south of Saudi Arabia. Its capital is Sana'a.

Yemen is positioned on the Asian coast of the sea route connecting the Mediterranean to the Red Sea via the Suez Canal and from the Red Sea to the Arabian Sea via the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, eventually leading to the Indian Ocean. 40% of global maritime trade passes through this route. We have previously discussed the strategic significance of this maritime route in the section on the Horn of Africa countries, so we will not repeat it here. It is enough to state that throughout history, foreign powers seeking to invade Yemen had one common goal: to control this vital maritime passage.

Since the beginning of the Arab Spring in 2011, the war in Yemen—often described as a civil war—has been fundamentally driven by imperialist ambitions to dominate this strategic region.

Yemen's Demographic Structure

- Total area: 527,968 km²
- Population (2018 census): 28,498,683

The vast majority of Yemen's population is Arab, with 99.1% being Muslim. However, Jews, Hindus, Bahá'ís, and Christians also reside in the country.

Among Muslims:

- 65% are Sunni
- 35% are Shia

A Brief History of Yemen

The oldest known ruling state in Yemen was the Ma'in Kingdom (1) (1400 BCE – 650 BCE), followed by the Harmut Kingdom, the Kingdom of Sheba (Saba), and the Himyarite Kingdom.

The Yemeni people first followed the Main religion, later adopting Christianity, Judaism, and eventually Islam.

After embracing Islam, Yemen came under the rule of the Abbasids, Persians, Ottomans, and the British.

Yemen came under Ottoman rule in 1538. However, the people of Yemen, especially those from the Zaydi branch of Shi'ism living in northern Yemen, were constantly in rebellion against dominant powers.

From Arab rule to Ottoman and British dominance, the Zaydis led all the uprisings in the struggle for independence. The major powers that ruled Yemen controlled its central port cities, but they were never able to fully dominate the Zaydis, who lived as nomads in the mountainous regions of Yemen.

The Ottoman campaigns in Yemen began with the capture of Aden in 1538 and continued until around 1565, during which the Ottomans managed to seize only certain cities in Yemen. Due to Zaydi rebellions, the Ottomans were unable to hold onto these cities for long. By 1568, Ottoman control was limited to a small region inhabited by Sunnis. Although the Ottomans expanded their territory again in 1572, the continuous Zaydi uprisings and their prolonged guerrilla warfare eventually led to the end of Ottoman rule in Yemen by 1635.

In 1838, when the British took Aden, the Ottomans launched new military campaigns in Yemen. Between 1849 and 1871, the Ottomans regained control over a large part of Yemen. However, Zaydi resistance against Ottoman rule persisted. By 1911, the Ottomans had lost over a million people in the Yemen wars due to malaria, tuberculosis, starvation, and battles. Yemen became known as a place from which Anatolian soldiers never returned.

In 1912, with the signing of the Armistice of Mondros, Yemen was handed over to the British.

After Ottoman rule ended, the Zaydis established an independent Zaydi Emirate around Sana'a, which later became known as the Mutawakkilite Kingdom. Imam Yahya, who had fought against the Ottomans for decades, became the first king in 1912.

Formation of North and South Yemen

After gaining independence from the Ottoman Empire, the Mutawakkilite Kingdom continued its conflict with Saudi Arabia. In 1925, it captured Hudaydah, and in 1934, it signed the Treaty of Taif with Saudi Arabia, establishing Yemen's present-day northern borders. Yemen's unity was achieved in regions outside British control.

During Imam Yahya's rule, North Yemen joined the Arab League in 1945 and the United Nations in 1947. On 17 February 1948, Imam Yahya was assassinated. His son, Ahmad bin Yahya, succeeded him and made Taiz the capital.

In 1956, Ahmad bin Yahya signed a defence agreement with Egypt. He also joined the United Arab Republic (UAR), which was formed by Egypt and Syria. However, after Syria withdrew from the union in 1961, Imam Ahmad also left the UAR.

Following Imam Ahmad's death in 1962, his son Muhammad al-Badr became Imam. However, just a week later, military forces surrounded Sana'a, and on 26 September 1962, he fled to northern Yemen.

After the fall of the Mutawakkilite monarchy in northern Yemen, the Egypt-backed Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) was established.

Between 1962 and 1970, a civil war broke out between Egyptian-backed Republicans and Saudi-backed royalists loyal to the Mutawakkilite Kingdom. The Republicans emerged victorious.

After the monarchy in North Yemen was overthrown and the Yemen Arab Republic was established, efforts began to free the British-controlled Aden region and small southern kingdoms (South Yemen). The Arab Nationalist Movement formed the National Liberation Front (NLF), which, with the support of some tribes, began fighting against the British. This struggle led to the independence of Aden and South Yemen in 1967. On 30 November 1967, South Yemen declared its independence, established relations with socialist countries like the USSR and China, and became part of the Socialist Bloc under the name the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen).

Short-lived conflicts between North and South Yemen occurred in 1972 and 1979, but they did not result in border changes.

In South Yemen, internal party struggles in 1986 led to the resignation of President Ali Nasir Muhammad and triggered a civil war. After losing the war, Ali Nasir Muhammad and some of his supporters fled to North Yemen.

The Unification of Yemen

At the beginning of the 1990s, following counter-revolutions in socialist countries and the collapse of the Socialist Bloc, North and South Yemen unified on 22 May 1990. Until 1993, the newly unified Yemen was governed by a transitional government formed by the political parties of both regions.

After the elections in 1993, the two regions fully merged, and the elections were won by **Ali Abdullah Saleh**, the former president of North Yemen.

Between May and June 1994, a civil war broke out between supporters of North and South Yemen. Ali Abdullah Saleh's forces emerged victorious.

In 2004, Shiite Zaydi uprisings resumed under the leadership of Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi. The rebellion's leader, Hussein Badreddin al-Houthi, was killed by government forces, but the Houthi uprising did not end.

Yemen's Economy

Yemen's economy is primarily based on agriculture and livestock:

- 21% of GDP comes from agriculture.
- 71.5% of the workforce is employed in agriculture.
- Major crops: Grains, cotton, dates, bananas, millet, coffee, fruits, and vegetables.
- Main industries: Oil and natural gas in the south; salt production in the north.

The economy of Yemen has essentially collapsed following the recent civil war. Along with the embargoes imposed by imperialist powers, it has become one of the leading countries in the world suffering from hunger.

The Arab Spring and the Houthi Resistance

During the "Arab Spring" process, we have previously discussed the developments in Yemen, as well as the attitudes of imperialists and their collaborators, so we will not repeat that. Let us emphasise the following: Yemen was one of the countries included in the U.S.'s BMENA. The reason is Yemen's strategic location. Imperialists cannot guarantee their interests in the region without ensuring the stability of their client governments in Yemen. Particularly, Yemen, which forms one side of the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait—one of the key shipping routes where 40% of global maritime trade passes—losing control of it would mean putting all their interests in jeopardy.

To briefly summarise the "Arab Spring" process: After prolonged conflicts in which 7, 000 people were killed, Ali Abdullah Saleh's 33-year rule effectively ended with the decision made by the Gulf Cooperation Council on 23 November 2011. However, in his place, his deputy, Abd Rabbuh Mansur al-Hadi, was brought in. In the elections held on 21 January 2012, Hadi was elected president.

Although the people did not accept Hadi's presidency, they gave him some time for a two-year transitional period. However, nothing changed, economic and social problems worsened, and conflicts began between the Shiite Houthi movement, Ansar Allah, and the army forces. On 21 September 2014, after a four-day battle, the Houthis captured the capital, Sana'a.

On 22 January 2015, President Hadi and Prime Minister Khaled Mahfouz Bahah resigned. On 6 February 2015, the Houthis dissolved the parliament and formed a Presidential Council to govern the country. This council was temporarily formed for two years, and Sunnis made up the majority based on Yemen's population. Despite this, the U.S., Saudi Arabia, and others tried to portray this council as merely a Shiite movement supported by Iran and refused to recognise it.

After the Houthis took control of Sana'a, they moved towards Aden. In response, a coalition led by Saudi Arabia launched airstrikes on 26 March 2015, under the name "Operation Decisive Storm."

The Ansar Allah Movement is an Anti-Imperialist Popular Movement

The Ansar Allah Movement, which controls a significant part of Yemen, including the capital Sana'a, is a continuously developing and strengthening movement. While the movement has a significant influence from the Zaydi sect of Shiism, the Revolutionary Committees they have formed include a wide range of ideological groups, such as Socialist Arab Nationalists, Marxists, and others. Although the movement is predominantly Shiite, and the Coalition led by the U.S. and Saudi Arabia tries to portray it as being Iran-aligned, many Sunni tribes also fight on their side.

The leader of the movement is Abdul-Malik al-Houthi, and the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council is Muhammad al-Houthi.

In an interview, Muhammad al-Houthi, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, described the Ansar Allah movement as follows: "*The real goal of the U.S. is to annihilate the Yemeni people. Despite the fact that they have repeatedly expressed their desire to destroy this movement, the Ansar Allah*

movement is a deep-rooted and recognised movement that emerged from the people, born from their suffering. This movement did not appear overnight, nor is it foreign to the Yemeni people. On the contrary, it is a part of the cultural structure of the Yemeni people, who have continued their existence since the birth of Islam."(Islam Özkan, 5 October 2019, Gazete Duvar)

At the forefront of opposition to the Yemeni resistance are the U.S. and the U.K. Since the beginning of the "Arab Spring", there have been two conflicting sides. The first is the Yemeni people, led by the Houthis. The second is the U.S.-U.K. alliance and their regional and local collaborators, who seek to crush the resistance. From the beginning, the resistance movement has maintained an anti-imperialist stance, which they have openly expressed in their statements.

Coalition Forces and Yemen's Collaborators

The primary forces opposing the Yemeni resistance are the U.S. and EU imperialists. The Coalition, formed by allied states in the region, includes Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Qatar, Senegal, and Sudan. Countries such as Somalia, Pakistan, and Turkey also support the coalition.

In addition, extremist groups such as Al-Qaeda, Ansar al-Sharia, Al-Shabaab, and ISIS are used against the resistance.

Yemen's local collaborators include the Mansur Hadi Government, based in Aden, and the Yemen Transitional Council of the south, supported by the UAE.

As a result of the airstrikes launched by the Saudi Arabia-UAE alliance under the name "Operation Decisive Storm" and the imposed food embargo, more than 60,000 people have died in Yemen.

During the 6-year war between 2014 and 2020, the Saudi-UAE alliance achieved no success. The resistance movement expanded its control even further.

The Mansur Hadi Government, supported by Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen Transitional Council of the south, backed by the UAE, began to clash with each other.

By 2020, the resistance forces transitioned from a defensive position to launching operations within Saudi Arabia's borders and striking blows.

Imperialism Is a Paper Tiger

Mao's famous quote was proven true once again in the face of the Yemeni resistance. U.S. imperialism and the collaborating states in the region attempted with all their might to crush the resistance of the Yemeni people. They were unable to keep the collaborationist Hadi government in power, nor were they able to break the resistance.

The Saudi Arabia-UAE alliance dropped thousands of tons of bombs on the resistance fighters with their warplanes. Yemen's people were also punished with food and health blockades for supporting the resistance. The people of Yemen died not only from imperialist bombs but also due to the embargo. Despite this, the people of Yemen resisted with empty stomachs and bare feet, and they continue to resist.

The resistance movement has the capability to strike back strategically, targeting Saudi Arabia's vital assets like Aramco oil facilities with drones and ballistic missiles, delivering heavy blows to oil exports.

Against this, the imperialists and the Saudi-UAE alliance are helpless.

"*We are in a position of self-defence in Yemen",* says the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, Muhammad al-Houthi. He further states: ***"Everyone should know well that those we face in war are paper tigers. They exaggerate their power in media close to them and portray themselves as stronger than they are. But when you look at the reality, you will see that the Yemenis are more steadfast and formidable than the mountains. The sons of Yemen are heroes who stand firm and strong on every front. They lead the war and take action against the enemy."***

Imperialists Who Impose Food Embargo on Yemen Are Committing Crimes Against Humanity

In Yemen, with a population of 25 million, over 60,000 people have died between 2011 and 2020. A significant part of these deaths can be attributed to the food and medical aid embargo imposed by the imperialists. Furthermore, 20 million Yemenis are suffering from hunger. The economy, including agriculture and livestock, has largely collapsed due to the bombardments by the coalition forces led by Saudi Arabia. Yemen is experiencing a severe famine. Moreover, humanitarian aid provided by the UN and other countries is being embargoed by the U.S., claiming that it "falls into the hands of the Houthis". The Hudaydah port, through which Yemen imports its food, is under Houthi control, and Saudi Arabia continuously bombards this port with fighter jets, preventing the food from reaching the people and aiming to starve Yemen into submission. The imperialists and coalition forces are directly responsible for the deaths caused by hunger and are committing crimes against humanity in Yemen.

Those Who Resist in Yemen Will Win, Imperialists and Their Collaborators Will Lose
Resistance Forces Transition from Defence to Offence

"*We are in a position of self-defence in Yemen,* "says Mohammed al-Houthi, Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, who outlines the movement's demands:

"*Our first condition is the independence of our decision. We want an independent decision. We demand the cessation of attacks, the end of the blockade and embargo imposed on our country, the freedom of the Yemeni people, and that no government the people do not want be imposed upon them*."

In an interview with *Gazete Duvar*, El-Houthi, speaking about the situation in 2020, states, "*As long as the coalition forces continue their attacks, we will not extend our necks to be slaughtered.*" He summarises the current state of the war:

"*The Yemeni army and Revolutionary Committees select their targets with utmost precision, based on war conditions and the development of the conflict. Our people know, by the grace of Allah, that we have the power to deter the aggressor nations, and they trust us. We show determination and resolve, and we have the capability to carry out these operations (such as attacking the Aramco oil facilities in Saudi Arabia) anywhere, anytime. As the revolution leader (Abdulmalik al-Houthi) said, 'progress continues.' This will cause pain for the Saudis and their American backers. It is clearly stated: the aggressor countries (the Coalition Forces) will one day be forced to acknowledge our power."*

The Yemeni army, with its ground, air, and naval forces, is making tremendous efforts to develop its missile power and UAV technology. The Yemeni army considers the extraordinary progress it has made as a legitimate right to respond to the crimes committed by the aggressor countries, viewing it not as offensive power but as a defence and deterrence element. Great efforts and sacrifices have been made in the military and technological fields to destabilise the enemy countries, and we will not stop until the attacks cease. Today, we say that as long as they continue to strike us, we will not stop striking them."

What we've shared above is the power of a popular movement. It is the strength of being a people, drawing strength from the people, and the power given by historical righteousness. This power is the power of a nation where 20 million out of 25 million are hungry. This power is the invincible power of the people.

Conclusion:

1. The responsibility for the ongoing war in Yemen lies with the U.S. and EU imperialists, their allies in the Saudi Arabia-UAE coalition, and other complicit Gulf states.
2. The cause of the war is that the imperialists and complicit regional states have failed to establish a cooperative government in Yemen that serves their interests.
3. The Houthi Movement, which leads the resistance of the Yemeni people, is an anti-imperialist movement. U.S. policies under BMENA have clashed with the Houthi resistance.
4. In 2020, the U.S. added the Houthi Movement to its list of "terrorist organisations." By using the resistance as an excuse, the U.S. tries to justify its food and medical sanctions on Yemen. The

embargo imposed on Yemen is a crime against humanity, and the imperialists and their collaborators are responsible for the deaths.

5. Yemen is a country suffering from one of the world's largest hunger crises. Despite this, the Yemeni people resist the imperialist and regional collaborator countries' attacks with immense patriotism and sacrifice, against the world's largest economic and military power.
6. At this stage, the Yemeni resistance has been able to launch significant counterattacks to stop the enemy's offensive and deter them, scattering the attacking coalition forces and causing infighting within their ranks. The collaborators' front has largely collapsed.
7. When the imperialists cannot break the resistance of the Yemeni people, they will resort to dividing Yemen into two, as they did before 1990.
8. The resistance forces must defend the unity of Yemen, avoiding religious and sectarian divisions, uniting the people on an anti-imperialist basis, and continuing the war until the imperialists and their regional and local collaborators are completely expelled.
9. No force can defeat a people fighting with immense patriotism, sacrifice, and determination. In Yemen, those who resist with empty stomachs and barefoot will prevail.

Footnote:

(1) Ma'in: An ancient state founded in the 8th century BC in the Yemen region. Its capital was Karna, located in the area known today as Sa'dah. Another important city was Yathill, which is now in the boundaries of Barakish. It had commercial relations with Syria, Palestine, India, and China.

Notes Written in History…

The History of the Middle East Will Be Shaped by Resisting Peoples
In the Face of Resisting People, Murderous America Has No Option But to Flee

*A news report titled **"The U.S. Closes Its Embassies"** stated:*

"The U.S. has announced that it will close its embassies and consulates on Sunday as a precaution due to security concerns. Accordingly, embassies in Tel Aviv, Cairo, Amman, and Baghdad, which normally operate on Sundays, will be closed on August 4. It was also stated that embassies in Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh will be closed. If necessary, the duration of the closures could be extended. The U.S. Department of State avoided providing detailed information about the security concerns. CBS News suggested that the decision was related to Al-Qaeda's attack plans. Similar statements were made by Germany and the UK.

Germany's Foreign Ministry announced that its embassy in Yemen would remain closed on Sunday and Monday. The UK also stated that its diplomatic missions in Sana'a would be closed over the weekend."*

On August 5, it was further announced that these consulates would remain closed until August 10. Additionally, the U.S. issued a travel warning for its citizens, essentially advising them to stay away from 20 countries in the Middle East.

As can be inferred from this news, there is no safe place for imperialist countries that massacre peoples, especially the United States. In September 2012, following an attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya, America had increased security measures for its consulates. Despite declaring U.S. consulates as the most secure locations in the world, they felt the need to implement 29 additional security measures.

After Alişan Şanlı's self-sacrificial action against the U.S. Embassy in Ankara, they once again had to explain how "secure" their consulates and embassies were. At that time, in our magazine's 351st issue, we stated:

**"The murderers took 29 additional measures to protect themselves from the wrath of the world's people after the punishment of the U.S. ambassador in Benghazi. But even if you take 129 measures, you will not escape the rage of the people.*

Your shelters in headquarters, the most secure rooms built under Obama's special orders, could not and will not protect you. But we have a suggestion: since the 29 security measures didn't work, here's the 30th one—GET OUT OF OUR COUNTRY! THIS LAND BELONGS TO US!

Otherwise, you will become paranoid about security to escape the wrath of the people. We repeat take your bases, missiles, and Patriots and ***GET OUT OF OUR COUNTRY! "****

It seems that American imperialism, which drains the blood of the people, bombs civilians, tortures bound and defenceless individuals, and plunders wealth, has finally realised that no power can protect it from the wrath of the oppressed.

America's highly praised technology, intelligence methods, drones, weapons, and "smart bombs" have proven powerless against the people's fury. No force can stand against those who believe in justice and carry the pain of their people in their hearts and minds.

Your bombs, weapons, and barbarity have only created those who defy death. And against them, you are powerless.

As long as your occupations and massacres continue, you will live in fear and be forced to flee.

This decision marks the collapse of the Broader Middle East and North Africa Project.

This decision confirms that the so-called "Arab Spring" was nothing but a deception.

This decision proves that America has nothing to do with peace, democracy, or freedom.

BMENA Has Collapsed

Iran, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE are countries rich in oil, natural gas, and other underground resources. Yet, these riches do not benefit the people of the Middle East. The responsible parties for this injustice are U.S. imperialism and the collaborators it installs in power.

To seize the Middle East's wealth, the U.S. uses every method—from massacres and invasions to creating internal conflicts and turning peoples against each other.

While people of the Middle East are left to face hunger, poverty, and death, American monopolies fill their coffers. The U.S. wants to dominate all military, economic, and political aspects of the Middle East.

BMENA aimed to seize control of all resources in the region, restructure 22 countries, and resolve America's economic crisis. In simpler terms, the goal was to impose BMENA's dominance over the Middle East and shape 22 countries according to imperialist interests.

Any country that resists imperialism or refuses to act as a puppet becomes a target of ideological, psychological, and military attacks.

To justify this project, the U.S. claimed it wanted to develop the region economically and bring democracy, peace, and human rights. Using this excuse:

- *The U.S. attacked Afghanistan*
- *The U.S. occupied Iraq*
- *The U.S. threatened countries where it couldn't fully implement its policies*
- *The U.S. imposed sanctions and threats on Iran and Syria*
- *The U.S. organised attacks against Lebanon and Palestine*

When the uprisings in Tunisia began due to the people's anger against exploitation and oppression, the U.S. used its historical experience in manipulating movements to turn the unrest into a tool for its own policies under the guise of the "Arab Spring."

With the "Arab Spring" deception, the U.S. tried to control people's rage and redirect it into the system. Calling it the "Jasmine Revolution, "they replaced old puppet governments with new ones:

- *In Tunisia, they removed Zine El Abidine Ben Ali*
- *In Egypt, they discarded their long-time puppet Hosni Mubarak and installed the Muslim Brotherhood*

These governments, akin to Turkey's AKP, were meant to advance U.S. policies in the region.

The U.S. tried the same tactics in Libya and Syria, attempting to topple governments resistant to imperialism. However, Syria's resistance and refusal to surrender foiled America's plans.

The "Arab Spring" was another imperialist tool

The "Arab Spring" was just another U.S. scheme to reshape the Middle East.

By toppling Mubarak, the U.S. installed another puppet. They switched from radical Islamists to "moderate"(collaborative) Islamists.

However, before the Arab Spring, it was the U.S. itself that had nurtured Islamist movements through the "Green Belt Project" to counter socialism.

For decades, the U.S. exploited the Middle East through puppet dictators. The so-called "Arab Spring" only served to channel people's accumulated rage into America's imperialist strategies.

In Tunisia and Egypt, the people relied on the U.S. for democracy and freedom, but history has proven once again: No nation can gain rights or freedoms by relying on imperialism.

By hijacking the people's demands, the U.S. controlled and manipulated their anger to serve its own interests.

However, the time for the U.S. to deceive the world with "democracy and freedom" rhetoric is over.

The Middle East Belongs to Its People, Not Imperialists!

History has shown that:

- *The most advanced weapons will not save imperialists from the wrath of the people.*
- *As long as oppression continues, there will be resistance.*
- *Victory belongs to the resisting peoples of the world.*

The Middle East will not belong to the imperialists—it will belong to its people!

(Yürüyüş Magazine, Issue 377, 11 August 2013, pp. 39-40)

TURKEY

Turkey holds a very special place in BMENA. This is because Turkey has been presented as a "model country" for the U.S.'s BMENA and has taken on significant roles on behalf of the U.S. at certain stages of the project's implementation. At the beginning of our book, we touched upon the mission of Turkey and its Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Here, just as we have examined other countries within the scope of BMENA, we will analyse Turkey's geostrategic position, economic, democratic, historical, and political structure.

Turkey's Geographic Location and Geostrategic Importance

Turkey is a country located between Southeastern Europe and Asia. Officially known as the Republic of Turkey, the majority of the country lies in Anatolia, while a small portion is situated in Thrace, the southeastern extension of the Balkan Peninsula.

Its neighbouring countries include Greece to the west, Bulgaria to the northwest, Georgia to the northeast, Armenia, Iran, and Azerbaijan's Nakhchivan exclave to the east, Iraq and Syria to the southeast. The Mediterranean Sea borders it to the south, the Aegean Sea to the west, and the Black Sea to the north. The Marmara Sea, along with the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, separates Anatolia from Thrace, effectively dividing Asia from Europe. With this feature, Turkey holds a crucial strategic position at the crossroads of Europe and Asia.

Even before the collapse of the Socialist Bloc, Turkey was a border neighbour of the USSR and, as a NATO member—the military force of the imperialist bloc—it has been of indispensable strategic importance to imperialist powers.

Turkey's total land area is 783,562 km², with 13,930 km² consisting of natural lakes. As of 2020, its estimated population is 83,614,362. About 97% of its territory is in Anatolia, while 3% is in Thrace. The country's shape resembles a rectangle, with a length of 1, 600 km and a width of 800 km.

It is surrounded by the Köroğlu and Northern Anatolian Mountains in the north and the Taurus Mountains in the south.

Turkey's capital is Ankara, while its largest city is Istanbul.

Turkey's Demographic Structure

Article 66 of the Turkish Constitution defines "everyone bound to the Turkish state by citizenship" as "Turk". In this way, other ethnic groups and nationalities living in Turkey are denied and ignored.

According to CIA data, Turks make up 70-75% of the population, while Konda research suggests 76%, and consensus estimates it at 77%. Since ethnic origins are not recorded in census data, there is no reliable official figure. According to the Treaty of Lausanne, the only officially recognised minorities in the country are Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. However, numerous ethnic groups, including Kurds, Albanians, Azerbaijanis, Arabs, Bosniaks, Circassians, Laz, Georgians, Romani, Hemshin, Pomaks, Assyrians, and Zazas, live in Turkey.

According to CIA data, Kurds make up 18% of the population, while Konda estimates 15%, and consensus estimates 14%.

In the eastern part of the country, known as Turkish Kurdistan, the provinces of Bingöl, Muş, Ağrı, Iğdır, Elazığ, Diyarbakır, Batman, Şırnak, Bitlis, Van, Mardin, Siirt, and Hakkari have a Kurdish-majority population. In addition, significant Kurdish populations live in Urfa, Kars, Erzurum, Antep, and Maraş.

Due to migration from villages to cities, driven by neo-colonial economic relations, large numbers of Kurds have moved from Kurdish provinces to western cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Mersin, Kocaeli, and Bursa. Today, due to these migrations, Istanbul is the city with the largest Kurdish population.

Due to attacks on Syria, Turkey also hosts around 3.6 million Syrian refugees, according to official statements. However, because many refugees are undocumented, the actual number is estimated to be over 6 million.

The Turkish state not only refuses to recognise ethnic groups other than Turks but has also banned their languages. As a result of these bans, languages other than Turkish have had little opportunity to develop, and many have been largely forgotten or assimilated.

Currently, 12% of the population speaks Kurdish. Additionally, 1% of the population speaks Arabic and Zazaki. Other endangered languages spoken in Turkey include Abkhaz, Western Armenian, Circassian, Romani, Eastern Circassian, Hemshin, Hertevian, Cappadocian Greek, Laz, Pontic Greek, Judeo-Spanish (Ladino), and Zazaki.

According to 2019 data, 74% of Muslims in Turkey are Sunni, 12.5% are Alevi, and 3% belong to other Muslim sects, including Jafaris, Nusayris, and Twelvers.

About 9.5% of the population identifies as non-religious, 0.3% are Christians, and 1.1% follow other religions such as Baha'i, Judaism, Tengrism (1), and Yezidism (2).

Although the Turkish Constitution declares the country to be secular, it is often stated that "99% of the population is Muslim" and everyone is expected to act according to the "sensitivities of the 99%."Non-Sunni Muslim sects are not officially recognised by the Directorate of Religious Affairs, and even within Sunni Islam, religious beliefs are exploited by governments and religious orders.

Turkey's literacy rate is 97.2%. As of 2019, there are 208 universities in the country, but the quality of education remains low. Turkey ranks 32nd out of 34 OECD countries in the PISA educational programme.

92.5% of Turkey's population lives in urban areas, while 7.5% live in rural areas.

Turkey's Economy

Turkey possesses a very rich potential with its underground and surface resources, human capital, natural beauty, and historical heritage. However, it is one of the countries where neo-colonial relations of imperialism are most firmly established.

It has a highly developed comprador bourgeois class. Since the 1940s, due to economic, military, and political agreements made with imperialist powers, Turkey has become an extension of imperialism in the Middle East.

While capitalist production dominates all areas of the economy, it has been shaped according to the needs of imperialist monopolies. The industrial sector has developed primarily as an assembly industry based on foreign patents. The state-led industrial investments of the early years of the Republic were gradually privatized starting in the 1990s, and particularly under the AKP government in the 2000s, these investments were handed over to imperialist and comprador monopolies.

Turkey has become a production hub for imperialist capital, particularly in textiles, automotive, electronics, and white goods, where investors benefit from cheap labour and other incentives. For example, Turkey does not have its own domestic automobile brand, yet it ranks 17th among automobile-producing countries. Brands such as Beko, Vestel, and Arçelik operate under imperialist patents and are among Europe's largest producers of white goods and consumer electronics.

Other key sectors of the economy include banking, construction, shipbuilding, home appliances, electronics, textiles, oil refining, petrochemicals, food, mining, iron and steel, and machinery manufacturing.

According to 2013 data, Turkey's GDP distribution by sector was as follows: agriculture 8.9%, industry 27.3%, and services 63.8%.

Tourism also plays an important role in the Turkish economy. Turkey ranks as the 6th most visited country in the world and the 4th in Europe.

Turkey consistently runs a trade deficit. In 2020, exports amounted to $166.5 billion, while imports reached $219.4 billion, resulting in a current account deficit of $69.1 billion.

Turkey, once a self-sufficient agricultural country that exported its surplus, has been largely dismantled due to imperialist agricultural policies. Today, even the most basic food products—including wheat, chickpeas, vegetable oils, and animal feed—are imported.

For example, according to TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute) data, in 2002, agriculture accounted for 10.27% of GDP, but by 2018, this figure had dropped to 5.76%. Employment in agriculture also declined from 7.458 million in 2002 to 4.795 million in 2018.

In 2017, $5 billion of Turkey's total $234 billion in imports consisted of agricultural products. That same year, Turkey imported 5 million tons of grain.

Similarly, Turkey, once self-sufficient in livestock production and an exporter of animal products, has seen its livestock sector largely dismantled over the past 20 years, becoming a major importer.

While imperialist monopolies continue to exploit Turkey through comprador monopolies, their direct investments have also increased due to incentives, tax reductions, and the advantage of cheap labour. Between 2002 and 2019, imperialist monopolies made a total of $212 billion in direct investments in Turkey. The top investing countries were:

Netherlands (15.7%), United States (7.7%), Gulf countries (6.8%), United Kingdom (6.6%), Luxembourg (6.2%), Spain (6.1%), Germany (5.4%)

As of 2020, Turkey is one of the world's top 20 economies. However, due to severe income inequality, poverty and hunger remain widespread. Officially, the unemployment rate is 16%. The wealthiest 20% earn 7.7 times more than the poorest 20%, and the richest 5% earn 60 times more than the poorest 5%.

Turkey's History

The name Turkey comes from the Turkish ethnic identity. The name Turkey was first used for today's Turkish territories in the 12th century by Italians as *Turchia* or *Turcmenia*. The Ottoman Empire was also referred to as *Turkey* or the *Turkish Empire* by contemporary states.

The Anatolian Peninsula, which is within the present-day borders of Turkey, is one of the world's oldest settlement regions. Various ancient Anatolian peoples existed in the region from the beginning of the Neolithic Age until the conquests of Alexander the Great. Most of these peoples spoke Anatolian languages, which are considered a branch of the Indo-European language family. Some scholars argue that Indo-European languages spread from the ancient Anatolian languages, particularly Hittite and Luwian. (3)

The European part of Turkey, known as Eastern Thrace, has a settlement history dating back 40, 000 years. The inhabitants of this region transitioned to the Neolithic Age around 6000 BCE by adopting agriculture.

Göbekli Tepe (4), dating back to around 10, 000 BCE, is the site of the oldest known religious structure on Turkish soil. Central Anatolia's Çatalhöyük, believed to have existed between 7500 BCE and 5700 BCE, was a vast settlement from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic period.

The first known inhabitants of Anatolia were the Hatti (5) and Hurrians (6). These two non-Indo-European groups lived in Central and Eastern Anatolia around 2300 BCE. They were later replaced by the Indo-European Hittites, who migrated to Anatolia between 2000 and 1700 BCE. The Hittites (7) established the region's first major kingdom in the 13th century BCE. Meanwhile, the Assyrians (8) ruled and settled in southeastern Turkey from 1950 BCE to 612 BCE.

Between 1180 BCE and the 7th century BCE, the Indo-European Phrygians established the Kingdom of Phrygia. By 590 BCE, the Phrygians (9), Urartians (10), Lydians (11), Carians (12), and Lycians (13) held power in the region.

Greek settlements, particularly Aeolian (14), Ionian, and Dorian, expanded along the coasts of Anatolia around 1200 BCE. In the 6th century BCE, an Armenian state was founded by the Orontid dynasty in what is now eastern Turkey.

Anatolia fell under the control of the Achaemenid Persian Empire in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE until Alexander the Great's conquests in 334 BCE. After Alexander's death, Anatolia fragmented into smaller Hellenistic kingdoms. By the mid-1st century BCE, all these kingdoms became part of the Roman Republic. The Hellenization of Anatolia, which began with Alexander, accelerated during the Roman

period, leading to the decline of ancient Anatolian languages and cultures in favour of Greek language and customs.

When the Roman Empire split into Eastern and Western parts in 395 CE, Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) became the capital of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire. The city later served as the capital of both the Byzantine and Ottoman empires.

The Oghuz Turks, specifically the Kınık tribe of the Seljuk dynasty, settled in regions close to the Islamic world after converting to Islam. In the 9th century, they migrated to areas north of the Caspian and Aral Seas. By the 10th century, the Seljuks expanded into Persian territories and moved westward from their ancestral lands in Central Asia, eventually founding the Great Seljuk Empire.

The Seljuks began settling and raiding eastern Anatolia in the 11th century. The Battle of Manzikert in 1071 marked the start of Turkish dominance in Anatolia, leading to the gradual replacement of Greek and Christian culture with Turkish and Islamic influences.

After the Seljuk defeat at the hands of the Mongols in 1243, Anatolia came under Mongol rule. Following the collapse of the Seljuks, several Turkish principalities emerged, including the one founded by Osman Gazi in Söğüt. Over the next two centuries, this principality expanded into Anatolia, the Balkans, North Africa, and the Levant, becoming the Ottoman Empire—one of the world's greatest empires.

Following its defeat at the Siege of Vienna (1683-1699), the Ottoman Empire entered a period of stagnation and decline. European discoveries of new trade routes, the rise of colonialism, and advancements in capitalism further weakened the empire.

With the emergence of nation-states, ethnic groups under Ottoman rule sought independence. Greece became independent in 1823, and the empire lost all of its Balkan territories after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913). During Partition War I, the Ottomans joined the Central Powers and subsequently lost all of their Middle Eastern and North African territories.

On 30 October 1918, following its defeat in Partition War I, the Ottoman Empire agreed to surrender its armies, and Anatolia was occupied by British, French, and Italian imperialists, with the Greeks fighting mainly on behalf of the British.

On 19 May 1919, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, Turks, Kurds, and other peoples of Anatolia united to resist imperialist occupation. A new parliament was established in Ankara on 23 April 1920, and after achieving victory on 30 August 1922, the Treaty of Lausanne (signed on 24 July 1923) defined the modern borders of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey was officially declared on 29 October 1923. The caliphate was abolished on 3 March 1924, and the Ottoman dynasty was exiled.

Until the 1950s, Turkey followed a state-controlled economic model, avoiding deep dependencies on imperialist powers. However, after Partition War II, it began forming economic and military ties with the United States through bilateral agreements starting in 1946.

In 1950, the Democratic Party, led by Adnan Menderes, came to power, forming an alliance of comprador bourgeoisie, landlords, and moneylenders, aligning Turkey more closely with imperialist interests. This oligarchic alliance rapidly turned Turkey into a U.S. neo-colony.

Turkey joined numerous economic, military, and political organisations such as the World Bank, IMF, NATO, OECD, OSCE, and the EEC. Around 35 million square metres of Turkish land were filled with NATO and U.S. military bases and facilities. Turkey's military became NATO's second-largest army after the U.S.

For the U.S., Turkey has always been a key collaborator. From the 1950s until the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, Turkey served as an outpost against the USSR. After the Soviet Union's dissolution, the U.S. used Turkey to expand its influence in newly independent states.

During BMENA Initiative, Turkey and the ruling AKP government were Washington's top collaborator until 2013. Turkey was promoted as a "role-model" country in BMENA. During his tenure as Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was named the initiative's "Co-Chairman."

However, the Syrian conflict, Bashar al-Assad's resistance, and rising tensions—especially over the Kurdish issue—led to a divergence between U.S. regional policies and Turkey's interests.

Since we previously discussed Turkey's role in BMENA, we will not revisit that here. However, one key point remains:

The AKP government was established, supported, and maintained in power through U.S. strategic objectives. By 2013, however, the AKP had politically outlived its usefulness. Despite this, the AKP restructured the state apparatus—including the military, judiciary, police, education, and healthcare sectors—allowing it to remain in power for an extended period, even against the interests of imperialist powers.

The AKP is no longer the U.S.'s preferred "model" government. However, this does not mean Turkey has lost its strategic importance to the U.S. What has changed is the AKP itself—it is no longer as useful as before.

The U.S.'s waning support for the AKP allows Erdoğan to pose as "anti-imperialist" in his rhetoric. However, this is mere demagoguery. **The AKP's only real goal is to remain the primary collaborator with imperialist powers.**

Footnotes:

1. Tengrism: Also known as the belief in Göktengri or Sky God, Tengrism was the widespread belief system of Turkic and Mongolic peoples before they adopted their current religions. In addition to worshiping Tengri, animism and totemism were fundamental aspects of this faith. "Tengri" is the archaic pronunciation of the modern Turkish word "Tanrı"(God).
2. Yazidis (Ezidis): The term refers to an ethno-religious community that predominantly speaks Kurdish. Their religious beliefs, known as Yazidism or Ezidism, trace their roots to Zoroastrianism and ancient Mesopotamian religions. Historically, Yazidis have primarily lived in the Nineveh region of Iraq, which was once part of the Assyrian civilization.
3. Luwian Language: The language spoken by the Luwians, considered one of Anatolia's indigenous peoples, is among the oldest Anatolian languages. Luwian was also used in the hieroglyphic scripts of the Hittites.
4. Göbekli Tepe: Located 18 km northeast of the city centre of Şanlıurfa, near the village of Örencik, Göbekli Tepe is the world's oldest known complex of religious structures. The site features circular arrangements of 10–12 T-shaped megaliths connected by stone walls, with two taller central pillars placed opposite each other. The pillars are adorned with carvings of human figures, arms, hands, various animals, and abstract symbols, suggesting a narrative or message. The most commonly depicted animals include bulls, wild boars, foxes, snakes, wild ducks, and vultures. Göbekli Tepe is not a settlement but rather a cultic centre. The structures were built by hunter-gatherer groups transitioning to agriculture and animal domestication. The site's earliest use dates back to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A period (9600–7300 BCE), making it at least 11, 600 years old.
5. Hattians: A civilization that lived in Anatolia between 2500–2000/1700 BCE. The Anatolian Peninsula's oldest known name was "Hatti Land."
6. Hurrians (Hurrian Kingdom): A civilization mentioned in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian sources from the 3rd millennium BCE. The Hurrians ruled Mesopotamia and Upper Tigris regions and spoke a language considered to be of Asian origin. Their state lasted until the 7th century BCE.
7. Hittites (Etiler): A people who established a state in Anatolia during the Bronze Age. Around 1600 BCE, they conquered the Hattian principalities of Central Anatolia and founded a kingdom centred in Hattusa. By the mid-14th century BCE, under King Suppiluliuma I, they expanded into the Levant and Upper Mesopotamia, becoming a superpower. The Hittites spoke Hittite and Luwian, the earliest known Indo-European languages, and also used Sumerian and Akkadian in their written records. Their writing systems included cuneiform and hieroglyphs.
8. Assyrian Empire: An ancient Mesopotamian empire composed of Semitic peoples, existing from 2025 to 612 BCE.

9. Phrygians: A people who lived in Central Anatolia during antiquity. After the collapse of the Hittite Empire around 1200 BCE, they likely migrated from Southeastern Europe to the region.
10. Urartians: A kingdom centred around the capital city of Tushpa. At its peak, the Urartian Kingdom controlled modern Eastern Anatolia, Northwestern Iran, parts of Iraq, and the Aras Valley in the north.
11. Lydia: A historical region that served as the centre of the Lydian civilization, which ruled parts of Anatolia from the end of the Bronze Age until the 6th century BCE. The region mainly encompassed the Gediz and Küçük Menderes river valleys, corresponding roughly to modern-day Manisa and Uşak provinces.
12. Caria (Karia): The ancient name for a region in southwestern Anatolia, corresponding to modern-day northern Muğla and its inland areas. Caria predates Greek colonisation along the Aegean coast, and historians increasingly agree that the Carians were an indigenous Anatolian people who developed their own civilization.
13. Lycia (Lykia or Lisiya): An ancient region covering the Teke Peninsula in Anatolia. Lycia was also the name of a federation of city-states and later a province of the Roman Empire. The name "Lycia" means "Land of Light". The Lycians, thought to be related to Indo-European Luwians, formed one of history's first democratic federations, uniting city-states under a common culture. Over time, Lycia was Hellenized and fell under the rule of various empires, including the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans.
14. Aeolians (Aiolians): One of the four main Greek tribes (alongside the Achaeans, Dorians, and Ionians). Archaeological findings suggest their history dates back to around 1100 BCE. They settled in Thessaly, Boeotia, and the northern Aegean coast of Anatolia, particularly around the Gulf of Çandarlı, which became known as Aeolis.
15. Ionian Civilization: A civilization founded by Greek settlers in western Anatolia around 1200 BCE. The Ionians established city-states along the Aegean coast, roughly between the Gediz and Küçük Menderes rivers, calling the region Ionia. They lived in independent city-states.

Notes Written in History

Tayyip Erdoğan is a Servant

The New York Times magazine featured Prime Minister Erdoğan on its cover with the headline "Erdoğan's Way."

The article describes Erdoğan's "success story." However, it is clear that this success is not for our people but rather for the imperialists. For our people, the truth stands stark naked in Van, despite all the censorship, lies, and distortions.

Forty days have passed since the earthquake. More than 350,000 people from Van were displaced. Those who remained are either freezing to death in makeshift plastic tents in -20°C weather, burning to death, or dying of hunger. Last week, in Van:

- *Three children burned to death.*
- *One child froze to death.*
- *One child starved to death.*

A total of 223 million TL in cash aid has been collected for Van. However, only 17 million TL was sent to the region for the needs of the people. The death report for 6.5-year-old Öznur Örgün stated the cause as "cold and malnutrition."

Yes, this is the "success story" of Erdoğan, who made the cover of the New York Times.

Meanwhile, the American magazine New York Times praises Erdoğan, calling him the "most charismatic leader" in the Middle East and stating that he has turned his country into "a global power

hub". They write that after Erdoğan's visits to Egypt and Tunisia, U.S. President Obama described Erdoğan's leadership as "magnificent."

And it's not just the New York Times—all imperialist media outlets constantly publish praise-filled reports about Erdoğan, the AKP, and Turkey.

Why is Erdoğan Being Praised?

We have also made Erdoğan our cover story this week. We summed up all his attributes with a single word: SERVANT.

Erdoğan is the most loyal servant America has ever had. That is why he receives such praise.

The real purpose behind this praise is to push Turkey to intervene more in Arab affairs, especially in Syria. The imperialists blatantly flatter the AKP, calling it "a lion, a tiger." And the AKP, with its servant mentality, swells with pride—without even looking at its own miserable state.

Leaning on America's back, it meddles in Libya, Syria, Iran, the entire Middle East, and Africa. It speaks about democracy, human rights, and freedoms—all while obediently following America's orders.

Even U.S. Secretary of State Clinton openly stated:

"What the Arab League and Turkey say about Syria has a greater impact than what we say."

Turkey as a Tool of Imperialism

Immediately after this, the AKP government implemented sanctions against Syria:

- *Travel bans on individuals associated with the Syrian government*
- *Freezing of their assets in Turkey*
- *Suspension of loans and technical assistance to Syria*
- *Withdrawal of the Turkish ambassador*
- *Banning the sale or transfer of arms, ammunition, military vehicles, or spare parts to Syria*

The U.S. has learned from Iraq and Afghanistan that direct occupation with its own troops is not the best strategy. Instead, it now uses regional collaborators—and openly admits it.

Obama's intelligence advisor, Chuck Hagel, stated:

*"**We have learned a painful lesson that we cannot impose our values by invading other countries. Iraq and Afghanistan have shown us the painful consequences. There are now other policies besides occupation**."*

*Hagel's message is clear: "**We will use PROXIES**."*

Who will they use?

1. *Collaborators within the countries they aim to control.*
2. *Collaborating states in the region.*

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton explained this plainly:

"There will be no military intervention in Syria under a U.N. resolution, led by the U.S. or NATO, like in Libya. The situation in Syria is different. This process should be led by the Arab League and Turkey."

*America openly declares that it is using Turkey and the Arab League as tools to overthrow the Assad government. For now, they call this the **"pressure phase."***

Economic and political pressure is being increased on Syria to stir public anger against Assad and strengthen collaborators who oppose him.

Who is in charge of organising Syrian collaborators? The AKP government. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu personally oversees this operation, holding meeting after meeting with Syrian dissidents in Ankara.

The so-called "Free Syrian Army, "made up of traitors who deserted the Syrian military, is protected by the AKP government. From Turkey, they receive orders to carry out provocative attacks in Syria.

Just like in Libya, the imperialists are arming Syrian collaborators to ignite a civil war and topple the Assad government.

But as Clinton herself admitted, this will not remain a mere pressure phase forever. They know that pressure alone won't be enough to bring down Syria. At some point, it will escalate into military attacks.

This is the true reason why the imperialists keep inflating Erdoğan. They call Turkey a "model country", a "regional power", and a "regional leader". And the AKP eagerly accepts this role.

Now, the AKP is trying to persuade the Turkish public to support a military intervention in Syria.

To achieve this, they are exploiting incidents such as:

- *The burning of Turkish flags in front of embassies in Syria*
- *The attack on a bus carrying pilgrims returning from Hajj*
- *The presence of the PKK*
- *The fact that Assad belongs to the Alevi sect*

The AKP government is attempting to provoke hostility among the Turkish people against the Syrian people.

People of Turkey! There is NO REASON for hostility between the people of Turkey and Syria. Any attack on Syria will be carried out EXCLUSIVELY for America's interests. The U.S. is using the collaborator AKP government and Arab states as pawns to recolonise Syria.

Obama's advisor Hagel says, "If this region produces energy for the world and the flow of oil stops, what will happen to the world economy? "Hagel claims that America wants to bring order to the Middle East for the world's energy needs. No, this is a lie.

First, energy is not being produced for the whole world. On the contrary, the whole world is working to meet America's energy needs. Because 40% of all the oil produced in the world is consumed by the 310 million people in America. The remaining 60% is consumed by 6.69 billion people. In other words, America is seizing energy that billions of people need. If the "flow of oil stops, "nothing will happen to the world economy. If anything happens, it will be to the American economy.

Hagel says, "Erdoğan has taken a very strong stance. Militarily, Syria cannot compete with Turkey". He is saying, "Enter Syria, occupy it."

The AKP is preparing for an attack on Syria. Last week, Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu held a closed-door "Syria briefing" for representatives of the bourgeois media. While Foreign Ministry officials stated that "a military intervention in Syria is not on the agenda, "they also said, "However, if there is a refugee influx, the creation of a buffer zone is on the agenda". The purpose of the briefing was to prepare the media to condition the public for a possible attack on Syria. When we look at the bourgeois media, we see this clearly.

But the AKP government is not stopping there. It wants no opposing voices. It wants its servitude policies to be openly propagated.

After the Foreign Ministry's briefing, Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç held a second meeting with the owners and executives of the bourgeois media under the name of "sensitivity to terrorism". In this meeting, he briefed them on how terrorist-related news should be handled with more care and how it should be presented in the media. This meeting was also held behind closed doors! The consequences of these briefings are seen by our people every day.

*The AKP is openly warmongering against the Assad government. Prime Minister Erdoğan threatens Assad, saying, "**Haven't you learned any lessons from Hitler, Mussolini, or Ceaușescu? Your day will come too, Assad! Step down from that seat already! "***

President Abdullah Gül says, "We are prepared for the worst-case scenario in Syria". The "worst-case scenario" that Gül refers to is an attack on Syria. The bourgeois media blatantly turns this act of American servitude into a heroic narrative and reports it as headline news. We are witnessing how collaboration and servitude have escalated and what kind of policies are being pursued at the expense of our people's blood and lives for American interests.

The AKP, America's servant, is not content with allowing our lands to be used as an imperialist war headquarters. It is organising, arming, and training collaborators in Syria to create a civil war in our brotherly Syria. But it doesn't stop there. It is preparing for an attack on Syria to overthrow the Assad government and install an American-collaborating administration like itself.

Our people: Do not allow our lands to be used as an imperialist war base. Do not be complicit in the shedding of the blood of our brotherly Syrian people.

(Yürüyüş Magazine, Issue 296, 27 November 2011, Pages 4-5)

AKP's Pro-American Islam

Are we debating whether the headscarf ban should be lifted for weeks?

No. Even though it may seem that way, the reality is different; the ongoing discussion extends beyond the issue of the headscarf and the boundaries of universities...

So, what is being debated?

To answer this question correctly, we need to recognise the role of the AKP in our country and the Middle East.

The AKP is part of the political, social, cultural, and military attack programme that American imperialism has developed against the predominantly Muslim populations of the Middle East. The AKP secured its rise to power by assuring the United States of its alignment with these interests even before taking office. During its five years in power, it has remained committed to this pledge. The rejection of the parliamentary motion for the Iraq War did not indicate a shift in the AKP's pro-American policy. In fact, this decision, which undoubtedly displeased American imperialism, was later compensated for by the AKP.

Today, both American and AKP leaders openly declare that the AKP is one of the subcontractors of America's policy of bringing "democracy, human rights, and freedom" to Islamic countries through BMENA. The AKP has tied its future to U.S. policies in the Middle East. In this sense, the framework and content of the AKP's concept of "freedom" are also dictated by BMENA.

Without acknowledging the AKP's collaboration with the imperialist alliance that has slaughtered Muslim populations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine, no accurate assessment of the AKP can be made. Once this is recognised, it becomes evident that the AKP's version of Islam is one that America desires, approves of, and shapes. Given this dependency, it could not be otherwise. The AKP does not concern itself with faith, religion, or Islam in a genuine sense. Regardless of the sentiments within its grassroots support, the AKP is solely focused on maintaining power. It evaluates everything through this lens.

For the AKP, religion is a commodity—something that can be bought and sold. It is a political tool used for power. Whether dismissing discussions about the headscarf ban as untimely and labelling those who raise the issue as provocateurs and radicals or pushing for a constitutional amendment to lift the ban, the AKP's actions reveal its instrumentalisation of religious beliefs. The real issue is not headscarf freedom, but rather whether the headscarf issue serves the AKP's political interests. If maintaining the ban benefits the AKP's power, it will support the ban, as it has done for five years. If lifting the ban is in its interest, then we witness the manoeuvres accompanied by "freedom" theatrics, as we see today.

One interpretation of the AKP's focus on the headscarf issue is that it serves as a "distraction, "a way to divert attention from economic crises, the Kurdish issue, or other problems. Does the AKP want to cover up economic crises or the Kurdish issue? Of course, it does. And does it use religion for these purposes? Absolutely!

However, to view these reactionary steps solely as "agenda manipulation" or a "diversion" is to underestimate the situation. The AKP is actively organising reactionary forces through its control over various state institutions, policies on religious education, the headscarf issue, and its covert and overt support for religious sects and foundations—all within the framework of Pro-American Islamism. Failing to see this will lead to misinterpretations.

***Pro-American Islamism is an ideology in which Islam and Muslim identity are placed at the service of American imperialism, fully supporting U.S. policies in the Middle East**. It is an Islamism that sustains the masses through charity handouts, where religious symbols and beliefs are commodified*

and used as tools. This is nothing more than the model imposed by America in the Middle East. The so-called "Moderate Islam" is simply Islam adapted to fit capitalism and imperialism! The U.S. desires it, and the AKP implements it.

Whether viewed politically or religiously, being a "model" approved by imperialism in the Middle East means being part of the Broader Middle East and North Africa Project. When U.S. President Bush and European imperialists refer to Turkey as a "Muslim country" or a "Muslim democratic country, "this is no coincidence. This is the Islamism that America wants.

During its five-year tenure, the AKP has largely conformed to the existing system while simultaneously attempting to reshape it to suit its own agenda. Of course, the AKP has not done this alone. A party that has existed under the protection of the oligarchy and risen to power with the support of imperialism cannot be expected to independently formulate and implement policies. The AKP's effort to reshape the system is, in essence, its attempt to organise Pro-American Islamism, naturally backed by the U.S. With this support, the AKP seeks to transform governance into a form of "religious authority" as a continuation of the "moderate Islam model. "Prime Minister Erdoğan's occasional remarks about consulting the religious scholars (ulema) or issuing religious decrees himself are not mere slip-ups or casual statements—they reflect a deliberate policy. Whether this approach will become a permanent and defining aspect of AKP policy depends on future developments.

The tactic of infiltrating and gradually seizing control has long been a traditional Islamist strategy. This trajectory extends from historical figures to Fethullah Gülen and Tayyip Erdoğan. For the AKP, the delicate balance lies in carrying out this strategy without losing the support of American and European imperialism while simultaneously maintaining the backing of its Islamist base. The AKP's oscillation between shedding its "National Vision" roots and portraying itself as devout with every move is a product of these calculated policies.

The role of religion in the state and politics is shaped accordingly; the AKP uses religion as both a commodity and a political tool while ensuring that its Islamist, Muslim base remains loyal.

This balancing act results in an Islamism that neither alienates imperialism nor loses its own grassroots support—this is Pro-American Islamism. It is certain that the AKP will not approach any issue with a genuine perspective on rights and freedoms. Whether it is the headscarf issue, the isolation in F-type prisons, the Kurdish issue, or Article 301, the AKP's stance and practices remain the same.

A party with this mentality, devoid of a social vision beyond Pro-American Islamism, cannot truly advocate for freedom of belief. Erdoğan engages in demagogic rhetoric on these issues, expecting applause and praise, yet fails to take any concrete action—still, he demands that his words alone suffice. The AKP is a party whose concept of "freedom" is limited to what Pro-American Islam allows.

Revolutionaries oppose all injustices faced by the people and support all legitimate demands. Our position on freedom of belief and our view that wearing a headscarf is part of religious freedom have not changed.

We continue to support the rights of headscarf-wearing students. However, the current polarisation has moved beyond that point. Whether a few thousand university students wear or remove their headscarves neither brings democracy nor kills it. Today's debate is about more than just the headscarf issue.

At this point, let us state once again: only a revolutionary, democratic government can ensure freedom of belief—not a pro-American government. Some people interpret freedom of belief as "everyone doing whatever they want"—but no, there is no such concept of freedom. Freedom has objective, historical, and human-interest-based boundaries. Reactionary movements, fascism, religious fundamentalism, and imperialist collaborators cannot be considered within the realm of freedom.

In this context, a constitutional amendment that serves AKP-led reactionary politics and Pro-American Islamism is not something we can support or endorse. Since a policy that serves Pro-American Islamism cannot expand freedoms, supporting the AKP-MHP alliance in this debate is neither democratic nor a defence of freedom of belief!

(Published in Yürüyüş Magazine, Issue 138, 10 February 2008, pages 4-5)

The Filth of the Exploitation System Is Revealed in the AKP-Fethullah Movement Conflict!

Revolution Will Clean the Filth!

We Will Overthrow Your Exploitation System!

We are witnessing the filth exposed in the AKP-Cemaat conflict. "Religious brotherhood", "tolerance", "reconciliation", "service to God, service to the people", and their "benevolent" prayers for each other... All gone. A fierce struggle is ongoing between the AKP and the Fethullah Movement.

What has changed? How is today different from yesterday?

Last week, Prime Minister Erdoğan said in a speech in Ünye: "There are gangs within the state. They acted as subcontractors. We are disrupting the game of local forces collaborating with global powers. Some are disturbed that Ünye has not received news of martyrs for the past year. Wherever they are, we are starting to uncover them. We will expose and eliminate the gangs that are betraying our country, one by one. There are organisations that have infiltrated the state and created a parallel structure; we will go after them to their dens."

Erdoğan was referring to the Fethullah Movement, with whom he had exchanged "prayers of goodwill" for 11 years. For 11 years, the AKP and the Fethullah Movement were inseparable. They exploited the people together, waged war against them together, and enacted anti-people laws together. They were united in the intra-oligarchic struggles under the names of "Ergenekon" and "Balyoz"...

Sex tapes, CDs, surveillance of bedrooms, fake documents... They orchestrated every kind of conspiracy and intrigue together. They carried out operations against revolutionaries together. They implemented policies of degeneration such as drugs and prostitution in poor neighbourhoods together...

At that time, the Fethullah Movement were not considered a state within a state. They acted as a single entity against the people, implementing their anti-people policies. For 11 years, Fethullahist and AKP cadres did everything together...

Now, the AKP claims "there is a state within a state". They say, "We will not allow a parallel state". The Fethullah Movement reached the peak of their economic and political power under the AKP. They infiltrated all state institutions and even took control of them. This is a fact. However, the Fethullah Movement did not just infiltrate state institutions during the AKP era. After the 1980 coup, to suppress the revolutionary struggle, not only the Fethullah Movement but all religious orders were actively supported by the state.

The AKP-Fethullahist alliance was never a "union of hearts" or "religious brotherhood, "as claimed. It was an alliance based on exploitation and mutual interests disguised under the cover of religion.

People are surprised by the aggression between the AKP and the Fethullah Movement, who once preached "tolerance" and "reconciliation."

Do not be surprised! Religion, faith, tolerance, and reconciliation were mere masks for their exploitation and looting. When that mask is lifted, the crude reality emerges. The curses, insults, and maledictions hidden behind religious rhetoric are their true faces. There is no filth they would not resort to for their interests. The same weapons they used against the people are now being used in their internal conflicts. Expecting otherwise ignores their class nature.

So, we ask again: why have they turned against each other after 11 years of joint exploitation?

Both Are Islamists, Both Are American Puppets

For years, Islamists motivated their followers by portraying the "West" as "Satan" and sought votes from the people. In reality, they never opposed imperialist exploitation by the West. On the contrary, they were used as tools against revolutionaries by imperialists.

The Fethullah Movement openly declared in the early 1990s that "one cannot gain power anywhere in the world by opposing American interests", making their allegiance clear. Consequently, in the 1990s, Fethullahist schools were established from the Balkans to the Caucasus with the direct support of the U.S. and the state. Later, these schools were shut down in various countries, from Russia to the Turkic republics, for carrying out espionage activities on behalf of the U.S.

The true strength of the Fethullah Movement lies in their alignment with American interests and the backing of the U.S.

Meanwhile, the AKP itself is a direct American project. When its founders broke away from the Fazilet Party to form the AKP, they stated, "We have removed the National View (Milli Görüş) shirt, "acknowledging that they could not gain power by calling the West "Satan". Even before forming the party, Erdoğan went to the U.S. to secure approval.

The AKP was created and brought to power as a model for forming cooperative, non-confrontational, pro-imperialist governments that would counter the influence of radical Islamist groups in the Middle East.

In this period, not only in Turkey but also in Lebanon, Jordan, Morocco, and later in Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt, parties similar to the AKP were established as part of the "Arab Spring."

By 2004, what was previously referred to as the secular Turkish Republic began to be labelled as "Moderate Islam" by the U.S. Despite opposition from Kemalist circles, Turkey was presented as a model for "Moderate Islam" in the Middle East. Erdoğan was made co-chair of the U.S.'s BMENA.

The AKP-Fethullahist alliance, which had taken control of all state institutions by the 2010 constitutional referendum, used these institutions to suppress any opposition. They even imprisoned İlker Başbuğ, the Chief of General Staff during their own tenure, sentencing him to life in prison as a "terrorist leader."

Having eliminated all rivals, the contradictions within the AKP-Fethullahist alliance began to surface. Their conflict was a struggle for power. In an Islamist regime, whoever holds more power claims the lion's share. The AKP-Fethullahist conflict is ultimately a power struggle.

The Use of AKP as a "Middle Eastern Leader" Tool

In 2010, the uprising that began in Tunisia and continued through Egypt and Libya, affecting the entire Middle East, was an expression of the people's hunger, poverty, and rebellion against collaborationist and petty-bourgeois dictatorships. Labelled as the "Arab Spring", this movement created a suitable ground for implementing the "moderate Islam" model as an alternative in collaboration with imperialist forces.

In Tunisia and Egypt, Sunni-based, pro-imperialist parties similar to the AKP were established and brought to power. In Libya, Gaddafi's government was forcibly overthrown, and a pro-Western administration was installed.

During this period, the AKP government enjoyed its highest prestige in the Middle East. Imperialists remained in the background while implementing their policies through the AKP, which they presented as a MODEL. Prime Minister Erdoğan was glorified as the "saviour" and "leader" of the Middle East. The well-known imperialist TIME magazine even featured him on its cover as the "leader of the year."

Even the so-called "communist" parties in the Middle East hailed Erdoğan as a "symbol of democracy", refusing to criticise him. Erdoğan had become a hero to the people of the Middle East...

After Gaddafi's fall in Libya, it was Syria's turn to receive "democracy". The AKP government was fully used as a tool to overthrow the Assad regime in Syria. Turkish territory was turned into a headquarters for Syrian opposition forces. The imperialists predicted that Assad's rule would last only six months, but he resisted for three years. Over this period, it became evident that the imperialists and their collaborators had nothing to do with democracy or freedom.

The Failure of "Moderate Islam" and the Beginning of the End for the AKP

The "Arab Spring" did not solve the issues of hunger and poverty. In Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, the pro-Western Islamist governments that came to power regressed even further in terms of rights and freedoms. Existing rights were also stripped away. Hunger, poverty, unemployment, and corruption only grew worse.

In Egypt, 30 million people protested for days against the Muslim Brotherhood government. The U.S. plan to implement its "Moderate Islam" policy as part of BMENA had collapsed. The Muslim Brotherhood regime in Egypt was overthrown in a military coup by forces exploiting the people's demands.

Thus, the U.S. "Moderate Islam" policy, which had already been ideologically discredited, was physically dismantled as well.

However, the real cause of the collapse of the "Moderate Islam" policy was not the coup in Egypt. It was the resistance of the Syrian people that ultimately led to its downfall.

The Syrian resistance disrupted all the plans of the imperialists and their collaborators. It also exposed the true face of the AKP to the people of the Middle East.

In 2010, the AKP and Prime Minister Erdoğan were presented as a model for the region. However, today, the same AKP and Erdoğan have become unwanted figures among the people of the Middle East.

Erdoğan Sees His Own End in Egypt

The resistance of the Assad government in Syria and the collapse of the "Moderate Islam" policy forced the imperialists to change their Middle East strategy. They facilitated the military coup that ousted the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and were forced to accept a resolution in Syria that included Assad.

Despite their constant rhetoric about democracy and freedom, the imperialists openly supported the military coup in Egypt. It was at this moment that Erdoğan realised how fragile his own political survival was.

Erdoğan, clinging to anti-coup rhetoric, expressed his support for Morsi. However, Erdoğan has no genuine interest in opposing coups or advocating for democracy. His support for Morsi stems from the fact that he sees his own downfall reflected in Morsi's fate. This is because the policies that are being dismantled in the Middle East today—those of "Moderate Islam"—include the AKP.

Once promoted as a model, the AKP is now in conflict with the evolving imperialist policies in the Middle East.

Has the AKP Been Discarded by the Imperialists?

As an Islamist party, the AKP has completed its mission in the eyes of the imperialists. This is why Erdoğan, faced with both the June Uprising and his ongoing conflict with the Gülenists, repeatedly blames "foreign powers".

For 11 years, the AKP enjoyed unwavering support from the imperialists, especially the United States. The reason the AKP has remained in power for three consecutive terms is the backing of these external forces.

Throughout its rule, the AKP deceived the people with slogans like "Turkey is growing" and "a model country". But in reality, it only deepened hunger, poverty, and unemployment. The only things that grew were corporate monopolies.

Now that lies are no longer enough to deceive the people, the AKP sees all opposition as enemies and has openly declared war on every segment of society that does not support its rule. It has nothing left to offer but fascist terror.

The AKP's third term, secured with 50% of the vote, marked the deepening of the ruling class's governance crisis. Despite the growing poverty and unemployment, the ruling oligarchy has no viable alternative to replace the AKP at this moment.

The only real alternative to the AKP is the people!

The AKP has intensified its attacks on the people in its third term. It has attempted to bring football clubs and fan groups under its control through arrests and detentions. Workers' and civil servants' rights have been systematically stripped through emergency decrees and omnibus laws. The country has been turned into a field of plunder.

The only way to implement such anti-people policies is through repression and terror. Every day, dawn raids target different sections of the people.

The fascist terror of the AKP has united all opposition forces against it. The people's anger against the AKP is growing daily. The Independent Turkey Concerts, 2012 1 May gathering was the most concrete expression of the people's growing anger.

The AKP had no policy other than applying more terror against the people.

The AKP's ban on Taksim Square for 1 May 2013, was a necessity for the government. Because the AKP's crisis of ungovernability does not allow it to implement any other policies. It simply cannot... It knows very well that the moment it loses control, its end will come.

That is why 1 May was banned. However, despite the ban and the state's extensive terror, hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets and clashed with the police.

With 1 May, the AKP's fear grew even larger. The AKP went beyond banning 1 May gatherings and prohibited other demonstrations as well. These bans, and the people's insistence on taking to the streets, further fuelled public anger and led to the June Uprising.

The June Uprising Showed the AKP Its End for the First Time!

Throughout its 11-year rule, the AKP had full external support from imperialists and faced no serious opposition internally, except from revolutionaries. It passed whatever laws it wanted through parliament, relying on its majority.

The June Uprising was the first serious barrier to AKP policies. The government completely lost its balance. Because despite days of police terror, millions of people took to the streets all over Anatolia. The AKP's police terror collapsed in the face of resistance and had to take a step back.

From imperialists to the collaborationist bourgeoisie, everyone had to start taking the reality of the people's movement revealed by the June Uprising into account.

All segments of society, silenced by the AKP's fascist terror, gained courage from the June Uprising. The uprising showed that resistance against the AKP was possible, and that the AKP could be defeated. It demonstrated the power of the people. The uprising marked the beginning of the collapse of the AKP government.

For the first time, the AKP did not see the clear support of imperialists behind it. Because imperialists, too, had to take the June Uprising into account for their own interests. This is the real reason behind the AKP's "foreign powers" propaganda.

In reality, the June Uprising showed the imperialists that their interests were not secure under the AKP. The AKP, which fuelled public anger, was now endangering not only the oligarchy but also the imperialists.

The Real Threat for the U.S. and the Oligarchy is the People!

Despite the AKP's crisis of ungovernability, there is no alternative party within the system that can take power. Because the AKP eliminated all opposition within the system and seized control of all state institutions. The state has become a coalition of the AKP and the Fethullah Movement.

The terror the AKP applies to maintain its power only increases public anger. And this anger is growing outside the system. That is what the oligarchy and imperialists fear the most. Because the June Uprising showed that Turkey is neither Tunisia nor Egypt. Turkey is a country where the hope of revolution is alive and strong.

The AKP's struggle to maintain its power fuels public anger and threatens both the oligarchy's and the imperialists' interests. For this reason, imperialists are trying to create new alternatives outside the AKP.

The U.S.'s meetings with the CHP and the operations launched by the Fethullah Movement against the AKP are part of this effort.

That is why Erdoğan blames "foreign powers" both for the June Uprising and his conflict with the Fethullah Movement. Dependent on the imperialists for his survival, Erdoğan fell into paranoia when he no longer saw their full support behind him.

The Corruption and Bribery Operations Against the AKP Are U.S. Operations!

First, let us state this: As the oligarchy's crisis of ungovernability deepens, internal contradictions will also intensify, leading to more conflict.

Although the contradictions between the AKP and the Fethullah Movement could have been resolved through compromise, their conflict has escalated because of this crisis.

Because in a neo-colonial country, the root of the crisis of ungovernability lies in imperialist exploitation. The determining factors in both economic and political matters are the interests of imperialists and their collaborating monopolies. Imperialists dictate both domestic and foreign policies. The AKP government's interests have clashed with imperialist policies in Iran, Iraq, Egypt, and Syria. The AKP must either submit to imperialist policies or resist them. Either way, this deepens its crisis of ungovernability. The AKP tries to prolong its rule by solidifying its religious base and proving to imperialists that it is still their only option.

However, imperialists want to get rid of the AKP, which no longer serves their interests in domestic and foreign policies. The bribery, corruption, and theft investigations are U.S.-backed operations carried out for this purpose.

The AKP-Fethullahist alliance has collapsed within the framework of imperialist policies. While the U.S. is preparing the CHP as an alternative, it is also trying to discipline and restructure the AKP, now symbolized by Erdoğan, without Erdoğan himself.

Thus, in the person of Erdoğan, the people's anger against the system is being redirected back into the system—just like in Egypt.

The conflict between the AKP and the Fethullah Movement is not in the people's interest.

Our people should not stand with the AKP by saying, "This is an American operation, "nor should they side with the Fethullah Movement thinking, "This is a major blow to AKP fascism". They should also not remain indifferent, saying, "This is an internal conflict of the oligarchy; let them fight each other."

The people are not without alternatives...

The filth of the exploitative system is being exposed in the AKP-Fethullahist conflict. Only a revolution can clean this filth. This conflict has once again revealed the deep swamp this system is in. The AKP is trying to cover up its corruption by blaming "foreign powers". But there are trillions of liras worth of corruption. And those responsible are the ones governing this country. They are the ones making decisions about people's lives.

Look at the state... Prosecutors order the police to detain suspects in a corruption investigation, but the police do not obey the orders. Because the suspects are AKP officials.

The AKP says, "We can commit all the theft and corruption we want, and no one can hold us accountable."

During the June Uprising, six people were murdered, thousands were injured, and Berkin Elvan remains in a coma... Not a single police officer was removed from duty. On the contrary, they were personally declared heroes by Prime Minister Erdoğan.

On the other hand, when bribery investigations were launched against AKP officials, the Istanbul police chief and hundreds of department heads were dismissed. Thousands of officers were reassigned. The AKP is using all state resources to cover up its corruption...

We must not allow this! The money they are trying to cover up belongs to the people. Only the people can judge the thieves, the corrupt, and the murderers.

To deepen the system's crisis and intensify contradictions within the oligarchy, we must expose all the filth of both the AKP and the Fethullah Movement to the public and strengthen the struggle!

(Yürüyüş Magazine, Issue 397, 29 December 2013, pages 7-11)

The 'New Middle East' Will Be Shaped by the Resistance of the People, Not by Imperialists!

The myths about Israel "attacking to rescue its kidnapped soldiers" and "exercising its right to self-defence" have been debunked by their own proponents. U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, standing beside Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, explained the real reason why hundreds of people were being bombed to pieces in Gaza and Lebanon: "The time has come for a new Middle East. It is time to tell those who do not want a new Middle East that we will prevail."

Rejecting ceasefire calls, Rice justified the need to suppress Hezbollah with the usual "innocent Israelis" rhetoric: "We cannot return to the old situation where extremist forces could use their rockets and means to hold innocent lives hostage whenever they wished. Now is not the time for a ceasefire. I do not want to return here three weeks, three months, or six months later when extremists destabilise the peace environment again."

Olmert, emboldened by unprecedented imperialist support, made demagogic statements and speeches aimed at creating an anti-Hezbollah front within Lebanon.

Imperialist Bargains Over the 'New Middle East'

Rice's clear declaration of American imperialism's goals and the fact that Israel's attacks were part of their plans also prompted Russia to act. Previously critical of Israel, Putin openly shifted to supporting Israel, making his own move to ensure Russia was not left out of the U.S.'s "new Middle East" design. Europe had already declared its support for Israel earlier.

European imperialists, abandoning all the bourgeois democratic values they claimed to uphold, manipulated their own public opinions in this direction. The European media overwhelmingly supported Israel. As Europe and Russia aligned with blatant brutality to avoid being excluded from shaping the Middle East, another negotiation ground was the "Peace Conference" held in Rome.

The conference concluded as the U.S. desired. With familiar imperialist peace rhetoric and their "mediator trying to stop the war" facade, the conference did not even issue a symbolic ceasefire call. Rice's pre-conference statement, "Now is not the time for a ceasefire, "had already blocked any such initiatives.

Once again, it was evident that neither the UN nor any other international body could make decisions that the U.S. did not approve of.

'International Force' is a part of the Israel-U.S. Plan. The only decision made at the Rome Conference was to deploy an "international force" along the Lebanese border. Whether this force would be under the UN or NATO was still debated. However, the term "international force" has always been distorted.

The distortion has been so effective that, despite being an imperialist military force, it has been legitimised under the "international" label, even by some leftist groups.

For instance, in European leftist opposition to the Iraq invasion, proposals like "The U.S. should withdraw, and an international force should oversee the new state's formation and security" were emphasised. Forces established under the UN (which is so powerless it could not even condemn Israel for killing its personnel, being entirely aligned with U.S. interests) have been used to legitimise imperialist occupations and lootings.

The pattern is clear: Imperialists bomb and destroy a country, then bring in these forces—joined by collaborator nations—to legitimise their actions and suppress resistance. The same play is now planned for Lebanon, and they will call it "Israel's ceasefire" and "peace."

However, placing an "international force" at the border is entirely part of the Israel-U.S. plan. Before the Rome meeting, Olmert stated his preference for a force composed of European Union countries. But what is crucial is the function of this force. Olmert explained: "Israel requires that this force be composed of EU countries with military capacity and conflict experience. It must be tasked with controlling the crossing points between Syria and Lebanon and must also ensure Hezbollah's military capabilities are eliminated."(July 25, Milliyet)

In short, he wants a force to fight in Israel's place. Since the goal is to weaken Hezbollah, turn Lebanon into a pro-U.S., pro-Israel puppet state, and move one step closer to targeting Syria and Iran, having an "international" force do it will not only prevent backlash but also neutralize potential reactions.

From BMENA to the 'New Middle East'—Turkey's Assigned Role

While the Turkish Prime Minister continued his criticisms of Israel for domestic political messaging, Turkey was preparing to take its place in its traditional role of collaboration.

Despite its self-proclaimed "great state" stance, Turkey was not initially invited to the Rome meeting—it was included only at Rice's instruction. This was not because Rice thought Turkey was a "great state" but because the goal was to include Turkey in the international force.

Before the conference, the AKP government had already signalled its willingness to participate in this force, essentially inviting itself. Once again, the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) were being put on the agenda as "the best export product" of Turkey's oligarchy.

The AKP government will try to mask this collaboration under the guise of an "international force, "but in reality, joining this force is equivalent to enlisting in the Israeli army.

Until now, the AKP tried to justify its alignment with U.S. Middle East policy and BMENA under the rhetoric of "peace and democracy". Now, it will use the "international" mask. The mission remains the same, and the role remains just as sinister.

In return, Turkey is being given the opportunity to bomb PKK positions in Qandil—a nationalist cover for its collaboration. All the meetings, initiatives, and messages framed as "Turkey cannot remain indifferent to the region" are just part of AKP's collaborationist policies.

One of the key figures shaping AKP's foreign policy, Prime Minister Erdoğan's foreign policy advisor Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu, made Turkey's position very clear:

"A Middle East where Turkey remains indifferent would be more dangerous for our ally the U.S., for the EU we aspire to join, and for Israel, with whom we have excellent relations."(Quoted by Taha Akyol, July 21, Milliyet)

This statement alone reveals AKP's real stance—despite all the condemnations and "angry" rhetoric against Israel, it remains aligned with its "allies" and "good relations."

The Other Pillar of the 'New Middle East': Sectarian Conflict

The regional countries invited to the Rome meeting, apart from Lebanon, were Saudi Arabia and Egypt—both of whom had, from the start, blamed Hezbollah rather than Israel for the attacks.

These two countries are among the leading American-backed dictatorships in the Middle East.

Currently, there is also a struggle over who will lead the Arabs. This struggle is being fuelled through sectarian divisions.

On one side, the Sunni bloc: Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and various monarchies.

On the other side, the de facto resistance front: Iran, Syria, Hezbollah. Hamas, while not formally part of this bloc, aligns with it in practice.

The United States and Israel are trying to use this conflict to create the "New Middle East". By instigating conflicts along sectarian lines, they aim to implement imperialist policies.

Currently, the de facto forces are in the resistance camp. However, it should not be forgotten that the people of other Arab countries are also part of the resistance front. If the sectarian conflict game is not disrupted, a division at this point will become inevitable. The possibility of the resistance in Iraq fuelling sectarian strife is a significant danger in this regard.

Sectarian conflicts are one of the most important examples of how Islamist ideology, even when resisting in a conjunctural manner, always has the potential to fall into a position that serves imperialist policies. This contradiction, which has no class basis and does not operate on the criteria of occupier versus occupied or oppressor versus oppressed, is always present in its essence. And throughout history, ruling classes have used it for their own interests. Unless Islamist forces abandon their traditional stance, they will continue to be exploited in this manner.

The "New Middle East" Will Be Created by Resistance

When U.S. imperialism introduced BMENA, it also defined its goal through Rice's words: "The regimes of 22 Arab and North African countries will change. "Whether this happened through threats, invasions, or embargoes did not matter. The claim that BMENA was a project to bring democracy to the region was not just a lie but also a tool used to deceive the people and to help collaborationist regimes like Turkey conceal their service to American plans. However, this tool is no longer available. Even Erdoğan had to admit: "It was not what we thought it was."

The current situation paints a clear picture of the "new Middle East" that is supposedly being brought Western democracy. Afghanistan remains under "international forces" occupation, and all the authoritarian policies once used to destroy the Taliban continue under the collaborationist Karzai government. In other words, democracy has not arrived, but a puppet leader has been installed. That was the real objective. Iraq remains occupied. The "multinational force" ploy failed, and now only the U.S. and Britain remain as the occupying powers. Palestine is under occupation, and Lebanon is under attack.

The so-called "New Middle East" is part of U.S. plans: a Middle East whose resources and markets are seized, integrated into the chains of imperialist capitalism, and whose energy routes are controlled by imperialists. Israel is waging war for this purpose. The U.S. is supporting it for this purpose. European and Russian imperialists are backing the most immoral wars of the century to secure their share of the Middle Eastern plunder. This "New Middle East" is being built with the blood of its people. According to Rice, the military and political conflicts unfolding in the region today are merely "the birth pangs of a new Middle East."

But what has the U.S. actually accomplished in this "new Middle East"? Where is there no resistance? Nowhere! Even in Afghanistan, despite the support of all capitalist countries, they have failed—resistance forces have reached a point where they can hold cities for extended periods. Iraq, Palestine, and Lebanon are well-known battlegrounds. Syria and Iran refuse to surrender. The only one who raised the white flag was the petty bourgeois dictator Gaddafi—if that can even be called a success!

Yes, they will fail. There are indeed "birth pangs, "but they are for a Middle East being created by resistance. And its midwife is neither Israeli bombs nor American invasions—it is the resistance itself. The "global" war waged by imperialists will inevitably turn into a war of people's resistance.

(Published in Yürüyüş Magazine, Issue 63, 30 July 2006, pages 11, 12, 13.)

The Truth About Turkey: The "Model Country" and "Regional Power" Narrative of Neo-Colonialism

Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan was featured on the cover of *The New York Times Magazine*. The article, titled "The Path of Erdoğan, "provided commentary on both Erdoğan and Turkey, revealing the kind of Turkey imperialism desires.

In its 17 November issue, Ye*ni Şafak n*ewspaper summarised TI*ME m*agazine's article with these words: "TI*ME magazine, in its cover story this week, highlighted Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan's*

success story and his status as the 'most charismatic leader' in Middle Eastern countries. 'Turkey's Islamist-rooted leader has successfully turned his democratic, secular, and pro-Western country into a global power centre.'"

"*It was also noted that U.S. President Obama praised Erdoğan for his 'magnificent leadership.' TIME emphasised that under Erdoğan's rule, Turkey has gained international prestige, restrained its once 'all-powerful' military, tripled its per capita income with successful economic policies, opened the way for investors, and maintained a mostly 'Western stance.'*"(C*ihan-London / Yeni Şafak Newspaper)*

Recently, imperialists and their media have showered praise on Erdoğan and his ruling party, the AKP.

Look at these compliments: "the most charismatic leader, ""magnificent leadership, ""the leader who made his country a global power". A leader like this would, of course, have a country that suits him: "model country", "leader country", "rising Turkey", "global power."

But the current state of our country is not what our people aspire to. This is the Turkey that imperialism desires—a country that sees its own people as enemies, collaborates with imperialists, and serves their interests.

One must ask: Why are imperialists so pleased with Turkey and its direction? Isn't it suspicious that imperialists and their spokespeople express satisfaction with this picture? Can the very forces that have held our country back, looted its underground and aboveground wealth, and drained our people's blood truly be happy about Turkey's development? If they say, "Turkey is on the right path, "then we must stop and think.

Because imperialism is the greatest enemy of the people of Turkey.

And of course, behind their rosy picture, there lies a very different reality.

The "model country" is one that serves as a model collaborator. In the Middle East Project drawn up by American imperialism, Turkey has been assigned a role. That role is to set an example in collaboration and servitude. It is to spread this example. It is to directly implement what the imperialists want.

Imperialists prefer to avoid getting their hands dirty. Their unchanging rule is the most profitable exploitation with the least risk.

Instead of direct military interventions in Libya, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Yugoslavia, or Afghanistan, they first exploit internal discontent and push forward their collaborators. They then expand this encirclement with external collaborators.

For this purpose, AKP is an invaluable asset to imperialists.

- If American imperialism plans to attack Libya, Erdoğan is the first to threaten.
- If they want to attack Syria, Erdoğan is the first to threaten.
- If they want to attack Iran, Erdoğan is the first to threaten.

At diplomatic meetings, imperialist rhetoric is repeated verbatim by Erdoğan, Davutoğlu, and Gül. They ignore all diplomatic norms, national interests, patriotism, and the will of the people.

They are reckless against their own people and against other nations. Their only concern is imperialism's interests and the scraps they can collect from it.

Some are shocked by Erdoğan's audacity: *"Where does he get this boldness? Where does this recklessness come from?* "It comes from imperialists—from his dependence on them.

The Reality of the "Model Country"

Don't be fooled by their inflated claims, their boasting, their grand illusions.

It is classic imperialist policy—to see everything through their own lens and claim "everything is going well" as long as exploitation continues unchecked.

But what is good for them is disastrous for our people.

At the G-20 Summit, Erdoğan was reportedly the only leader smiling. The claim was: *"A leader who smiles means his country is prospering".* Of course, Erdoğan smiles—because the Albayrak, Ülker, Ağaoğlu, and Çalık corporations have grown richer. But as they smile, the people cry.

The True Face of AKP's Turkey

- There is no employment, no investment, no economic opportunity.
- 6.5 million people are unemployed.
- Minimum wage for those under 16 is 512 lira.
- Hunger threshold: 878 lira.
- Poverty threshold: 2,861 lira.
- In the first nine months of 2011, 396 workers died in workplace accidents, and 2,453 were injured.
- The risk of death in workplace accidents is five times higher than in Europe.
- We have become a country with the cheapest labour, the least social rights, and near-slavery working conditions.
- Turkey ranks first in the world for the number of political prisoners.
- Turkey leads in the number of political party bans.
- Despite existing imperialist bases, we have now opened our doors to the aggressive "missile shield" base.
- Contrary to claims, Turkey is experiencing its strongest period of relations with Israel.
- Turkey's foreign debt increased by 70.9% in just five years—from $169 billion to $290 billion (as of April 2011).
- Under AKP rule, workers and labourers face historic attacks through legislation like the "Bag Law, "the abolition of severance pay, flexible working policies, and employment agencies.
- The largest demolition project in history is underway—over 1 million buildings are expected to be destroyed in Istanbul alone.

This is the "growing Turkey" that imperialists and their collaborators boast about!
This is the "model country"! This is the "charismatic leader"!
It is clear how they have grown and what they serve as a model for.
They thrive on our hunger, our poverty, our destruction, and our suffering.
We will never accept their Turkey.
We will free our country from being an imperialist base and a nest of collaborators.
To achieve this, we will organise, we will fight, and we will win!

SECTION 6

COUNTRIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE BMENA

During the period when BMENA was announced, there were countries that were not initially included within its scope but were later associated with it in subsequent meetings. These countries are the Caucasus and Central Asian nations that declared independence after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR): Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan.

Additionally, **Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine,** and **Belarus**—countries not originally part of the project but closely monitored by the United States and the European Union—are also included.

So why were these countries not directly incorporated into BMENA?

1. All of these countries were formerly part of the USSR.

2. They are located in Russia's surrounding region and are considered its backyard.
3. U.S. and EU imperialists have already been actively involved in these nations since the early 1990s under the "**Strategy for Controlling Eurasia**."
4. Directly including these countries in BMENA from the outset would have meant openly confronting Russia.

For imperialists, the real "big bite" after the collapse of the USSR is Russia itself. However, swallowing such a "big bite" without first breaking it into smaller pieces would be risky and could backfire. The goal of U.S. and EU imperialists is to first make Russia's neighbouring countries dependent on them, encircle Russia, and then gradually take it down.

Since the ideological foundation of BMENA was shaped around the concept of "Islamic terrorism", Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, and Belarus were treated separately from the Central Asian countries associated with BMENA (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan).

With the exception of Tajikistan, these countries are also known as "Turkic Republics". Additionally, since their populations are predominantly Muslim, they require special policies distinct from those applied in the Middle Eastern Muslim countries. Having spent many years under the USSR, these nations underwent a different kind of cultural transformation compared to the Muslim countries of the Middle East.

For this reason, since the early 1990s, the U.S. has been working to reshape these regions culturally through Fethullah Gülen's private schools under the concept of "Moderate Islam". In fact, it can be said that, after the collapse of the USSR, the foundations of the imperialism-friendly "Moderate Islam" model—which replaced the "Green Belt" strategy—were first laid in these countries through the efforts of the Gülenists.

Similarly, Turkey—presented as the "role model" country for BMENA—and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who served as the project's co-chair, were considered the most suitable figures for executing this strategy.

To understand why these countries—though not directly included—are still associated with BMENA and why they are important to the imperialists, let's take a closer look at them.

AZERBAIJAN

Azerbaijan is a country located in the Caucasus region at the intersection of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. It is bordered by the Caspian Sea to the east, Russia to the north, Georgia to the northwest, Armenia to the west, and Iran to the south. The Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic, which is part of Azerbaijan, is surrounded by Armenia to the north and east, and Iran to the south and west, with a 17 km border with Turkey.

The capital of Azerbaijan is Baku, and the official language is Azerbaijani

Turkish. However, over 20 local languages are spoken, including Russian, Turkish, and Kurdish.

Azerbaijan has a total area of 86, 600 km², and according to the 2019 census, its population was 10, 127, 874. The ethnic composition of the country is as follows: 91.6% Azerbaijanis, 2% Lezgins, 1.3% Russians, 1.3% Armenians and 3.8% Others

The Azerbaijan Democratic Republic was established in 1918. On 28 April 1920, the Azerbaijan Socialist Republic was formed. In 1922, Azerbaijan, along with Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, and Belarus, united with Russia to form the Soviet Union (USSR).

During Partition War II, Azerbaijan made significant economic and military contributions to the Soviet Union's fight against Nazi Germany.

Azerbaijan holds the distinction of being the first Muslim-majority country to adopt a parliamentary republican system. It was also the first Muslim country to establish a modern university and to grant women equal voting rights with men in parliament.

The Soviet era led to major advancements in Azerbaijan in areas such as economy, culture, education, and healthcare. However, the revisionist policies within the USSR later affected all member states. The glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) policies introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in the late 1980s paved the way for counter-revolutionary movements.

In 1989, the Azerbaijan Popular Front was founded, and soon internal conflicts erupted. In 1990, Azerbaijan removed "Soviet Socialist" from its name, and on 18 October 1991, following the dissolution of the USSR, Azerbaijan became an independent state.

Azerbaijan After the Collapse of the Soviet Union with Counter-Revolutions

Gorbachev, the traitor who brought the revisionist policies in the Soviet Union to an end with counter-revolutions, officially dissolved the Soviet Union in 1991. With the collapse of the socialist system, all the countries that formed the union, including Russia, began to experience a severe economic, social, and moral downfall. Imperialists, like vultures, flocked to these countries to plunder them. Using corrupt and decayed leaders, they left nothing untouched in these countries.

The region known as the Turkish Republics also suffered the same fate as a whole. Imperialists attempted to create collaborative governments under the guise of reconstruction.

In 1991, conflicts began between Azerbaijan and Armenia over the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The Armenians gained control over 16% of Azerbaijan's territory, including Nagorno-Karabakh. Although a ceasefire was signed in 1994, the issues persisted. At the end of 2020, Azerbaijan regained the territories it had lost.

Until the early 2000s, all the countries that had dissolved from the Soviet Union, including Russia, experienced great destruction due to the imperialists' plundering and pillaging. The imperialists were unable to form the cooperative governments they had hoped for, and no country, including Russia, remained untouched by military coups.

In 1994, after the collapse of the socialist system, President Abulfaz Elchibey was overthrown in a military coup, and the former president, Heydar Aliyev, was reinstated. A year later, an attempt was made to overthrow him as well, but it was unsuccessful.

In the early 2000s, after the alcoholic Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin was elected as president of Russia. During Putin's tenure, Russia managed to recover quickly, relying on its own resources, and minimized its economic and political dependence on the U.S. and EU imperialists. Along with Russia, other former Soviet Union member countries, which had shared economic, political, and cultural ties during the USSR period, also began to recover. Particularly the countries with rich oil and natural gas resources improved their economies by selling their oil and natural gas through Russia, which led to an improvement compared to the 1990s.

Despite the efforts of U.S. and EU imperialists to reshape these countries according to their interests, these countries started to develop new political relationships with Russia.

After 2000, the "colour revolutions" that were attempted in these countries were imperialist interventions via NGOs from the U.S. and EU.

Azerbaijan's Economy:

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan became a member of economic organisations of imperialism such as the IMF, World Bank, and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The severe economic collapse it experienced during the 1990s was partly due to this.

Azerbaijan is rich in oil and natural gas reserves. Oil, oil products, and natural gas exports play an important role in Azerbaijan's economy.

In 1994, a 30-year agreement was signed between the Azerbaijan State Oil Company (SOCAR) and 13 oil companies, including Amoco, BP, ExxonMobil, Lukoil, and Eguinor. These agreements were extended until 2050.

Azerbaijan is one of the key players in the east-west and north-south energy corridors.

The Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP) and the Trans Adriatic Pipeline (TAP) will supply natural gas from Azerbaijan's Shah Deniz field to Turkey and Europe.

By connecting the Caspian region to Turkey, the completion of the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway line will create a railway route extending from Europe to China.

In addition to oil and gas, Azerbaijan has various other mineral resources such as gold, silver, iron, copper, titanium, chromium, manganese, cobalt, molybdenum, complex ores, and antimony.

Azerbaijan has the largest agricultural basin in the Caucasus region, with 54.9% of its land being agricultural. Agriculture, livestock, and fishing are important parts of the livelihoods of the people. 47.2% of the population still lives in rural areas.

Azerbaijan's Demographic Structure:

As of January 2012, Azerbaijan's total population was 9,981,457. Of this, 52.8% live in cities, and 47.2% live in rural areas.

Due to migration, Azerbaijan's population growth rate in 2011 was -0.85%. However, this rate started to increase with incentives in the following years.

People Living in Azerbaijan:

According to the 2019 census, 91.6% of the population is Azerbaijani, 2.02% are Lezgins, 1.35% are Armenians, 1.34% are Russians, 1.26% are Talish, 0.56% are Avars, 0.43% are Turks, 0.29% are Tatars, 0.28% are Tats, 0.24% are Ukrainians, 0.14% are Sahurs, 0.11% are Georgians, 0.10% are Jews, 0.07% are Kurds, and other minorities make up the rest.

The official language of Azerbaijan is Azerbaijani, while Russian is used as a second language for communication and education. The languages of the minority populations listed above are also used as local languages within their communities.

Education in Azerbaijan:

In the Soviet era, by the 1970s, the literacy rate in Azerbaijan reached 100%. The vast majority of the population has received university education or vocational, scientific, and technical higher education. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan switched from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin alphabet, but the education system largely continued under the socialist infrastructure. All stages of education in state schools are free of charge.

Religious Beliefs in Azerbaijan:

97% of Azerbaijan's population is Muslim. Of the Muslims, 85% are Shia and 15% are Sunni. Azerbaijan has the second-largest percentage of Shia Muslims after Iran. According to the Azerbaijani constitution, it is a secular state, and according to a 2008 Gallup poll, only 21% of the population said that religion played an important role in their daily lives.

The remaining 3% of the population are religious minorities, primarily Christians, including Russians, Georgians, and Armenians. Additionally, there are around 12, 000 Jews living in Azerbaijan.

As a result, there is currently no significant foundation for religious-based conflicts in Azerbaijan. However, problems are ongoing between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh. These ongoing conflicts have also become a battleground for the struggle for regional dominance between U.S.-EU imperialists and Russia. The support or lack of support provided to these two countries in the 2020 Azerbaijan-Armenia war was part of an effort to increase control over the region.

We will now look at the relationship of the Central Asian countries associated with BMENA. Let's continue by briefly examining their economic, geographical, and geostrategic positions.

KAZAKHSTAN

The official name is the Republic of Kazakhstan. It is an independent state with a Turkic population located in Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

With a surface area of 2, 724, 900 km², it is the 9th largest country in the world. It is the largest in terms of area among Muslim countries and Turkic republics.

Kazakhstan is also one of the richest countries in terms of natural resources.

Kazakhstan has been the centre of important states in Turkish history, such as the Saka (1), Hun (2), Göktürk (3), Kipchak (4), Karakhanid (5), and Golden Horde (6), and the cradle of Turkic tribes like Kipchak, Oghuz (7), and Karluk (8).

Despite its vast area and abundant resources, Kazakhstan had a population of 18,711,200 according to the 2020 census.

On 3 October 2009, Kazakhstan became a member of the "Turkic Council" (9), which was founded by Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, later joined by Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

The capital city is Nur-Sultan. The official languages are Kazakh and Russian. The population consists of 74.2% Kazakhs, 18.8% Russians, 1.4% Ukrainians, and 5.6% others.

Kazakhstan declared independence on 16 December 1991, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and has been governed under a unitary presidential system.

Borders of Kazakhstan: North: Russia, South: Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, East: China And West: It has coastlines on the Caspian Sea and Aral Sea.

A Brief History of Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan has been inhabited since the Stone Age. Due to its climate and terrain, the nomadic lifestyle flourished, particularly during the Neolithic period (9, 000–5, 500 BC).

The Kazakh region was a key part of the Eurasian Trade Steppe Route, the predecessor of the Silk Road.

Various cultures, including the Proto-Indo-European, Afanasevo (10), and later the Andronovo culture (11), as well as peoples such as the Saka and Massagetae (12), lived in this area. The Scythians and the Persian Empire controlled the southern regions of the country. In 329 BC, Alexander the Great conquered these lands.

In the 11th century, the Cumans united with the Kipchaks to form the Cuman-Kipchak Khanate in present-day Kazakhstan.

In the 13th century, the Kazakh Khanate remained under the control of the Mongol Empire. The Kazakh people maintained their traditional nomadic lifestyle based on livestock farming.

During the 15th century, the Kazakh identity became more distinct among Turkic tribes. By the mid-16th century, the Kazakh language, culture, and economy had solidified.

From the early 18th century, the Russian Empire began expanding into Central Asia. By the 19th century, Central Asia had become a region of competition between Russia and Britain.

Due to Russian assimilation policies, Kazakh uprisings against Tsarist rule began in the 1880s. The 1916 "Central Asian Revolt"was the largest Kazakh rebellion against Russian rule. After the 1917 October Revolution, Kazakhs initially allied with Tsarist forces but were later defeated in the Russian Civil War.

Kazakhstan During the Soviet Era

After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, Kazakhs, initially referred to as Kyrgyz, briefly experienced autonomy under the "Alash Autonomy."

On 26 August 1920, the Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

In June 1925, the name was changed to Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

On 5 December 1936, Kazakhstan became a full republic within the Soviet Union.

On 16 December 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan declared independence.

In 1997, Kazakhstan's capital moved from Almaty to Astana (renamed Nur-Sultan in 2019).

From 1991 to 2019, Kazakhstan was governed by Nursultan Nazarbayev, who was also its leader during the Soviet era.

The Baikonur city in Kazakhstan is home to the Baikonur Cosmodrome, leased to Russia until 2050. This was the launch site of the first human space mission by the Soviet Union.

Kazakhstan is a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO).

In 2000, Kazakhstan, along with Russia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, established the Eurasian Economic Community to harmonize trade tariffs and create a free trade zone.

Kazakhstan is also a member of the United Nations, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, the Turkic Council, and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).

Kazakhstan’s Economy

Kazakhstan has the largest and most powerful economy in Central Asia.

During the Soviet era, it was a major contributor to the Soviet economy, thanks to its agriculture, livestock, and natural resources.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, international institutions like the IMF and World Bank introduced economic policies that caused a severe crisis in Kazakhstan.

By the early 2000s, Kazakhstan fully repaid its IMF debt ahead of schedule and rapidly recovered its economy.

Natural Resources of Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan is rich in minerals and fossil fuels.

Between 1991 and 2014, Kazakhstan attracted $180 billion in foreign direct investments, with $50 billion allocated to oil, gas, and mining.

Kazakhstan has:

- The world's 2nd largest reserves of uranium, chromium, lead, and zinc.
- The 3rd largest copper reserves.
- Significant reserves of coal, gold, and iron.
- A major diamond exporter.
- The 11th largest proven oil and gas reserves.

As of 2009, Kazakhstan produced 1, 540, 000 barrels of crude oil per day, but it lacks sufficient refineries to process all of it, exporting most of its crude oil to Russia.

Kazakhstan also has large phosphate deposits.

In 2018, Kazakhstan had $67 billion in exports and $32.5 billion in imports, resulting in a $34.5 billion trade surplus. Exports accounted for 40.1% of GDP.

Agriculture constitutes approximately 5% of Kazakhstan's GDP. The country's agricultural land exceeds 846, 000 km², of which 205, 000 km² is used for farming, while 611, 000 km² is designated as pasture and hayfields. Livestock farming also plays a significant role in Kazakhstan's economy.

Railways account for 68% of all cargo and passenger transportation in Kazakhstan. All cities are connected by rail, and since the railway system dates back to the Soviet era, it is still integrated with those of other former Soviet states. Some railway routes even pass through Russian Federation territory before re-entering Kazakhstan. The high-speed train route from Almaty, in the south, to Kyzylorda, in the north, takes approximately 18 hours.

Religion in Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan is a secular state: 70% Muslim, 26% Christian, 0.2% Buddhist, 0.1% Other religions and 3% Non-religious. Discrimination based on religion is prohibited by Kazakhstan’s constitution.

Education in Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan has a high literacy rate of 99.5%, with equal literacy rates among men and women. The first 9 years of education are compulsory and free.

Footnotes:

(1) **Sakas** were a historical people who lived in the northeastern Eurasian steppes and the Tarim Basin, known for their skills in horse breeding and mining. While sources generally classify the Sakas as either Turkic or Iranian, debates about their identity continue. The term "Saka" began to be used in Old Persian after the Achaemenid period. In Greek sources, they were referred to as "Sakai". Although the Sakas and Scythians are considered closely related and part of the common Scythian-Siberian culture, they are generally regarded as distinct peoples by scholars.

(2) **Huns** (370s–469) were a nomadic confederation known for initiating the Migration Period, which led to the invasion of the Roman Empire. Under the leadership of Attila, they established the European Hunnic Empire.

(3) **Göktürk Khaganate** was a Turkic state founded by the Göktürks, ruling Central and Inner Asia between 552 and 744. Its founder and first leader was Bumin Khagan. His brother, Istämi Yabgu, governed the western wing of the state.

(4) **Kipchaks** or **Cumans** (9th–11th centuries) were one of the ancient Turkic peoples. They spoke the Kipchak language, which later developed into three branches and became the foundation of the Kipchak languages.

(5) **Karakhanid State** or simply **Karakhanids** (840–1212) was a Turkic dynasty that ruled in Central Asia and Transoxiana. It was the first Islamic dynasty established in Central Asia. According to the widely accepted view, the Karakhanids were of Karluk Turkic origin.

(6) **Golden Horde** or **Golden Horde State** (1242–1502) was a Turkic-Mongol khanate. Before his death, Genghis Khan divided his lands among his sons, assigning the region west of the Syr Darya River and Lake Balkhash to his eldest son, Jochi. Jochi's younger son, Batu Khan, expanded these territories through western campaigns. The lands of Jochi were later divided between Batu Khan and his elder brother, Orda Khan. The eastern part, controlled by Orda, was called **White Horde**, while the western part, under Batu, was initially called **Blue Horde** and later known as the **Golden Horde**.

(7) **Oghuz Turks** were a western Turkic people who spoke the Oghuz branch of the Turkic languages. In the 8th century, they established a tribal confederation known as the **Oghuz Yabgu State** in Central Asia. The name "Oghuz" comes from a common Turkic word meaning "tribe."

(8) **Karluks** were a Turkic people who existed between 766 and 1215 in Central Asia. They were divided into three tribes and are first recorded as living in the southwest of the Altai Mountains and northwest of Bešbalık. Around 627, after the Sir Tardush migration into the Eastern Göktürk Khaganate, the Karluks settled in the Tarbagatai steppes north of the Tian Shan Mountains. Later, they rebelled against the Western Göktürk Khaganate, contributing to its decline.

(9) **Turkic Council (Türk Keneşi)**: Established on 3 October 2009, through the "Nakhchivan Agreement" between Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, the Turkic Council fosters cooperation in foreign policy, economy, transportation, customs, tourism, education, media, youth, and sports. Later, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan also joined the meetings. The total area of the member countries is approximately 5 million km².

(10) **Afanasevo Culture** was a Chalcolithic archaeological culture that existed between 3300 and 2500 BCE in the Altai Mountains and the Minusinsk Basin of Southern Siberia. It is the earliest known culture in the region, named after Mount Afanaseva.

(11) **Andronovo Culture** was a Bronze Age culture (1700–1200 BCE) associated with early Turkic groups. It developed in the Altai-Tian Shan Mountains, Southern Siberia, and northeastern Caspian regions.

(12) **Massagetae** were a nomadic state in the 6th century BCE, located in the southern regions of Central Asia and neighbouring the Persian Empire. According to the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, the Massagetae forced the Sakas to migrate westward and establish a new state. Some sources claim that the Persian King Cyrus the Great was killed in battle against the Massagetae on the banks of the Syr Darya River, rather than against the Sakas. It is believed that they lived east of the Caspian Sea and north of the Aral Sea. While Alan and Khwarezmian Iranian elements mixed with them, some scholars argue that the Massagetae were of Turkic origin.

KYRGYZSTAN

Officially known as the Kyrgyz Republic, Kyrgyzstan is a Turkic country in Central Asia and a member of the Turkic Council. It shares borders with Kazakhstan to the north, Uzbekistan to the west, Tajikistan to the southwest, and China to the southeast.

The capital of Kyrgyzstan is Bishkek, and its total area is 199, 951 km². As of 2020, its estimated population is 6, 656, 600.

History of the Kyrgyz People

During the Göktürk era, the Kyrgyz lived north of the Kögmen (Sayan) Mountains. In 840, they overthrew the Uyghur Khaganate and established their own state in this region. Later, they migrated to their current lands and converted to Islam during the Karakhanid period. Following regional conflicts, they voluntarily came under the rule of the Russian Empire in 1881.

Soviet Era and Aftermath

The October Revolution was embraced by the Kyrgyz people, and in 1919, the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region was established within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. On 5

December 1936, the region became the Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic, fully integrated into the Soviet Union. During the Soviet era, literacy and education levels significantly improved.

Under Gorbachev's reforms—Perestroika (1) and Glasnost (2)—Kyrgyz nationalism grew stronger. Ethnic clashes broke out between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz in the city of Osh, lasting until August 1990. In October 1990, a newly elected government renamed the Supreme Soviet Republic as the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. On 31 August 1991, Kyrgyzstan declared independence from the Soviet Union and, in December 1991, joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) along with other Central Asian nations (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, economic hardship caused by imperialist policies led to severe poverty in Kyrgyzstan. After the 2005 parliamentary elections, allegations of election fraud triggered the "Tulip Revolution", forcing President Askar Akayev to resign. Since then, political instability and economic struggles have continued.

Demographics

- Urban Population: 63.9%
- Rural Population: 36.1%

Ethnic Composition:

- Kyrgyz: 72.6%
- Uzbeks: 14.4%
- Russians: 6.4%
- Dungans: 1.1%
- Uighurs: 0.9%
- Tajiks: 0.8%
- Turks: 0.7%

Languages

The official languages are Kyrgyz and Russian. The Kyrgyz language belongs to the Kipchak branch of the Turkic languages.

Religious Beliefs

- Islam: 76%
- Christianity: 18%
- Buddhism: 2%
- Atheism: 4%

Education

As a nomadic society, the Kyrgyz had very low literacy rates. However, during the Soviet period, literacy increased dramatically, reaching nearly 100% by the 1950s. The socialist era also produced internationally renowned writers such as Chingiz Aitmatov.

Economy of Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan's economy is based on agriculture and mining. Animal husbandry is dominant in the agricultural sector. Major crops include wheat, cotton, sugar beets, corn, tobacco, vegetables, and fruits.

Since the 1970s, Kyrgyzstan's mining industry has expanded significantly. Key industrial sectors include machinery, automotive, food processing, cement, glass, and canning. In recent years, tourism has also developed.

In 2020, the country's GDP was estimated at $7.48 billion, with a per capita GDP of $1, 148. As Kyrgyzstan lacks oil and natural gas, it primarily relies on hydroelectric power plants for energy.

Footnotes:

(1) **Perestroika**: A series of economic and political reforms initiated in the 1980s in the Soviet Union. First proposed in 1979 by then-leader Leonid Brezhnev, it was later promoted by Mikhail

Gorbachev. The policy ultimately led to revisionism and counter-revolutions, contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

(2) **Glasnost**: A set of political and economic policies introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev to address the Soviet Union's economic problems. Implemented in 1985, Glasnost continued until the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

UZBEKISTAN

Officially known as the Republic of Uzbekistan, this landlocked country is located in Central Asia. It shares borders with Kazakhstan to the north and west, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to the east, and Afghanistan and Turkmenistan to the south.

The capital city of Uzbekistan is Tashkent, and its official language is Uzbek. Karakalpak is also spoken regionally, while Russian is commonly used as a lingua franca among different ethnic groups. The total land area of Uzbekistan is 448,978 km², and its estimated population in 2020 was 33,570,609.

Brief History

The Uzbek nation first emerged under the leadership of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, a descendant of Shiban, the grandson of Genghis Khan. He united various Turkic tribes of the Dasht-i Kipchak region under the Uzbek/Shaybanid Khanate. However, after Abu'l-Khayr's death, internal conflicts led to the disintegration of the khanate.

His grandson, Shaybani Khan, reunited the Uzbeks and took advantage of the political turmoil in the Timurid Empire, capturing Transoxiana and Khwarezm. He overthrew the Timurid dynasty and established Bukhara as the capital of the Shaybanid Khanate. Over time, the Timurid people integrated with the Uzbek population, and the nomadic Uzbeks from Dasht-i Kipchak settled in former Timurid territories, shaping the modern Uzbek identity through cultural interactions.

On 27 October 1924, Uzbekistan became the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union. On 1 September 1991, following the collapse of the USSR, Uzbekistan declared independence and adopted the name Republic of Uzbekistan.

Uzbekistan is administratively divided into 12 provinces, one autonomous republic (the Republic of Karakalpakstan), and one independent city (Tashkent).

Demographics of Uzbekistan

As of 2020, Uzbekistan's estimated population was 33, 570, 609.

Ethnic Composition: Uzbeks: 80%, Russians: 5.5%, Other minorities: (Including Christians and other religious groups)

Politics and Economic Structure

Uzbekistan's economy has not yet fully transitioned to a free-market system, as state control remains dominant. Agriculture and manufacturing each contribute approximately one-fourth of the country's GDP, playing an equal role in the economy.

Uzbekistan is a major producer and manufacturer of cotton and is also an important gold producer.

Uzbekistan has several important river basins, which play a crucial role in irrigation-based agriculture. These include: Syr Darya (Seyhun), Amu Darya (Ceyhun), Surkhan Darya, Kara Darya, Marin Darya

Main Industries:

Textiles, Food processing, Machinery production, Metallurgy, Mining, Automobile manufacturing, Chemical industry

Exports:

Energy products, Cotton, Gold, Mineral fertilizers, Iron and non-ferrous metals, Food products, Machinery and automotive goods

Top Export Partners:

Switzerland – 38.7%, China – 15.5%, Russia – 10.7%, Turkey – 8.6%, Kazakhstan – 7.7%, Afghanistan – 4.7%

Imports:

Machinery and equipment, Food products, Chemicals, Iron and non-ferrous metals

Top Import Partners:

China – 23.7%, Russia – 22.5%, Kazakhstan – 10.7%, South Korea – 9.8%, Turkey – 5.8%, Germany – 5.6%

From 1991 to 2016, Uzbekistan was ruled by Islam Karimov. During this period, state control over the economy remained strong, and the country was not fully opened to foreign exploitation.

After Shavkat Mirziyoyev became president in 2016, Uzbekistan began transitioning to a "free-market economy". The country's foreign trade policy is based on import substitution (producing goods domestically instead of importing them).

Uzbekistan is one of the world's largest cotton producers. Its large Soviet-era energy production facilities and natural gas reserves make it the biggest electricity producer in Central Asia.

Uzbekistan is a member of several international organisations, including:

Turkic Council, TÜRKSOY (International Organisation of Turkic Culture), CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), OSCE (Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe), United Nations (UN), Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)

Uzbekistan-U.S. Relations

The United States' engagement with Central Asian countries is primarily military and political, rather than economic.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the U.S. established military bases in two Central Asian countries: Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Following the 2001 U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. utilised the Khanabad Air Base, located just 120 km from Afghanistan.

However, after the 2005 Andijan uprising, the Uzbek parliament accused the U.S. of supporting Islamist insurgents and voted to close the U.S. military base. As a result, the U.S. vacated the base, leading to deteriorating relations between Uzbekistan and the U.S. from 2005 onwards.

Since 2018, the U.S. has attempted to restore relations with Uzbekistan through NGOs and civil society initiatives. However, due to the declining global influence of the U.S., its impact in Central Asia has also diminished.

TURKMENISTAN

The official name of the country is Turkmenistan.

Turkmenistan is bordered by: Kazakhstan to the northwest, Uzbekistan to the north and west, Afghanistan to the southeast, Iran to the southwest, The Caspian Sea to the west

Its capital city is Ashgabat. Total Area: 491,200 km². Population (2020 estimate): 6,031,187

It has the smallest population among Central Asian countries. Most of its land is covered by the Karakum Desert.

Turkmenistan is one of the independent Turkic states and a member of TÜRKSOY (International Organisation of Turkic Culture). It is also an observer state in the Turkic Council.

History of Turkmenistan

Archaeological evidence of Bronze and Iron Age civilizations has been found in Turkmenistan. Early records indicate the presence of Indo-Iranians in the region. Written history begins with the Achaemenid Empire (Ancient Persia) annexing the land. Later, the region was conquered by Alexander the Great, followed by Seleucid and Parthian rule. The city of Ashgabat was once the capital of the Parthian Empire.

In the 7th and 8th centuries, the area was ruled by the Arabs, who Islamized the region.

Turkic migration into the region began in the 8th century, when Oghuz Turkic tribes moved from Mongolia to Central Asia. The Turkmen ethnic identity originates from these Oghuz tribes. The term “Turkmen” was first used in the 10th century to refer to Islamic Oghuz tribes that settled in present-day Turkmenistan. During the same period, the Oghuz-led Seljuk Empire ruled both Iran and Turkmenistan.

In the 12th century, due to corruption and poverty within the Seljuk-Persian administration, the Turkmens rebelled (Baba Ishak Rebellion), which contributed to the fall of the Seljuk Empire. The region was later invaded by the Mongols, forcing many Turkmen tribes to migrate to Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and various parts of Central Asia.

Until the 16th century, the Turkmen tribes in Central Asia were ruled by the Khanates of Khiva, Bukhara, and the Uzbek Khanate.

In the early 1800s, the Yomut Turkmens rebelled against Uzbek rule, but the revolt was suppressed. In 1855, the Teke Turkmens successfully expelled the Khiva Khanate from their lands. In 1861, the Turkmens defeated the Persian army. This period largely shaped modern Turkmenistan’s territory.

In 1881, Russia occupied Turkmenistan. Until the 1917 October Revolution, Turkmenistan remained under Russian imperial rule. During the Russian Civil War, Turkmens sided with anti-Bolshevik forces.

Soviet Turkmenistan

After the Red Army’s victory in 1920, Turkmenistan became an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) within the Soviet Union. In 1924, the USSR reorganised Central Asian borders, leading to the establishment of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR). Soviet policies transformed the traditionally nomadic Turkmen population into a settled society.

Post-Soviet Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan remained loyal to socialism until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, after which it declared independence.

Saparmurat Niyazov, the last Communist leader of Soviet Turkmenistan, became the first President of the independent nation, ruling until his death in 2006.

Unlike other former Soviet states, Turkmenistan did not adopt IMF policies and avoided mass privatisation. As a result, it did not experience the severe economic collapse of the 1990s.

Basic services such as education, healthcare, housing, electricity, and natural gas remained free. Since 2019, a small fee has been introduced for electricity, water, and natural gas.

In 2002, there was an assassination attempt on President Niyazov. Between 2002 and 2004, tensions rose between Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, but conflicts were resolved through diplomatic agreements.

After Niyazov's death in 2006, Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov became president. While he continued to reject IMF privatisation policies, he allowed limited private enterprise. However, state control over agriculture and industry remains strong.

Turkmenistan's Economy

Turkmenistan's economy relies heavily on natural gas exports and cotton production. It is the 4th largest natural gas producer in the world. Natural gas production is a state monopoly, and pipelines extend to Kazakhstan, Russia, Afghanistan, and China. There are plans to extend pipelines through Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey to supply Europe. Turkmenistan produces its own oil and operates state-owned petroleum companies.

In 2016, Turkmenistan had the 6th largest proven natural gas reserves in the world. The Galkynysh gas field (discovered in 2015) is considered the world's second-largest natural gas reserve.

70% of Turkmenistan's natural gas exports go to China.

All electricity production in Turkmenistan is natural gas-based, and electricity is exported to Iran and Afghanistan.

Turkmenistan is the world's 9th largest cotton producer and exports to Iran, Russia, Turkey, and China. Despite its limited farmland, Turkmenistan is also an important grain producer. The 1, 300 km Karakum Canal provides irrigation, allowing 3.5% of the country's land to be used for agriculture.

Demographics of Turkmenistan

2020 Population Estimate: Due to emigration, Turkmenistan has introduced incentives to increase birth rates, such as: Awarding medals to mothers who have 8 or more children, providing free unlimited transportation, offering fully furnished homes to families with three children.

Ethnic Groups (2012 Census): Turkmens – 85.6%, Uzbeks – 5.8%, Russians – 5.1% Other groups: Kazakhs, Azerbaijanis, Balochs, Tatars, Armenians, Ukrainians.

Turkmen (official language) is spoken by 72% of the population. Russian – 12%, Uzbek – 9%, Other minority languages – 7%.

Religion: 89% Muslim, 9% Christian, 2% Unspecified (CIA data).

TAJIKISTAN

The official name is the Republic of Tajikistan. The country's area is 143,100 km², and its population is 9,537,645 according to 2020 estimates. Tajikistan's neighbouring countries are Afghanistan to the south, Uzbekistan to the west, Kyrgyzstan to the north, and China to the east. The capital of Tajikistan is Dushanbe. The official languages are Tajik and Russian.

History of Tajikistan:

Archaeological excavations show that there were settlements in the region 4,000 years ago. Several empires such as the Achaemenid Empire, the Hephthalites, the Samanids, and the Mongol Empire have ruled over the region.

Under the Timurids and the Bukhara Khanate, the region witnessed the Timurid Renaissance. Later, the country was annexed by the Russian Empire.

From the mid-19th century, the Russian Empire began to establish its dominance in Central Asia, and in 1876, the Khanate of Khokand in Tajikistan was abolished.

After the October Revolution in 1917, Tajiks were part of one of the counter-revolutionary groups called the "**Basmachi Movement**". After a four-year civil war, the Bolsheviks suppressed the counter-revolution, ending the Emirate of Bukhara, and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Bukhara was established within Soviet Russia.

On 4 March 1921, an agreement between the Bukhara Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union granted full independence to Bukhara as a Soviet Socialist Republic.

On 4 October 1924, Tajikistan was formed as the Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic under the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Later, in 1929, it became the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic and joined the Soviet Union.

Between 1927 and 1932, several economic programmes were carried out to develop Tajikistan, including the opening of agricultural lands, the construction of irrigation canals, hydroelectric dams, and mining facilities, along with many industrial establishments.

Tajikistan underwent significant transformation under Soviet policies, shifting from a nomadic to a settled life.

After the Soviet Union collapsed in the 1990s, Tajikistan declared its independence on 9 September 1991.

Post-Soviet Tajikistan faced a major economic collapse. In 1992, internal conflicts erupted in the southern regions, led by the Islamic Revival Party, resulting in over 500, 000 Tajiks migrating to Russia and more than 100, 000 deaths.

Imamali Rahmanov, who was elected president through a referendum in 1992, has won every subsequent election and continues to serve as president in 2021.

Despite agreements to end the internal conflicts between the ruling authorities and the opposition Islamist factions, attacks by various Islamic groups calling for an Islamic state remain an ongoing issue. Due to the conflict with Afghanistan and the presence of Islamist groups within Tajikistan, Russia maintains military bases and troops in the country.

Demographic Structure of Tajikistan:

Tajikistan's population is 9,537,645 according to 2020 estimates. The ethnic composition is as follows: 79.9% Tajiks, 9.8% Uzbeks, 1% Russians, and 6% other ethnic groups.

The official language is Tajik, a dialect of Persian, with Russian also widely used due to historical influences.

97% of the population is Muslim, with 95% of them adhering to Sunni Islam and 2% to Shia Islam. 3% of the population follows Christianity.

Tajikistan Economy:

Tajikistan has small reserves of oil and natural gas. The country is also rich in antimony, gold, mercury, coal, silver, uranium, and other mineral resources.

90% of Tajikistan's land is covered by mountains, and only 10% of the land is suitable for agriculture. It is the second-largest producer of silk in the CIS countries, following Uzbekistan.

Tajikistan is a member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the OSCE, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), and the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO).

Although Tajikistan has achieved some level of stability since the 2000s, it remains one of the poorest countries in Central Asia. The estimated GDP per capita in 2020 is $834.

Tajikistan-Russia Relations:

Economic and political relations between Russia and Tajikistan have strengthened since 2017. Under an agreement between the two countries, Russian-language schools were established in Dushanbe, Kulob, Khujand, Bakhtar, and Tursunzade. Russia has also facilitated employment for Tajik citizens in Russia, and there are tourism agreements between the two countries.

There are numerous bilateral agreements on oil supply, customs cooperation, and more.

Russia maintains its largest military base outside the former Soviet Union in Tajikistan, located near the Tajik-Afghan border.

In addition to bilateral agreements, Tajikistan is a member of the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO), the Eurasian Economic Community (EEC), and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO).

Foot Note:

(1) The Basmachi Movement was a counter-revolutionary movement initiated by Uzbeks in Central Asia against Soviet rule starting in 1917, which lasted intermittently until 1934.

CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES AND THEIR CONNECTION TO THE BMENA

We have examined Central Asian countries individually from historical, political, economic, and geopolitical perspectives. We also discussed why they were not directly included in the scope of BMENA. From what we have written so far, we can draw many conclusions, none of which are independent of the concept of imperialism. Analysing BMENA and the developments that followed without considering imperialism would lead to incorrect evaluations and conclusions.

When Lenin identified the five fundamental political characteristics of imperialism, one of them was ***the completion of the division of global markets among monopolistic capitalist unions***. By the early 1900s, there was not a single market left in the world that had not been divided among imperialist monopolistic states.

Regarding the situation in Central Asia, the 19th century was marked by a struggle between Britain and Russia for control over the region, ultimately leading to the dominance of Russian imperialism. Following the First Partition War and the 1917 Bolshevik October Revolution, which brought down the Russian imperialist state, some Central Asian nations sided with the counter-revolutionary forces against

the revolution. However, they eventually established independent socialist states within their present-day borders.

By the early 1900s, all global markets had been divided among imperialist monopolies. Lenin pointed out that after this division, the only possibility left was a re-division of world territories and markets among imperialist monopolistic states, indicating an inevitable war of redistribution among imperialists. This prediction materialised in what is known as the First Partition War—the First Imperialist Redistribution War. However, as a result of the 1917 October Revolution, one-sixth of global markets was removed from imperialist control. After the Second Partition War, two-fifths of global markets had exited the imperialist system.

Following the dismantling of the socialist bloc in the 1990s due to counter-revolutions, the primary goal of imperialist states became the re-division of this two-fifths portion of the global market. From the early 1990s onward, under U.S. leadership, imperialists descended upon these nations like vultures. The 1990s saw a period of unchecked plunder, exploitation, and destruction. By the 2000s, in what was called the "Unipolar New World Order", there was no power capable of restraining the United States.

The only remaining obstacle was the impoverished and suffering populations created by unrestrained exploitation. Other imperialist monopolies also saw their interests aligned with U.S. global dominance. It was during this time that the U.S. imperial strategy evolved, culminating in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, where it effectively declared its empire.

BMENA is a key component of the U.S. imperial strategy, aimed at restructuring the two-fifths of the global market that entered the imperialist system after the collapse of the socialist bloc, adapting it to neo-colonial structures. As mentioned at the beginning of this book, BMENA primarily encompasses Middle Eastern and North African countries. When analysing individual countries, we pointed out that Iraq, Syria, Libya, Algeria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Yemen, Iran, Somalia, and many other Central and Southern African nations had left the imperialist market following national-social liberation revolutions after the Second Partition War.

Despite the attempts of imperialist monopolies to reclaim these markets from the 1990s onward, they failed to establish the neo-colonial relationships necessary for sustainable exploitation. Similarly, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which emerged after the dissolution of the Soviet Union—including Russia—became a target for imperialist monopolies' plunder. The economies of these nations were nearly destroyed through loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, a situation that persisted until Vladimir Putin came to power in Russia in the early 2000s.

After Putin's rise to power, the Russian economy began to recover gradually. This recovery was largely due to abandoning the economic policies imposed by the IMF and the World Bank and instead relying on national resources. As Russia entered a phase of recovery, the U.S., as part of its imperial strategy, invaded Afghanistan. Following this, the Iraq invasion further cemented its imperial status, and BMENA was officially declared. By the early 2000s, neither Russia, China, nor any other imperial power had the strength to challenge U.S. dominance.

Throughout the 1990s, Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Romania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria were subdued—either forcibly or through IMF policies—resulting in the installation of collaborationist governments aligned with imperialist interests. By the 2000s, the focus shifted to the Middle East and Africa. The occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq were openly carried out, and BMENA was implemented.

The U.S. aimed to send a clear message to any opposition through its invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. No country dared to openly criticise the U.S. strategy.

Russia's recovery process in the early 2000s also led to the gradual stabilisation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Economic and political relations between Russia and countries such as the Turkic Republics, Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine, and Belarus began to strengthen. From Ukraine and Georgia to Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and other Turkic Republics, the so-called "colour revolutions" that began in 2004 were orchestrated by U.S. and EU imperialists through NGOs. These operations aimed to disrupt the developing economic and political ties between these countries and Russia.

At the NATO summit held in Istanbul in 2004, the U.S. secured approval for its right to prevent, intervene in, and conduct operations against any activity that could threaten its economic and political dominance. With this NATO decision, the U.S. effectively granted itself the authority to invade any country or conduct operations within it under the pretext of **combating terrorist groups that allegedly threatened its interests**—just as it had done in Afghanistan.

As the U.S. Climbed to the Peak of Its Empire, the Iraqi People's Resistance Began to Stir

As mentioned earlier, when the U.S. invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, no country openly opposed it, even if it went against their interests. Far from objecting, countries that did not explicitly side with the U.S.—such as Iran, Syria, Libya, Venezuela, and North Korea—were placed on the "list of countries supporting terrorism". Organisations such as the DHKP-C, FARC, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, and Hamas were also designated as "terrorist organisations."

In 2002, the DHKP-C was placed on the "terrorist organisation list" due to its c*riticism of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.*

It is also worth mentioning that the prison massacres in Turkey on December 19–22, 2000, which targeted revolutionary prisoners, and the policies of F-Type prisons were not independent of the U.S. imperial strategy. These F-Type prisons were directly financed by European imperialists.

The only force that stood against the U.S. imperial strategy was the people. When the U.S. attack on Iraq was on the agenda in 2002, no state opposed it. They all submitted to the blatant U.S. lie that ***"Iraq is producing chemical and biological weapons"***. The only ones who did not believe this lie and opposed it were the people around the world. Millions took to the streets against the invasion of Iraq. Human shields tried to physically block the occupation. However, despite these efforts, the invasion of Iraq could not be stopped.

The occupation, initially met with little resistance, marked the peak of U.S. power. However, within a year, the conditions of open occupation ignited the Iraqi people's resistance. Elderly men and women, aged 60-70, turned their bodies into bombs, detonating themselves inside enemy bases to avenge their slain sons and violated daughters.

2004 became a turning point for the U.S. Empire. The submission and despair that began with the fall of Baghdad turned into renewed hope and growing global anger against U.S. imperialism. After Iraq, resistance against the occupation began to intensify in Afghanistan as well. The U.S. and its allies found themselves trapped in an inescapable quagmire in both Iraq and Afghanistan. This resistance created a situation where the U.S. could no longer easily carry out direct military invasions.

The U.S.'s "colour revolutions" outside of Ukraine and Georgia also failed. Coup attempts in Central Asian countries were thwarted, and the process started to develop against U.S. dominance. In 2006, the "Cedar Revolution" in Lebanon and Israel’s U.S.-backed attempt to invade Lebanon were defeated by Hezbollah's resistance. Similarly, in 2008, Georgia’s attack on Ossetia and Abkhazia—carried out with the backing of the U.S. and the EU—was neutralized by Russia’s direct military intervention, resulting in a loss of U.S.-EU dominance.

Central Asia, covering nearly 5 million square kilometres with a population of under 100 million, holds immense economic significance. Countries like Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan rank among the world's top ten producers and reserves of oil and natural gas. Turkmenistan has the second-largest natural gas reserves after Russia. Beyond oil and gas, these nations also possess vast mineral resources.

Strategically, Central Asia serves as a crucial land corridor between East Asia—home to much of the world's population—and Europe. The region also plays a central role in China's **Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)**, which aims to facilitate intercontinental trade.

The key trade routes in this initiative include:

1. First Route: From East Turkestan through Kazakhstan, Russia, Belarus, and Eastern Europe to Western Europe.

2. Second Route: From East Turkestan through Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey, and the Balkans to Europe.
3. Third Route: From East Turkestan through Western Turkestan's Turkic republics, Iran, and the Middle East.

All three of these historical trade routes pass through Central Asia, binding the fate of these countries together.

In previous discussions on the Middle East and North Africa, the importance of maritime trade routes was emphasised—particularly the passage from the Mediterranean through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, and the Aden Sea to the Indian Ocean. Around 90% of global trade between East Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and the North Atlantic relies on this route. When the Suez Canal was blocked for ten days due to a ship accident, it reportedly cost imperialist powers $70 billion in losses.

China's Belt and Road Initiative, which includes land routes through Central Asia, aims to ease the burden on maritime trade while further increasing the strategic importance of Central Asian countries.

The Association of Central Asian Countries with BMENA is to Encircle Russia—the "Big Bite"!

Before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, with a land area of 22 million km² and a population of 250 million, it was a superpower economically, militarily, and politically, standing against the imperialists of the U.S. and the EU. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia, with its 17 million km² of land and vast underground and surface resources, became an unrivalled plundering ground for U.S. and EU imperialists.

Throughout the 1990s, they plundered all the newly independent countries that emerged from the Soviet Union with great enthusiasm. By indebting them through IMF and World Bank loans, they made these countries dependent on them. However, consuming a great power like Russia was not so easy. According to neo-colonial relations, even reshaping these regions required reviving their economies. But instead of doing that, the imperialists spent the 1990s looting and driving these economies to collapse.

At the beginning of the 2000s, with Vladimir Putin coming to power, Russian nationalism, fuelled by the reaction against a decade of Western plundering, began a process of internal recovery.

In 2003, when the U.S. invaded Iraq, Russia did not have the power to oppose U.S. policies. However, while the U.S. was stuck in the quagmire of Iraq and Afghanistan, Russia started strengthening its economic, military, and political relations with the member states of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States). Even though the U.S. and EU imperialists tried to intervene through "Colour Revolutions, "in the long run, they lost their influence in this region compared to the pre-2000s.

Until the Arab Spring in 2011 and the overthrow of Gaddafi in Libya—followed by the start of attacks to topple Assad in Syria—no state had the power to oppose the U.S. and EU imperialist policies on a governmental level.

The lynching and brutal assassination of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi were meant to serve as a "lesson" to Assad and others resisting imperialists. In fact, Assad was openly threatened, saying, "Y*our fate will be the same as Gaddafi's, leave the country with your family.*" After Syria, Iran was next. And after Iran—if not directly Russia—then the countries surrounding Russia…

Assad's refusal to bow to the threats of imperialists and collaborators and his decision to resist for the first time created a clear political alignment against U.S.-EU imperialism on a state level. Russia, Iran, and Lebanon's Hezbollah openly provided military and political support to Syria. The Syrian war was no longer just Syria's war.

Until 2014, attacks on Syria were carried out through extremist religious groups like Al-Qaeda, Al-Nusra, and ISIS, which sought to establish Sharia rule. Once the imperialists realised they could not overthrow Assad with these groups, they used ISIS as a pretext to form the so-called "Coalition Forces" consisting of more than 60 countries. Under the "Train-and-Equip" programme, they united all anti-Assad

collaborationist groups under the Syrian Democratic Forces. However, when that didn't yield the desired results, the U.S. started using PYD-YPG (Kurdish Nationalists) as their ground forces.

During this period, Russia directly intervened in support of the Syrian government, deploying both its air force and ground troops.

At this point, U.S. and EU imperialists could no longer dictate the "fate" of countries. With Syria's resistance, the U.S. Empire collapsed. First, the "Moderate Islam" rhetoric under BMENA fell apart, and then the U.S. lost its position as the world's sole dominant power. As the resistance in Syria prolonged, U.S. dominance in the Middle East weakened.

Besides Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah, China and North Korea also took a stand in support of Assad's government.

The 2014 Ukrainian "Uprising" Was a Warning from U.S. and EU Imperialists to Russia

In retaliation for Russia's open support for Assad in Syria, U.S. and EU imperialists instigated an uprising right on Russia's doorstep—in Ukraine.

We won't delve into Ukraine in detail here. However, it must be noted that throughout history, there has always been a faction in Ukraine that collaborated with imperialists against Russia. The "Orange Revolution" of 2004 was carried out through U.S. and EU-funded NGOs after a pro-Russian party won the elections. George Soros openly admitted this.

Not only in Ukraine but also in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and other CIS member states, "colour revolutions, "coup attempts, and assassinations were orchestrated through NGOs backed by Soros and similar imperialist monopolies. The ultimate target in all these actions was Russia. The goal was to sever these countries' ties with Russia and establish pro-U.S./EU governments around it, thereby encircling and isolating Russia.

The U.S. knows very well that without isolating Russia, they cannot "consume" it. This policy is reminiscent of the "Green Belt" strategy used by the U.S. against the Soviet Union.

When, in 2013, pro-Russian factions won the elections again in Ukraine, the U.S. and EU instigated nationalist uprisings, leading to civil war. They openly told Russia: "If you don't back off from Syria, we will move the war from the Middle East to right next to you, in Ukraine."

However, Russia did not bow to these threats. Just as it did in Georgia's Abkhazia-Ossetia conflict in 2008, it directly intervened militarily and annexed Crimea. In the Russian-speaking eastern regions of Ukraine, two independent states—the Donetsk People's Republic and the Lugansk People's Republic—were established. Crimea, through a referendum, voted to join Russia.

As a result, the civil war that the U.S. and EU imperialists started in Ukraine to punish Russia for its support of Assad ended with Russia emerging victorious, while the U.S. and EU suffered losses.

Initially, the U.S. and EU imperialists saw post-1990 Russia as an endless resource of wealth to be colonised. But from the 2000s onward, they started viewing it as a "big bite" that needed to be surrounded and consumed. This is why they link countries from Belarus and Ukraine to Georgia, Armenia, and the Central Asian Turkic republics to BMENA. The purpose is to isolate and encircle Russia, ultimately making it part of the U.S.-led imperialist system.

However, the U.S.'s failure to implement its desired policies in Syria has weakened its dominance in the Middle East. The prolonged resistance has caused the U.S. to lose its global empire status.

Since 2014, anti-U.S. resistance has also grown in Yemen, with the Houthis gaining control.

Similarly, in Libya, although NATO forces overthrew Gaddafi's government, they failed to establish a pro-U.S. regime. Instead, by the 2020s, Russia and China had begun playing a decisive role in Libya.

While the U.S. wanted to overthrow Assad in 2011 and then move on to Iran and North Korea to reinforce its empire, by the 2020s, Syria was still standing strong. Iran had expanded its influence in the Middle East. Even in Iraq, which the U.S. occupied for ten years, its dominance had waned.

Meanwhile, in Georgia, the U.S.-EU political influence weakened, and Russia became increasingly dominant.

In late 2020, the pro-U.S. Armenian government suffered a significant defeat in the Nagorno-Karabakh war against Azerbaijan and was brought under Russian control. This will likely lead to the U.S. and EU losing their influence over Armenia.

With the U.S. withdrawing from Afghanistan in 2021, its regional power further diminished.

In conclusion, the U.S. Empire has collapsed—militarily, economically, and politically.

When Joe Biden took office in 2021, his administration officially labelled Russia as an "enemy" and China as a "threat" to America's future. With China's economy rivalling that of the U.S. and its influence growing, U.S. imperialists now face an unsolvable dilemma.

Ukraine – Russia Crisis:

In November 2020, with Joe Biden winning the U.S. presidential election and taking office, the Ukraine-Russia crisis resurfaced in 2021. U.S. President Joe Biden declared Russia an "enemy" and called Russian President Putin a "killer".

Of course, the United States opening a direct war against Russia across the ocean is out of the question. However, the U.S. continues its attacks against Russia through Ukraine. The Biden administration attempted to impose economic and political sanctions on Russia by backing anti-Putin opposition forces, citing Russia's policies regarding Ukraine and aligning with EU imperialists. However, the EU imperialists have not been willing to fully align with the U.S. on sanctions. Especially in terms of energy, EU countries are heavily dependent on Russia. Around 70% of the EU's energy needs, primarily natural gas, come from Russia. Because of this, the U.S.'s attempt to economically subdue Russia through sanctions has failed from the start.

Militarily, the U.S. is trying to pressure Russia through Ukraine. They are provoking Ukraine to reclaim Crimea, Donetsk, and Luhansk, which they lost to Russia in 2014. Ukraine's collaborative administration is calling imperialist forces to their land in the name of "defence" against Russia, seeking help from the U.S., EU, and NATO to regain the lost territories.

Since the beginning of 2021, the crisis between Russia and Ukraine, built on these grounds, has deepened. The U.S. is the one provoking Ukraine against Russia. Despite declaring full support for Ukraine, the U.S. cannot do much. Russia will never concede in Ukraine. For Russia, the issue is not just Ukraine; conceding to Ukraine would mean allowing U.S. imperialism to settle right at Russia's doorstep.

The U.S. and EU imperialists are also threatening Russia by trying to create an anti-Putin opposition force through NGOs. After years of Putin's rule, they have tried to portray him as a "dictator" and create a leader of the opposition in the form of Aleksei Navalny, a thief, racist, and Nazi admirer. In other words, to represent "democracy" against the so-called "dictator" Putin, the U.S. and EU have found nothing better than a collaborationist with a criminal and extreme far-right background.

For years, the U.S. has tried to create "opposition forces" in Iran through NGOs and the CIA to overthrow the Khomeini regime. However, these efforts by the U.S. backfired. The Khomeini regime suppressed the people's economic and democratic struggle under anti-American rhetoric. Opposition movements in Iran, not developing under an anti-imperialist Marxist-Leninist leadership, remained open to imperialist manipulation and were used as such. During the 1980s, the Khomeini regime executed over 100, 000 revolutionaries and opposition members, using executions, torture, firing squads, and conflict to silence them, all under the mask of anti-Americanism. Forty years later, Iran continues to suppress the people's economic, democratic, and political demands in the same way.

In our country, the most collaborationist government of the last 70 years, the AKP, was brought to power as a direct result of the U.S. project. After 2013, the AKP fulfilled the mission it was given and exhausted its political life. When the U.S. wanted to replace its collaborator, the AKP began "resisting" the U.S. because there was no alternative to replace it. The AKP's resistance to the U.S. is a p*lea: "Don't*

throw me away, I'm your strongest ally, continue to use me." This resistance is now being presented by the AKP as "anti-imperialist" policy within the country. The electorate, which has long been the subjugated base of pro-imperialist regimes, adopts this propaganda, mistakenly believing that it is "fighting imperialism". This demagogic propaganda may only be effective among the AKP's base, but among the colonised and neo-colonised peoples, anti-imperialism remains a strong sentiment.

Returning to Russia, Russian people have a deep-rooted anti-imperialist and anti-fascist consciousness from the Soviet Union era. Trying to create an opposition against Putin through a Nazi sympathiser collaborationist like Navalny will only strengthen Putin's rule.

Imperialism Has Not Changed; It Remains the Enemy of the People

The propaganda that "imperialism has changed" was most widely spread in the 1990s, after the collapse of the Socialist Bloc. Socialism was destroyed, and the class struggle was said to be over. Disarmament agreements were being made, and a unipolar world order was being established. There was now no room for despotic regimes and dictatorships in the world. This was to be achieved by the imperialists themselves. Imperialism was no longer the same old imperialism but a "democratic imperialism" that brought down dictatorships and liberated peoples. Throughout the 1990s, especially bourgeois ideologists and surrenderist, reformist leftists propagated this. Today, no one other than the voluntary collaborators of imperialism believes this lie.

The laws of imperialist capitalism remain the same as they were in the early 1900s. After the collapse of the Socialist Bloc, the world's imperialist monopolies had to divide up the markets and resources. After the Soviet Union's collapse, the U.S. tried to build a new imperialist world order under its own empire. However, this is contrary to the essence of imperialism. The collapse of the Socialist Bloc did not eliminate the contradictions between imperialists. The main contradiction remains between the imperialists and the oppressed, exploited peoples of the world, and this contradiction has deepened.

One of the unchanging laws of capitalism is the "leapfrog development" law. In the U.S. empire, building a unipolar world is not possible. New "superpowers" are emerging in opposition to the world's "superpower", the U.S. At the beginning of the 2000s, the U.S.'s imperialist strategies, such as BMENA, evolved into a policy of maintaining what was left in the 2020s.

No one talks about a unipolar world anymore. Imperialist headquarters are now strategizing to create a multipolar world. In all these strategies, the reality of the people has been overlooked and ignored. Strategies created without considering the reality of the people are bound to fail.

What will determine the outcome is the reality of the people and classes because imperialism's fundamental contradiction is the labour-capital contradiction. The primary contradiction is between the oppressed, exploited peoples of the world and the imperialists.

BIG BITE ON THE WOLF'S TABLE: RUSSIA

Brief General Information about Russia: The official name is the Russian Federation. Its system of government is a federal semi-presidential republic.

Geographical Region: Located in the northern part of Eurasia. Russia shares land borders with Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, China, Mongolia, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Russia is also bordered by seas: the Sea of Okhotsk with Japan, the Bering Strait with Alaska (U.S.), and the Black Sea with Turkey.

Area: With an area of 17,125,191 square kilometres, Russia is the largest country in the world, covering one-eighth of the earth's habitable land.

Population: As of 2021, Russia's population is approximately 146 million, making it the 9th most populous country in the world.

Geography and Time Zones: Spanning across both Northern Asia and much of Eastern Europe, Russia stretches over 9 time zones and is home to diverse environments and landscapes.

Capital and Languages: The capital is Moscow, and the official language is Russian. Ethnically, 77% of Russia’s population is Russian, 3.72% are Tatar, 1.35% are Ukrainian, and 1.11% are Bashkirs. Other ethnicities make up 10.26% of the population.

The GDP of Russia is 1.710 trillion dollars. (2021)

Russia was established as a sovereign nation following the dissolution of the Soviet Union on 25 December 1991.

Natural Resources and Industry:

Russia possesses the largest reserves of natural gas in the world and is also the world’s leading producer and exporter of natural gas and the 8th largest oil reserve holder. It is a superpower in energy production, ranking as the third-largest electricity producer, the fifth-largest producer of renewable energy, and the fourth-largest nuclear energy producer.

Russia also has vast reserves of minerals and is the world's largest diamond producer, accounting for 25% of global production.

Russia is the third-largest exporter of grain globally, and over 1.2 million square kilometres are used for agricultural production.

Education and healthcare in Russia remain free of charge, and certain social rights inherited from the Soviet era are still in place.

The country is the fourth-largest in global fishing production. It has extensive forests, holding one-fifth of the world's forests.

Russia is the second-largest exporter of weapons in the world, with defence and weapons industries comprising 20% of total industrial production.

Before the dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991, it had an area of 22.4 million square kilometres and a population of around 290 million. It had the third-largest economy globally, after the U.S. and Japan.

In terms of military, political, and economic strength, the USSR was the second superpower opposing the imperialist camp led by the United States.

In the 1990s, with the beginning of counter-revolutions in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, imperialist forces initiated a devastating process of plunder and exploitation in the socialist countries that were dismantled.

To explain this dire situation, here are some key figures:

Before the collapse of the USSR, in 1990, its GDP was $2.7 trillion, making it the third-largest economy in the world despite the counter-revolutionary developments of the past decade. However, by 1991, Russia's GDP plummeted to $517.963 billion.

The real plunder occurred after the dissolution of the USSR. In 1992, Russia’s GDP fell drastically to $71.603 billion.

The plundering and devastation that occurred in Russia after the dissolution of the USSR also affected all the countries that supposedly gained independence. A similar situation was observed in Eastern European countries outside the USSR as well. Under the leadership of the U.S., a "unipolar world" was being built with the so-called "New World Order". With ideological attacks claiming that class struggles had ended, all the gains of socialism were dismantled.

In countries where the socialist system collapsed, there was a process of hunger, poverty, and corruption. Men became cheap labour in the capitalist market, while women found themselves in the sex trade.

Imperialism Has Not Changed; After Partition War II, It Gained A New Dimension By Developing Neo-Colonial Methods.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin described the stage of imperialism by stating that "the partition of all the lands and markets of the world among imperialist monopoly states is complete". He argued that from this point onward, there would only be "a war of division among them", referring to Partition War I.

He also famously noted, "***Either wars lead to revolutions, or revolutions prevent wars***."

Partition War I (1914) led to the October Revolution (1917). As a result, one-sixth of the imperialist world market was removed from imperialist exploitation. With the shrinking of their markets, the crises of imperialist monopoly states worsened. After the Second World War, revolutions in dozens of countries, including China, led to the loss of one-third of the imperialist world market.

After the Second Partition War, the imperialist camp, led by the U.S., sought to resolve its crises by developing a neo-colonial system. However, national and social liberation struggles across Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America continued to rise until the 1980s, and imperialists were unable to fully establish their neo-colonial relationships.

With the collapse of the socialist bloc in the early 1990s, a vast market (one-third of the global market) emerged, ripe for plunder and inclusion into the new neo-colonial system.

To integrate these countries into the imperialist neo-colonial system, they had to be restructured from top to bottom. However, under U.S.-led imperialism, neoliberal exploitation began with an open looting process. The 1990s saw a period of horrific hunger and suffering. Through privatisations, IMF and World Bank loans, and the creation of indebted, dependent, and collaborationist governments, neo-colonial relations were solidified by the early 2000s.

The Soviet Union, as mentioned earlier, was not easily "swallowed" or conquered. With an area of 22.4 million square kilometres and nearly 300 million people, plus the richest natural and mineral resources in the world, it was not a region to be easily defeated.

However, by the end of the 1990s and the early 2000s, with the U.S. in a unipolar world, the imperialist strategy for empire-building was openly declared.

The United States' imperial strategy, including BMENA, the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, the colour Revolutions, and the Arab Spring, is essential to understanding today's Russia.

According to this imperial strategy:

The U.S. focused on countries like Iraq, Libya, Iran, and Syria—still governed by petty-bourgeois dictatorships where imperialists had not fully established control—as its primary targets. Despite the collapse of the socialist system, organisations like DHKP-C, FARC, and other Marxist-Leninist groups, which resisted compromise and insisted on armed struggle, were also targeted by the U.S. imperial strategy for elimination.

With the invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003, the U.S. declared itself a world empire and introduced BMENA.

This project later evolved into BMENA, which aimed to restructure the world under U.S. imperial control.

Although many countries from Indonesia to Central Asia and Eastern Europe were not formally included in BMENA, they were part of the vast territory to be "designed" under the imperial strategy.

Despite opposition from many imperialist states, no power, not even China or Russia, could effectively resist the U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Afghanistan’s invasion, fuelled by terrorism rhetoric after the 9/11 attacks, was met with almost complete acquiescence to the empire.

The DHKP-C was placed on the "terrorist" list for condemning the invasion of Afghanistan. While state-based resistance to the invasion of Iraq was minimal, millions of people around the world expressed their opposition. After Iraq was invaded, the U.S. threatened that Syria, Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Cuba would be next, but these nations, instead of resisting, opted for conciliatory policies to defend themselves.

Putin's Rise to Power in Russia:

In the early 2000s, Vladimir Putin came to power in Russia. The country was deep in debt, burdened by imperialist loans, and grappling with its own internal issues. When Putin came to power in 2000, Russia’s population was 140 million, and its GDP was $259 billion. Upon assuming office, Putin immediately ended the imperialist looting. During the Gorbachev and Yeltsin eras, Russia was essentially governed by the U.S. The CIA and figures like Fethullah Gülen had infiltrated every sector of Russia and the former Soviet Union.

Putin began by removing these foreign influences and worked to revive Russia using its own resources. By 2009, Russia’s GDP had grown to $1.16 trillion, and by 2021, it had reached $1.71 trillion. However, it still lagged behind the Soviet Union’s GDP in 1990, the year before its collapse.

From 2000 onward, under Putin's leadership, Russia entered a process of political and economic recovery. Meanwhile, from 2004, the U.S. faced significant resistance in Iraq, even from an unorganised populace. By 2005, the U.S. had lost over 50, 000 soldiers in Iraq. The resistance of the Iraqi people, fighting with improvised weapons, exposed the fragility of the U.S. empire, highlighting how imperialism's "paper tiger" was laid bare by the resilience of the Iraqi people.

Following this, the U.S. sought to create a cooperative government in Iraq, moving from direct occupation to establishing hidden imperial control. Resistance spread to Afghanistan, and as the U.S. expanded its empire through BMENA, popular anger against U.S. imperialism reached new heights.

Developments in Central Asian Countries After the Collapse of the USSR

After the collapse of the USSR, a process of plundering and looting began in Central Asia, just as it did in Russia. This process continued until the early 2000s. After the invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. started to exert its military influence, using the growth of Islamist organisations in these countries as a pretext. Starting in 2002, the U.S. and British military began using airbases in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan.

The U.S. deployed 300, 000 soldiers in Kyrgyzstan and 1, 000 soldiers in Uzbekistan. It signed agreements with Kazakhstan to use the Alma-Ata Airport for military purposes. Additionally, agreements were made with Turkmenistan to train the Turkmen army with U.S. soldiers. Military bases were also established by the U.S. in Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.

As the U.S. increased its military presence in these countries near Russia after the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, neither Russia nor China raised their voices in protest. However, starting in 2004, after the rise of resistance in Iraq, Russia began to strengthen its economic and political ties with these neighbouring countries.

In response, the U.S. attempted to thwart Russia's initiatives through colour revolutions or military coups. In Ukraine and Georgia, these revolutions were successful, but in the other Central Asian countries—such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan—they failed. As a result, anti-American sentiment grew in these countries, known as the Turkic republics. In 2002, military and economic agreements with the U.S. were cancelled. The airbases and military installations used by the U.S. and the UK were shut down, and more than 200 imperialist NGOs, including those linked to Fethullah Gülen, were expelled from the region.

Between 2004 and 2008, Central Asian countries started to sign new military agreements with Russia, after having broken their agreements with the U.S. The primary reason for this shift was not just Russia's recovery under Putin, but also the increasing resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan, which left the U.S. stuck in a quagmire in these countries.

In the Middle East, in 2005, the "Cedar Revolution" in Lebanon aimed to pressure Syria, but it was ultimately thwarted by Hezbollah's resistance. Similarly, in 2006, Israel's invasion of Lebanon to eliminate Hezbollah was unsuccessful, due to Hezbollah's strong resistance. This led to a significant defeat for Israel and its imperialist backers, changing the perception of Israel and imperialism among the Arab people, who saw them as an insurmountable force.

The resistance in Lebanon shattered this perception. This is why the political significance and victory of Hezbollah's resistance are immense.

As resistance in Iraq grew, armed movements against imperialist-backed regimes began to develop in Yemen and Somalia as well, signalling a broader pushback against imperialism in the region.

The "Arab Spring" process, which began in 2010, provided an opportunity for the United States to re-legitimise itself in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Africa, areas where anti-American sentiment had reached its peak. Learning from its direct invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. sought to implement its policies through local collaborators. Its primary targets were Libya and Syria. In 2012, Gaddafi was lynched and killed as a lesson to those who resisted them.

Syria became the next target, and the U.S. openly declared its intentions to force President Assad to step down, even going so far as to demand that he leave the power and the country with his family. Throughout these events, neither Russia nor China had any policy to halt the attacks by the U.S. and EU imperialists. Russia, for example, extended an invitation to Assad to seek refuge in Russia, should he choose to leave.

The resilience of the Assad government, particularly supported by Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah, undermined the entire Middle East policy of the U.S. and the EU imperialism.

Today, the collapse of the U.S. Empire and the failure of BMENA have been made possible by the determination of the Assad regime in Syria to resist.

While the support of Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah has played a significant role in nullifying U.S. policies, it was Assad's steadfast determination to resist that made such a polarisation possible. As long as the Assad regime resists, Russia, Iran, and Hezbollah are forced to stand behind him with all their strength. This is because the goal after the destruction of Syria is to target Hezbollah, Iran, and Russia.

In 2014, the U.S. and EU imperialists openly attacked Syria under the pretext of combating ISIS. Russia and Iran responded by providing military support to Assad's government, seeing the war as a direct confrontation with imperialism.

This resistance of the people reshaped global alignments, demonstrating that U.S. and EU imperialists were no longer the unstoppable forces they once seemed to be.

By the early 2020s, the U.S., having lost ground in the Middle East, Africa, and Central Asia, found itself confronted by the growing influence of Russia, China, and Iran.

China is the second-largest economy in the world, after the United States. This is largely due to the cheap labour force of the Chinese people. It is predicted that by 2030, China's economy will surpass that of the U.S. Given the current pace of China's growth and the declining power of the U.S., this transition may occur even before 2030. As a result, the U.S. has declared China a "priority threat."

Russia, on the other hand, ranks eleventh in the world in terms of economic power. But Russia had gained military and political strength, particularly after its involvement in Syria. The U.S. attempted to undermine this power by provoking conflicts in regions like Ukraine.

As we mentioned above, after Vladimir Putin came to power, Russia began to stabilize and rebuild itself. The U.S. and EU imperialists, bogged down in the Middle East, could not directly intervene. Instead, they attempted to encircle Russia by establishing puppet regimes in neighbouring countries. "Colour revolutions" were part of this strategy. For example, in 2008, the U.S. and EU imperialists reportedly orchestrated Georgia's attack on South Ossetia as part of this plan.

In 2013, Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych, who sought closer economic and political ties with Russia, rejected an "EU partnership agreement, "triggering U.S. and EU-backed unrest. The imperialists tried to eliminate Russia's economic and political influence in Ukraine and sparked a civil war there. They openly threatened Russia, saying, "***If you don't withdraw your support from Syria, we will bring the war to your doorstep.***"

However, Russia did not yield to these threats. Just as it had intervened militarily in Georgia in 2008, Russia annexed Crimea and established two independent republics—Donetsk and Luhansk—in Russian-majority areas of eastern Ukraine. Crimea, after a referendum, chose to join Russia.

In summary, in 2014, while the U.S. and EU imperialists used Ukraine to threaten Russia and push it away from Syria, they lost Crimea, Donetsk, and Luhansk. This bolstered Russia's political and military power, showing that it had become more resistant to Western threats.

2021, The Year When the U.S. declared Russia a Hostile Country

In 2021, when Joe Biden became President of the United States, he declared Russia a "hostile power". Along with EU imperialists, they began imposing economic, political, and military sanctions on Russia.

However, the EU, which is 70% dependent on Russia for energy, did not fully align with the U.S. on sanctions against Russia.

Since 2021, the U.S. has been threatening Russia once again through Ukraine. Military build-ups have occurred on Ukraine's borders via Poland, and by January 2022, the atmosphere of imminent war began to take shape.

Since the 1990s, the countries that once made up the Soviet Union have been vulnerable to imperialist exploitation. The U.S. and EU imperialists, recognising this region's wealth of natural resources, have no intention of letting it go.

As openly declared in 2021, their primary target is Russia. But Russia is too large and strong to be easily overpowered. Therefore, they are attempting to weaken Russia by surrounding it, just as they did during the Soviet era.

Russia, however, has not yielded to these policies and remains resolute. The country has been working to strengthen its economic, political, military, and cultural ties with the former Soviet republics. These countries, after experiencing the collapse of the Soviet Union, now realise how intertwined their destinies are. The Ukrainian people will come to this realisation as well.

All of these countries possess sufficient natural resources to be self-sufficient. The region is rich in energy resources and holds strategic importance as a transit route between Europe and distant Asia. Moreover, all of these countries share borders with Russia.

Any developments in these countries, including interference from the U.S. and EU imperialists, are of direct concern to Russia. Russia cannot view its security or future independently from these nations. Therefore, its strategy and policies must be aligned accordingly.

In conclusion:

1) With the socialist revolutions, a third of the global markets had been excluded from the imperialist control. However, with the collapse of the socialist system in the early 1990s, these markets were reopened to imperialist monopolies, and the process of recolonisation began.
2) During the 1990s, under the leadership of the United States, there was no obstacle left to prevent imperialist exploitation. In countries where the socialist system collapsed, there was widespread plundering, and the entire world population faced the unrestrained exploitation of imperialists.
3) By the early 2000s, the United States declared itself the world empire, and through BMENA, it aimed to reshape the entire world according to imperialist strategies, from Indonesia to Central Asia, Eastern Europe to the Middle East, and North Africa.
4) The invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq were carried out with this goal in mind. After the collapse of the socialist bloc, there were still many countries in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America where neo-colonial relationships had not yet been established. The direct occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan was a warning to all those who would not submit to the imperial order: "Either you surrender, or your fate will be like that of Iraq and Afghanistan."
5) The invasion of Iraq initially caused great despair among the world's peoples. However, starting in 2004, the conditions of open occupation in Iraq led to the rise of a growing resistance from the Iraqi people.
6) From the early 2000s, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organisations were also targeted for subjugation. The DHKP-C (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front) was one of the main organisations. The political approach used was known as the "F-type" prisons policy. We resisted throughout this process.

7) The invasion of Iraq was, in fact, the beginning of the end for the U.S. Empire. We stated this when the imperialists were celebrating their victory with chants of "Baghdad has fallen". The situation unfolded as we had predicted.
8) The Arab Spring process in 2010 gave the U.S. an opportunity to redesign the region under BMENA. However, resistance in Libya under Gaddafi, in Yemen, and especially in Syria under Assad's government, led to the failure of U.S. policies in the Middle East.
9) The Syrian resistance also created new alignments against U.S. and EU imperialism. Countries like Russia, Iran, and China, which had been unable to speak out against the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq or the overthrow of Gaddafi in Libya, stood in solidarity with Syria due to its determination to resist. They saw that without joining forces with Syria, they would not be able to avoid attacks from U.S. and EU imperialists.
10) After ten years of attacks, the U.S. and EU imperialists failed to overthrow Assad's government in Syria. As a result, their global dominance began to decline, while Russia increased its military and political power. With the invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. had reached its peak in terms of control over Central Asian countries on Russia's borders, but by 2021, its influence had significantly diminished.
11) Russia's economic, political, and military relations with these countries are not about establishing dominance but about ensuring its own future and security. This is because U.S. and EU imperialists are attempting to encircle Russia by taking over its neighbouring countries.
12) To conquer Russia, the U.S. and EU imperialists have not only targeted Central Asian countries but also created loyal puppet governments in Ukraine, Georgia, and Belarus. They even tried to bring Aleksei Navalny, a collaborator, to power as an alternative to Vladimir Putin within Russia itself.
13) The Ukrainian government is one of the most loyal and useful collaborators for the U.S. and EU imperialists in their efforts against Russia.

IS RUSSIA IMPERIALIST?

In leftist circles, the debate over whether Russia is imperialist dates back to the Soviet era. However, discussions during the Soviet period had little to do with scientific socialism or class struggle. At a time when national liberation movements were at their peak worldwide, the global left found itself entangled in the conflict between the Soviet Union and China, which was rooted in revisionist policies. China, seeking closer ties with the U.S.—the leading power of the imperialist camp—declared the USSR an enemy by labelling it "**social imperialist**."

The revisionist policies that began with Khrushchev in the USSR have been a significant point of criticism among Marxist-Leninists. However, the narrative of "social imperialism" was largely shaped by U.S. imperialist ideological warfare.

This created confusion among revolutionary movements fighting for national and social liberation across the world. The claim "You call us imperialists, but even the homeland of the socialism you wish to establish—the USSR—is also imperialist" was used to sow ideological uncertainty. As a result, much of the global left aligned itself with either the USSR or China's revisionist policies. This division within the left became a major obstacle to discussing socialism's challenges on a Marxist-Leninist basis and carrying out ideological struggles effectively.

After recovering somewhat economically in the 2000s, Russia once again became the subject of debate within the left regarding whether it was imperialist. However, this argument is primarily driven by sections of the left that collaborate with imperialism, using "**Both the U.S. and Russia are imperialist**" rhetoric to justify their alignment with Western imperialist powers.

On the other hand, some argue that Russia's vast natural resources, particularly oil and natural gas, along with its significant share in global arms exports, make it an imperialist power. However, determining whether Russia is truly imperialist requires a concrete analysis based on objective data.

Russia, as previously analysed in terms of its economic, political, geographical, and cultural aspects, is the largest economy of the former Soviet Union and the largest country by landmass. Yet, it lacks the economic power to compete with the U.S., China, or even India as a "great power."

Russia's economic sphere of influence is quite narrow. The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), established in 2014, includes Kazakhstan, Belarus, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan alongside Russia. However, these economies collectively produce only 15% of Russia's GDP, making them relatively insignificant in global terms.

By comparison, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)[40], which existed before the dissolution of the USSR, had an economic structure equivalent to $3.5–4 trillion in today's terms. The EAEU does not even come close to the scope of Comecon.

Russia's Economy is Based on Raw Material Exports. Russia is the world's third-largest oil producer, following the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, and the largest oil exporter. It possesses the largest natural gas reserves and is also the top global exporter of natural gas.

In terms of wheat production, Russia ranks third after China and India and is the largest wheat exporter in the world. Alongside Ukraine, Russia accounts for nearly 25% of global wheat exports. Russia is also a key producer of barley, rye, corn, and soy. In sunflower oil exports, Russia and Ukraine dominate, with Turkey as their primary buyer.

Additionally, Russia is a leading producer of copper, nickel, and aluminium. The Ukraine war further increased the prices of all these raw materials.

Russia also plays a crucial role in the production of palladium, which is essential for car manufacturing, and neon gas, which is used in semiconductor production.

Similarity Between Russia and Brazil

Does Resource Dominance Make Russia Imperialist?

If we list all these economic facts, does being a major producer of critical commodities and influencing global prices make Russia imperialist? Not necessarily.

Aside from its military power, Russia lacks the capacity to economically compete with the U.S.-led imperialist bloc. While it exports oil and gas to the global imperialist market, it has not developed the necessary economic accumulation or exploitation mechanisms that define imperialism.

In this regard, Russia is more comparable to Brazil than to the U.S. Rather than resembling Mexico, which is integrated into the U.S. economy, Russia is a resource-rich country that primarily supplies raw materials to global markets, much like Brazil.

Russia's military interventions in Ukraine and Georgia were not aimed at economic exploitation but rather geopolitical and strategic objectives. The U.S. and EU imperialists have worked to encircle Russia by supporting pro-Western governments in neighbouring countries. As previously stated, Russia is their primary target. They seek to prevent Russia from growing as a competitor while also viewing it as a massive market to exploit.

However, Russia is not an easy target. As long as it resists being recolonised, it will continue to be perceived as a threat by U.S. and EU imperialists.

[40] **COMECON** (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) was an economic cooperation and support organization established among socialist countries on January 25, 1949. It functioned as a framework for economic collaboration until 1991, when it was dissolved following the collapse of the socialist system.

For this reason, Russia's military actions in Georgia and Ukraine should not be seen as acts of economic imperialism. Rather, they are defensive moves aimed at countering the U.S.-EU imperialist encirclement, which has been established through pro-Western governments in these countries.

Both Georgia and Ukraine became U.S.-EU neo-colonies after the collapse of the Soviet Union, as Russia struggled with its internal crises. These countries sought NATO membership, further contributing to Russia's military encirclement.

Russia's intervention in Georgia and Ukraine, as well as its efforts to reestablish economic, military, and political relations with former Soviet republics like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, have led some leftists to label Russia as "imperialist."

However, a true imperialist power must possess a dominant global economic structure, powerful financial institutions, and a system of economic exploitation that extracts wealth from other nations.

Russia, despite its military might and natural resources, does not meet these criteria.

Is Russia an Imperialist Power?
Let's Analyse It Using the Five Fundamental Features of Imperialism:

Lenin's Five Features of Imperialism:

1. The concentration of production and capital, leading to the emergence of monopolies.
2. The new roles of banks and the dominance of financial oligarchy.
3. The importance of capital export beyond commodity export.
4. The division of the world market by monopolistic capitalist groups.
5. The completion of the territorial division of the world among major capitalist powers.

Now, let's examine Russia based on these five fundamental features:

1) Russia's Strength Among International Capitalist Monopolies

According to Forbes' 2021 ranking, among the top 100 companies, the U.S. had 39 firms, China had 16, Japan had 8, and Germany had 5, whereas Russia had only 2 companies (Sberbank ranked 51st, Rosneft ranked 99th).

In labour productivity rankings among 62 countries, Norway ranked 1st, the U.S. 3rd, Germany 6th, while Russia ranked 42nd, behind Turkey, which was 40th. In other words, Russia's labour productivity is about 30% of the U.S. level (World Population Review, Most Productive Countries 2022).

- In global manufacturing output, the top four countries are China, the U.S., Japan, and Germany, while Russia ranks 11th.
- China's manufacturing output was $3.868 trillion, the U.S. produced $2.308 trillion, while Russia's output was only $212 billion (Macro Trends, Manufacturing Output by Country).

2) Russia's Export of Raw Materials and High-Tech Goods

In 2020, global exports were led by China ($2.591 trillion), the U.S. ($1.431 trillion), and Germany ($1.380 trillion), while Russia ranked 16th with $331 billion (Statista.com).

Regarding high-tech exports, China led with $654 billion, followed by Germany ($210 billion), South Korea ($193 billion), and the U.S. ($156 billion). Russia, with $10.2 billion, ranked 29th, below Israel and Brazil (indexmundi.com).

3) Russia's Position in the Imperialist Financial System and Russian Banks

Among the world's top 100 banks, China had 21, the U.S. 12, Japan 9, and the UK 6 banks. Russia had only one bank (Sberbank, ranked 67th) in this list.

Regarding **Foreign Direct Investment** (FDI), Russia's total FDI inflows were:

- $20.7 billion in 2000
- $464.2 billion in 2010

- $446.7 billion in 2020

Meanwhile, Russia's outgoing FDI was:

- $19.2 billion in 2000
- $336.4 billion in 2010
- $379.6 billion in 2020

Despite significant growth over two decades, Russia accounts for only 1.07% of global FDI inflows and 0.97% of outflows, indicating a minor role in the global imperialist system.

For comparison:

- The U.S. holds $10.8 trillion in FDI,
- China (including Hong Kong) holds $3.8 trillion,
- The Netherlands $2.9 trillion,
- The UK $2.2 trillion.

Similarly, outbound FDI is:

- $8.1 trillion from the U.S.,
- $4.3 trillion from China,
- $3.8 trillion from the Netherlands,
- $2.1 trillion from the UK (UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2021).

Russia's Position in the Monopoly Rankings

Among the world's top 100 multinational corporations by market value:

- The U.S. had 59,
- China had 14,
- Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Japan had 3 each.
- Russia had no companies in this list.

The largest Russian companies were:

- Gazprom ($67 billion)
- Lukoil ($40 billion)

For comparison, the 100th largest company in the world, Belgian Anheuser Busch, had a market value of $128 billion. These figures indicate that Russia does not have significant weight in global monopolies.

Russia's Role in Global Wealth Accumulation

According to Credit Suisse's 2021 Global Wealth Report, the per capita wealth in different countries was:

- Switzerland: $674K
- U.S.: $505K
- Australia: $484K
- France: $299K
- Japan: $257K
- China: $68K
- Russia: $27K

The U.S. controls 30.2% of global wealth, while China controls 17.9%. In contrast, Russia holds only 0.73% of global wealth.

Based on Lenin's definition of imperialism as the era of financial capital and monopolies where capital export plays a major role, Russia lacks significant capital export power.

4) Russia's Military Power

Russia's most dominant sector is its military strength.

Since 1949, Russia has been a nuclear power. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) 2021 Yearbook, Russia has the largest number of nuclear warheads in the world:

- The U.S. has 1, 800 active, ready-to-launch warheads, while Russia has 1, 625.
- In total, including stored warheads, Russia has 6, 255, and the U.S. has 5, 550.
- China, in comparison, has only 350 warheads.

In global arms sales, the U.S. and Russia dominate, but while the U.S. increased its market share from 32% to 37% between 2011-2015 and 2016-2020, Russia's share declined from 26% to 20%.

Russia's top arms export destinations are:

- India (49%)
- China (77%)
- Egypt (41%)
- Algeria (69%)
- Vietnam (66%)
- Kazakhstan (89%)
- Belarus (99%) (SIPRI Fact Sheet, March 2021).

In global military presence, the U.S. has over 800 military bases in 70+ countries, while Russia has only 21 bases in 10 countries.

Russia's military budget is $61.7 billion, ranking third in the world. However, when combined with China's $252 billion budget, the total is $314 billion, still far below the U.S.'s $778 billion.

Russia has intervened militarily in Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, and Yugoslavia in recent history. However, these interventions were not aimed at economic exploitation or controlling natural resources but were instead geostrategic operations to counter U.S.-EU imperialist strategies.

Conclusion:

1. Although Russian President Vladimir Putin has made expansionist statements, this does not necessarily mean that Russia is an imperialist power.
2. Apart from its military strength, Russia does not have the economic power to compete within the imperialist monopoly and financial capital system.
3. Russia has not reached the point where it can export capital to its sphere of influence and establish mechanisms of profit and exploitation.
4. Russia is one of the key players in the oil and natural gas markets, influencing global economic balances.
5. Therefore, regardless of its intentions, it is incorrect to categorise Russia as an imperialist power alongside the U.S., the EU, and Japan.
6. Russia is undoubtedly a capitalist country within the capitalist system. However, rather than being part of the imperialist camp, it is a vast market that imperialists seek to exploit, much like a "lamb among wolves."
7. As long as imperialist powers fail to fully control Russia's vast 17.4 million square kilometres of land, their crises will deepen, and they will not achieve global dominance.
8. Since the early 2000s, Russia has recovered economically, not by exploiting other nations, but by:
    - Reducing its dependence on U.S.-EU imperialists step by step,
    - Utilising its heavy industry and technological expertise inherited from the Soviet era,
    - Extracting and exporting its vast natural resources. However, Russia still lacks the capability to process these raw materials into finished products for export.
9. Russia is a leading producer and exporter of strategic commodities such as oil, natural gas, copper, nickel, aluminium, and various grain products, giving it significant influence over global markets. This became even more evident after the Ukraine conflict, as Western sanctions on Russia have caused greater economic harm to the sanctioning countries themselves.

10. For this reason, Russia is seen as a power that must be subdued by the U.S.-led imperialist camp. After taking office, U.S. President Joe Biden declared Russia the “main enemy”, making it his top geopolitical target.
11. The real reason behind the Ukraine War is this geopolitical struggle. The U.S. has used Ukraine’s government as a proxy to weaken Russia militarily and economically through sanctions. Ukraine itself is merely a pawn in this strategy.
12. Russia’s intervention in Ukraine is not driven by imperialist ambitions but rather an attempt to counter U.S. aggression. Some commentators claim that “the U.S. lured Russia into a trap”, but such narratives are heavily influenced by the 95% U.S.-dominated imperialist media. In reality, Russia’s move in Ukraine disrupted U.S. imperialist plans.
13. The U.S. will continue its full-scale assault on Russia via Ukraine to maintain its global dominance and bring Russia to its knees. Furthermore, Washington will attempt to sever Russia’s ties with its neighbouring countries whenever possible. The push to include Sweden and Finland in NATO is part of this strategy.
14. The U.S. global empire was first shaken by the resistance in Iraq and Afghanistan in 2005 and later suffered heavy blows in Syria and Yemen. During this period, new economic, political, and military powers—especially China and Russia—emerged as challengers to the U.S.-EU imperialist bloc. Economically, the U.S. is on the verge of losing its global leadership to China. The U.S.-led imperialist system is now undergoing a new phase of geopolitical realignment.

The Ukraine war marks the beginning of this shift. While it is too early to predict how global contradictions will evolve from this conflict, one thing is clear: the gap between the ruling elite and the masses will continue to widen.

Once again, the imperialist-capitalist system has proven to bring only hunger, poverty, misery, war, death, and destruction to the world’s people. The only path to true liberation is socialism, and only socialism can bring lasting world peace.

The 1991 Soviet Union Referendum

As the socialist system collapsed due to counter-revolutionary revisionism, many questioned, *"Did the people not resist the downfall of socialism? How did they accept this?* "These questions are still debated today.

When the enemy operates from within—when counter-revolutionary revisionists align with imperialism—every act of resistance, including public uprisings, was suppressed under the pretext of being a "coup attempt."

Imperialist propaganda distorted the truth, causing ideological confusion even among leftist circles. In many cases, counter-revolutions were portrayed as *“revolutions”*, and uprisings manipulated by imperialist NGOs and treacherous collaborators were labelled as *“people’s revolts.”*

However, the vast majority of people strongly opposed the dismantling of socialism. Despite this, the collaborator faction led by Mikhail Gorbachev ignored the will of the people, dismantling the socialist system and ultimately dissolving the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

The results of the 1991 Soviet Union Referendum provide a striking example of the Soviet people's commitment to socialism.

The 1991 Referendum in the Soviet Union

With the Perestroika and Glasnost policies implemented by Gorbachev in 1986, the stated goal was to "unblock socialism". However, by the early 1990s, the economy was on the brink of collapse. Imperialist NGOs launched intense counter-revolutionary campaigns across Soviet republics, fuelling nationalism.

Under imperialist influence, some collaborator leaders in Soviet republics began pushing for "*independence".*

To address this, on 24 December 1990, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR decided to hold a referendum on the future of the union.

It was agreed that citizens would be asked the question:

"Do you consider it necessary to preserve the Soviet Union as a renewed federation of equal republics, ensuring full protection of the rights and freedoms of all nationalities? "

During the planning of the 1991 referendum, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested including an additional question on the privatisation of collective farmland—asking whether citizens approved the transfer of collective land to private ownership.

However, this proposal was rejected by Yuri Kalmykov, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Key Decisions Led by Yuri Kalmykov

As a result, the referendum framework was structured as follows:

- Each Soviet republic would vote separately on the issue.
- The date of the referendum would be determined by the Supreme Soviet.

On 16 January 1991, during the 4th Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, the following decisions were made:

- The referendum was scheduled for 17 March 1991 (Sunday).
- Voting would be secret, and the ballot would include the following question:

"Do you consider it necessary to preserve the Soviet Union as a renewed federation of equal republics, ensuring full protection of the rights and freedoms of all nationalities? "

- Voters could select “Yes” or “No.”
- Although voting would take place separately in each republic, the results would be evaluated collectively.

The referendum was set for 17 March 1991 and was to be conducted by secret ballot in each republic.

Referendum Results

- Total voter turnout: 80%
- Votes in favour ("Yes"): 77.85% (113, 512, 812 votes)
- Votes against ("No"): 22.15% (32, 303, 977 votes)
- Valid votes: 98.14%
- Invalid/blank votes: 1.86%

The referendum was approved in 9 republics, with overwhelming support in most regions.

Breakdown by Republics

- Russia SSR – 73% Yes
- Belarus SSR – 83.72% Yes
- Kazakhstan SSR – 95% Yes
- Kyrgyzstan SSR – 95.98% Yes
- Tajikistan SSR – 96.85% Yes
- Turkmenistan SSR – 98.26% Yes
- Ukraine SSR – 71.48% Yes
- Uzbekistan SSR – 94.73% Yes
- Karakalpak SSR – 97.6% Yes

Despite government boycotts in some regions, local populations demanded referendums, and the results were overwhelmingly in favour of preserving the USSR.

For instance, in Abkhazia, 98.05% voted to remain in the Soviet Union. Similarly, in Transnistria (84% turnout) and Gagauzia (97% turnout), over 98% of voters supported staying in the USSR.

Although the central government of Moldova called for a boycott of the referendum, the Transnistria Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Gagauzia Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (home to a Turkish-speaking population) decided to participate in the referendum.

In Transnistria, where the participation rate was 84%, and in Gagauzia, with a participation rate of 97%, the results showed 98% in favour of remaining in the Soviet Union.

Referendum Results by Republics:

- Russia FSCC: 73%
- Bashkortostan ASSR: 85%
- Buryatia ASSR: 83.5%
- Dagestan ASSR: 82%
- Kabardino-Balkaria ASSR: 77.9%
- Kalmykia ASSR: 87.8%
- Karelia ASSR: 76%
- Komi ASSR: 76%
- Mari ASSR: 79.6%
- Mordovia ASSR: 80.3%
- North Ossetia ASSR: 90.2%
- Tatarstan ASSR: 87.5%
- Tuva ASSR: 91.4%
- Udmurt ASSR: 76%
- Chechen-Ingush ASSR: 75.9%
- Chuvash ASSR: 82.4%
- Yakutia ASSR: 76.7%
- Nakhchivan ASSR: 87.3%
- Belarus SSR: 83.72%
- Kazakhstan SSR: 95%
- Kyrgyzstan SSR: 95.98%
- Tajikistan SSR: 96.85%
- Turkmenistan SSR: 98.26%
- Ukraine SSR: 71.48%
- Uzbekistan SSR: 94.73%
- Karakalpak SSR: 97.6%

As seen, Ukraine had the lowest results with 71.8%, while the overall average for the USSR was 77%. The voter turnout was remarkably high at 80%.

Although some countries like Georgia had collaborative leaders who decided to protest the referendum, the people still demanded its execution, and the referendum went ahead. A striking example is Georgia, where 99.98% of voters wanted to stay in the Soviet Union.

In all Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, the referendum results showed a very high percentage in favour of remaining in the Soviet Union.

However, revisionist counter-revolutionaries, under the influence of imperialism, did not give up on their plans to dismantle socialism.

Regions That Held the Referendum Despite Protests Against the USSR's Dissolution

In six other republics of the Soviet Union, the central governments rejected participation in the referendum. However, the Soviet Parliaments of these republics organised separate referendums, calling on the people to boycott the vote. Despite these calls, many republics saw substantial participation. However, the results were not approved by the collaborating governments.

Referendum Results:

- Moldova SSR: 98.72%
- Estonia SSR: 95.46%
- Latvia SSR: 95.84%
- Lithuania SSR: 99.13%
- Armenia SSR: 72.46%
- Georgia SSR: 99.98%
- Abkhazia SSR: 98.5%

Based on the referendum results, it was decided to sign the renewed union agreement on 20 August 1991. However, since the Supreme Soviet had announced that the results would be evaluated as a whole, even the republics that declared the referendum invalid due to the actions of their governments were still compelled to sign the agreement.

On 19 August 1991, a military coup attempt took place under the leadership of Vladimir Kryuchkov, head of the KGB. Imperialists and their collaborators launched a propaganda campaign, declaring it a "resistance against the coup, popular resistance," which quickly caused the army to retreat. Despite the referendum results, separatism was encouraged. Using the military intervention as a pretext, the Renewed Union Treaty scheduled for 20 August 1991, based on the March 1991 referendum, was cancelled.

Yeltsin, tasked with dismantling the Union, immediately declared that the Russian national flag would be the new flag of the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic (RFSSR) following the military intervention. From September 1991 onwards, republics began declaring their independence one by one.

Subsequent Efforts to Reunite the Union

On 8 December 1991, Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic, along with the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus, signed the agreement that officially dissolved the Soviet Union in Minsk. However, the Supreme Soviet cited the March 1991 referendum to invalidate the agreement on December 12.

On December 25, after Mikhail Gorbachev resigned, all powers were transferred to Yeltsin. In September 1992, former Supreme Soviet member and Duma deputy Sergey Baburin, leading the National Front, submitted a petition to the Constitutional Court stating that the agreement signed by Yeltsin was invalid, based on the March 1991 referendum. However, since the judiciary was under Yeltsin's control, the petition was ignored.

On 15 March 1996, the Communist Party, which had the largest number of members in the Duma, brought the referendum result and the Minsk agreement's invalidity back to the agenda. However, due to Yeltsin's initiative, other political parties formed an alliance, closing the matter.

The U.S.-EU Imperialist Encirclement of Russia Through NATO and Collaborator Ukraine

In the earlier chapters of our book, we highlighted that BMENA, according to the U.S. imperialist strategy, was about reshaping the world.

After the collapse of the socialist system in the early 1990s due to the counter-revolutions of revisionism, integrating these countries into the imperialist market was not an easy task.

Throughout the 90s, the slogans of a "Unipolar World, Globalisation" only brought hunger and misery to the world's peoples.

Following the collapse of the socialist system, imperialists descended like vultures to plunder the countries. They looted everything of value and destroyed the economies of these nations. By stirring up nationalism in the peoples who had once lived together in solidarity within the socialist system, they incited divisions. They fragmented Yugoslavia into seven parts. From the 90s to the 2000s, countries that

refused to open their economies to U.S.-EU imperialist plunder—such as Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), and petty-bourgeois dictatorships like Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Libya—stood firm in their resistance. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, every country that emerged from it, including Russia, was subject to plundering by U.S.-EU imperialists.

By the 2000s, following the imperialist strategy of the U.S., countries that had not fully opened themselves to the plundering of imperialism, such as Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya, became targets. Iraq was the primary target. However, after the Twin Towers attacks in 2001, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan. Then, in 2003, the invasion of Iraq marked the declaration of the U.S. imperialist strategy.

The invasion of Iraq, however, became the beginning of the end for the U.S. empire. The Iraq invasion turned into a quagmire from which the U.S. could not extricate itself. As the U.S. struggled in the Iraq and Afghanistan quagmires, on the other hand, Vladimir Putin came to power in Russia in the early 2000s, and Russia gradually recovered economically, relying on its own resources.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the countries that became members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (1) began to develop closer political and economic ties with Russia.

The U.S. attempted to intervene in these countries using "colour revolutions", coups, and assassination attempts to create collaborating governments. However, they only succeeded in Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia. As we discussed in the "Countries Related to BMENA" section of the book, the U.S.-EU imperialists primarily sought to surround Russia by establishing client states in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan. These actions made it clear that Russia was the main target.

By the end of 2021, the U.S.-EU imperialist bloc, through its collaborator Ukraine, openly revealed this goal.

How Did We Come to the Ukraine-Russia War? Before delving into this topic, we will also examine Ukraine in terms of its historical, economic, and geographical structure.

UKRAINE

Ukraine, located in Eastern Europe, is the largest country entirely within Europe, covering an area of 603, 549 km². It borders Russia to the east and northeast, Belarus to the northwest, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary to the west, and Romania and Moldova to the southwest. Additionally, Ukraine has coastlines along the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov to the south.

History of Ukraine

During the Middle Ages, the territory of modern Ukraine became a significant centre of Eastern Slavic culture with the establishment of the powerful Kievan Rus' (2), which laid the foundation of Ukrainian identity. In the 13th century, the fragmentation of Kievan Rus' into various principalities and the devastation caused by the Mongol invasion led to the collapse of regional unity. The area later became a battleground and was governed or divided among various powers, including the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the Tsardom of Russia.

The name *Ukraine* is believed to mean "borderland" in Old Slavic. Before being called Ukraine, the region was known as R*uthenia* and was successively controlled by Scythians, Huns, Khazar Turks, Kipchaks, Pechenegs, Cumans, Oghuz Turks, the Golden Horde, and the Ottoman Empire.

The capital, Kyiv, was part of the Khazar Khaganate until the mid-9th century and was then known as *Sambat*. In 860 AD, the Vikings ended Khazar control, and the area became part of the Kievan Rus', ruled by Polyan Kyiv leaders from 879 to 1240.

In 988 AD, during the reign of Volodymyr, Christianity was adopted from Byzantium, solidifying Ukraine's cultural and religious ties to Europe. However, between the 11th and 13th centuries, feudal fragmentation weakened the region. After the decline of Kievan Rus', the political, economic, and cultural centre of Ukraine shifted to the Galicia-Volhynia Principality (3).

Independent principalities emerged in Galicia from 1084, with centres in Przemyśl, Terebovlia, and Zvenyhorod. In 1141, Volodymyrko Volodarovych unified them into a single Galician principality, which peaked under Yaroslav Osmomysl. In 1199, Prince Roman united Galicia and Volhynia, forming the Galicia-Volhynia state.

In 1245, the Mongol invasion forced Roman's successor, Daniel, to accept vassalage under the Golden Horde. In 1303, Daniel's grandson, King Yuri I, successfully established the Galician Metropolis. However, after his sons, Andrew and Lev II, briefly fought against the Golden Horde in alliance with the Teutonic Knights and Mazovian princes, the last ruler, Yuri II, once again became a vassal of the Mongols.

Foreign Rule

By the late 14th century, Ukraine was fragmented among different states.

- Lithuania controlled Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Volhynia.
- Poland ruled over Galicia and Podolia.
- Crimean Khanate took control of Ukraine's southern steppes in 1447.
- Transcarpathia was under Hungarian rule.

By the late 15th century, in the frontier region of Zaporizhzhia, a group of warriors known as the Cossacks emerged. By the 16th century, their stronghold, the Zaporozhian Sich, became a key military centre. The Cossacks, forming a distinct social class, frequently rebelled against Polish rule due to legal and social oppression by the nobility. Between 1591 and 1638, they staged seven uprisings, from the Kosinsky Uprising (1591-1593) to the Ostryanin Uprising (1638).

Cossack Hetmanate (1649-1764)

The Cossacks, a warrior people who lived by raiding Poland, the Ottoman Empire, and Tsarist Russia, launched a major uprising against Poland in 1648. With Russian support, they succeeded and gained autonomy from Poland, establishing the Cossack Hetmanate in Zaporizhzhia, marking the first Ukrainian state in history.

During the second half of the 17th century, the region became a battleground between Poland, the Ottoman Empire, and Tsarist Russia. However, as Poland and the Ottoman Empire weakened, Russia emerged victorious. By the end of the 18th century, following the partition of Poland, Russia took control of most of Ukraine.

19th and Early 20th Century

In 1917, the February Revolution in Russia overthrew the monarchy and established a Provisional Government. On March 17, the Central Council of Ukraine was formed in Kyiv. After the October Revolution, on November 20, the Central Rada declared Ukraine's autonomy.

However, on 29 April 1918, the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) was overthrown by a coup supported by German imperialism, and Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky took power. His pro-German regime lasted until November 1918, when Germany surrendered in Partition War I. On December 14, a rebellion led by Simon Petliura restored the republic.

Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) (1917-1921)

Considered the predecessor of modern Ukraine, it was declared as an autonomous part of the Russian Republic in June 1917.

On 25 January 1918, it declared independence.

In 1921, it was transformed into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and became a founding member of the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR Member, 1922-1991)

After the October Revolution, Ukraine became one of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union.

Capital: Kharkiv (1919-1934), then Kyiv (from 1934 onwards).

In December 1917, after the fall of the Tsarist regime, an Autonomous Ukrainian Republic was briefly established in Kyiv.

In December 1918, after German occupation ended, a collaborative government under Petliura took control.

From 1919 to 1921, Ukraine was the scene of intense battles between White Army forces (led by Denikin and Wrangel) and the Red Army, which supported the newly formed Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (1919, led by Rakovski).

In 1921, the conflict ended with the Treaty of Riga, which divided Eastern Galicia and Volhynia between Poland and the Soviet Union.

In 1922, Ukraine officially became part of the Soviet Union (USSR).

1941-1942: Ukraine was occupied by Nazi Germany.

1945: Following the Soviet counteroffensive, Ukraine was liberated.

After Partition War II, Ukraine expanded to include Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, Ruthenia, Bessarabia, and Bukovina.

On 19 February 1954, the Soviet Union transferred Crimea from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic to Ukraine SSR.

During the Soviet Union's collapse, in the 17 March 1991, referendum, 71% of Ukrainians voted to remain in the USSR. However, following the failed August Coup in Moscow, Ukraine declared independence on 24 August 1991.

Ethnic Groups in Ukraine

Throughout history, Ukraine has been home to many different ethnic groups, often exploited by imperialist forces during both Partition War I and II and the post-revolutionary civil war. After living together under a socialist system for 70 years, the collapse of the Soviet Union reignited nationalist conflicts, encouraged by external powers.

According to 2001 census data, the ethnic composition of Ukraine was:

- Ukrainians: 77.7%
- Russians: 17.3%
- Belarusians: 0.6%
- Moldovans: 0.5%
- Crimean Tatars: 0.5%
- Bulgarians: 0.4%
- Hungarians: 0.3%
- Romanians: 0.3%
- Poles: 0.3%
- Jews: 0.2%
- Armenians: 0.2%
- Greeks: 0.2%
- Kazan Tatars: 0.2%
- Roma (Gypsies): 0.1%
- Azerbaijanis: 0.1%
- Georgians: 0.1%

- Germans: 0.1%
- Gagauz: 0.1%
- Others: 0.4%

Ukraine's Economic Structure

An important agricultural and industrial region, Ukraine ranked second in the Soviet economy after the Russian SFSR. Within this framework, it had an extensive railway network (over 22, 000 km) and a highly developed sea and river fleet. The diversity of soil and climate conditions made it possible to cultivate a wide variety of agricultural products. Highly mechanized Ukrainian agriculture accounted for approximately two-thirds of the USSR's sugar beet production, half of its sunflower production, one-third of its fruit production, one-quarter of its grape production, and one-fifth of its grain production. Additionally, the production of potatoes, wool, tobacco, and hemp was also significant .Cattle and sheep breeding, along with poultry farming, provided one-quarter of the USSR's meat, milk, and egg production, supporting a strong agro-based industry.

Ukraine was rich in energy resources. Coal production was centred in the Donbas Basin (more than one-third of USSR production, approximately 200 million tons per year) and the Dnieper Basin. Additionally, iron ore was mined in Kryvyi Rih (over one-third of USSR production, around 50 million tons annually) and Kerch, manganese in Nikopol, and mercury in Nikitovka. Large factories operated in metallurgy, steel, machinery manufacturing, and the chemical industry.

Thermal power plants in the Donbas Basin and hydroelectric plants on the Dnieper River supplied electricity to electrochemical and electrometallurgical enterprises.

In recent times, oil and natural gas fields discovered at the foothills of the Carpathians and south of Kharkiv led to the establishment of new petroleum centres in Kremenchuk, Lviv, Odesa, and Kherson.

Traditional industries such as textiles, fur, leather, and construction materials also played an important role in Ukraine's economy.

After the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, many factories and enterprises remained in Ukraine. However, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine experienced significant looting and plundering. Everything created for the people during the Soviet era was pillaged. Factories and enterprises became non-operational, and like other former Soviet states, Ukraine's economy collapsed.

With imperialist privatisation policies, everything from factories to agricultural enterprises that belonged to the people was sold off, creating collaborationist oligarchs. Throughout the 1990s, Ukraine was plundered. However, a collapsed economy eventually became a burden even for imperialist powers.

To exploit a country, its economy must be somewhat revitalized. Although the condition of the Ukrainian people did not significantly improve in the 2000s, Ukrainian agriculture and industry began a recovery process. With 95% of its land suitable for agriculture, Ukraine became one of the world's major grain producers.

However, due to the barriers imposed by the EU and WTO (World Trade Organisation), Ukraine could not export much of its agricultural products. Thus, both in agriculture and industry, Ukraine's economy remained dependent on imperialist powers.

Ukraine's main export goods include grain, coal, large-diameter pipes, and scrap iron. Like the rest of Europe, Ukraine relies on Russia for natural gas and oil.

Ukraine's Geographical Structure

With an area of 603, 628 km² and a coastline of 2, 782 km, Ukraine is the 46th largest country in the world. It is the largest country located entirely in Europe and the second largest in Europe overall (after the European part of Russia).

Geographically, Ukraine is dominated by plains forming the southwestern part of the East European Plain, covering 95% of its total area. However, the country also has mountain ranges. The Carpathians

contain Ukraine's highest peak, Mount Hoverla, which rises 2, 061 metres above sea level. The highest peak of the Crimean Mountains is Mount Roman-Kosh, standing at 1, 545 metres.

Endnotes:

(1) - Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

Established through an agreement signed on 8 December 1991, between Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, this community of states marked the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union. On 21 December 1991, all former Soviet republics, except Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Georgia, signed the agreement. Georgia later joined in 1993. The member states are Azerbaijan, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Russia, and Tajikistan.

(2) - Kievan Rus' (Kiev Duchy or Principality)

A federation ruled by the Rurik dynasty, founded by the Varangian prince Rurik. It existed from the late 9th century until the mid-13th century. This state is considered the ancestor of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine.

(3) - Kingdom of Galicia–Volhynia (Galicia-Volhynia Principality)

Also known as the Ruthenian Principality, it was a Slavic state that existed in Eastern Europe between 1199 and 1349. It was invaded and annexed by the Polish King Casimir III the Great in 1349.

How Did the Russia-Ukraine War Begin

On 24 February 2022, Russia launched a major military operation against Ukraine. The imperialist media portrayed this as "the invasion of Ukraine by the dictator Putin and his imperial dreams". Imperialist propaganda also influenced leftist and socialist organisations and parties around the world. However, this so-called leftist and socialist segment has actually lost its class perspective and completely fallen into the orbit of imperialism.

Furthermore, the left has contributed to the short-term effectiveness of imperialist propaganda on the masses. They have become tools of the "using the left to strike the left" strategy of imperialism.

However, the truth of war is very simple and straightforward. Just as war is "the continuation of politics by other means, "imperialist propaganda has a limited lifespan. Eventually, the reality of war imposes itself; the imperialist propaganda, built on lies and demagoguery, turns into a weapon against itself. Because war cannot be sustained by lies and deception alone. War brings deaths. War causes destruction. After a while, imperialist propaganda can no longer cover up the truth, and the reasons behind the war begin to be questioned.

In the case of the Ukraine war, the propaganda of U.S. imperialism—which controls 95% of the world's media—quickly ran out of steam. The United States had invaded Afghanistan in 2001 under the guise of "saving the world from terrorism". In 2003, it occupied Iraq with the excuse of "liberating it from the dictator Saddam and eliminating chemical weapons."

In 2011, they claimed that they would bring democracy to the region by supporting people's uprisings against oppressive, collaborationist dictators, hunger, and poverty under the name "Arab Spring."

However, the resistance of the peoples of Libya, Yemen, and Syria rendered all the policies, lies, and demagoguery of U.S.-EU imperialists and their collaborator governments useless.

In the Russia-Ukraine War, the impact of imperialist propaganda lasted even shorter. According to the initial imperialist narrative:

"Russia invaded Ukraine for imperial ambitions."

"Putin is equivalent to Hitler."

"The U.S. and EU are defenders of peace, opposing war."

"They protect Ukraine's independence and its people."

"The collaborationist Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky is a hero of resistance."

"The imperialist-backed neo-Nazi remnants are the resisting people, writing epic sagas of resistance."

However, collaborators do not become resistance leaders, nor do neo-Nazi remnants become heroic people's fighters. And imperialists cannot cover up the truth with media power and false propaganda alone.

Imperialism is exploitation, invasion, and massacre. It soon became clear that this war was not fundamentally between Russia and Ukraine, but between Russia and U.S.-EU imperialists. The imperialists, led by the U.S., are using Ukraine as a pawn in this war against Russia. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian people are being sacrificed for the policies of U.S.-EU imperialists under the rule of collaborationist Zelensky.

This war is being waged with U.S. dollars, European euros, and Ukrainian blood.

With Russia's military operation in Ukraine, U.S.-EU imperialists found a great opportunity to unleash their century-old hatred—under the pretence of opposing occupation. They banned everything related to Russia, from its world-famous literature and classical works to its writers, musicians, and even athletes.

Racism escalated to such an extent that they imposed sanctions even on Russian products in supermarkets and Russian cats! All these bans and sanctions were presented as "a reaction against Russia and support for the Ukrainian people."

Imperialists always preach about freedom of the press, yet they banned Russian media everywhere in the world. They ensured that all war-related news was only seen through the lens of imperialists. And indeed, that's how it was perceived.

The day before Russia's operation in Ukraine, a concert by the music group Grup Yorum in Russia was falsely reported as ***"Grup Yorum supports the invading, dictatorial, fascist Putin."*** A smear campaign was launched.

Reformists, opportunists, and Kurdish nationalists—who had been lying in wait—joined forces with AKP fascism's lynch mobs, saying, "***They are dictator lovers, they had also supported Assad***."

CIA- and MIT-backed propaganda was used to attempt to lynch Grup Yorum. The so-called leftists and socialists in the orbit of imperialism ended up aligning with both the imperialists and the fascist AKP government.

Russia's operation in Ukraine is not progressing in the way U.S.-EU imperialists are directing it, but rather according to Russia's own strategic goals and realities.

This Is Not a Russia-Ukraine War
It Is a War Between Russia and U.S.-EU Imperialists!

In many parts of our book, we have written that the real target of U.S.-EU imperialists is Russia, with its 17.4 million km² territory and vast natural resources.

We have also stated that with the Syrian resistance, the U.S.'s BMENA collapsed, its empire crumbled, and it lost global dominance.

By 2021, U.S. imperialism was no longer capable of establishing dominance anywhere in the world on its own. The imperial order it announced in the early 2000s failed to materialize anywhere.

Meanwhile, China was strengthening economically, and Russia was growing militarily and politically against U.S. and EU imperialists.

For this reason, at the beginning of 2021, U.S. President Joe Biden, in the "Interim National Security Strategic Guidance", defined China and Russia as "great enemies."

Labelling Russia as an "enemy power", he directly placed it in the crosshairs. Similarly, he introduced policies to encircle China by designating it as a "priority threat."

As we previously examined, Ukraine is a country with diverse ethnic groups. Nearly 20% of Ukraine's population consists of Russian people. In the eastern regions of Ukraine, which border Russia, this percentage reaches up to 90%. Conversely, the western part of Ukraine has an ethnic structure—

including Germans, Hungarians, Moldovans, and Poles—that can be easily provoked and manipulated by imperialists.

Historically, Ukraine's ethnic structure was used by German imperialism during both Partition War I and II to occupy the country with the support of local collaborators.

After the 1917 October Revolution, imperialists used Ukraine for four years in an attempt to overthrow the Bolshevik Revolution.

During Partition War II, Western Ukrainians who collaborated with Hitler's fascism were used against the Soviet Union.

In the counter-revolutions of the early 1990s, Ukraine became one of the primary tools of imperialists. In the 1991 referendum on the dissolution of the Soviet Union, 71.8% of the Ukrainian people voted against the breakup, yet the results were ignored by the collaborationist leaders.

Ukraine was among the first republics to separate from the Soviet Socialist Republics.

From the early 1990s onward, all former Soviet countries that had dissolved became prey for U.S. and EU imperialists, who swarmed in like vultures.

The 1990s were marked by the integration of former socialist countries into the imperialist system through the efforts of counter-revolutionary revisionist collaborators like Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

At the same time, imperialists preached that class struggles had ended, that they would bring peace and democracy to the world, and that a new unipolar world order had been established.

Mutual disarmament agreements were signed between the U.S. and Russia.

One such agreement, signed on 27 May 1997, was meant to prevent NATO's expansion into former socialist countries.

According to a report by Sputnik, the agreement between the Russian Federation and NATO member countries, titled "**Measures to Ensure Security**", contained nine key articles. Here are some of the provisions:

Article 1:

- The parties base their relations on cooperation, equality, and indivisible security.
- They do not enhance their own security at the expense of others, whether individually, through an international organisation, a military alliance, or a coalition.
- The parties commit to resolving all international disputes peacefully and refrain from using or threatening to use force.
- They pledge not to create conditions or situations that could pose a threat to the national security of other parties.
- They agree to act with restraint in military planning and exercises to reduce risks in maritime and airspace areas outside territorial waters.

Article 2:

- The parties use urgent consultation mechanisms, including the Russia-NATO Council, to resolve disputes and problematic situations.
- They regularly exchange views on modern security threats and challenges.
- They ensure transparency in military exercises and activities to maintain predictability.
- They provide emergency communication lines for direct contact in urgent situations.

Article 3:

- The parties confirm that they do not see each other as rivals.
- They engage in dialogue and cooperation to develop mechanisms to prevent incidents in international waters and airspace, particularly in the Baltic and Black Sea regions.

Article 4:

- Russia and NATO member states, **as of 27 May 1997, do not deploy additional armed forces or weapons in other European countries beyond what was already stationed at that time.**
- In exceptional cases, such deployments can occur only with the consent of all parties if a security threat arises.

Article 5:

The parties reject the deployment of ground-based intermediate- and short-range missiles in regions where they could target the territories of other parties.

Article 6:

NATO members agree to obligations preventing the alliance's further expansion, including Ukraine's membership.

Article 7:

- NATO members refuse to conduct military activities in Ukraine, as well as in other countries of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia.
- To prevent incidents, neither Russia nor NATO member states conduct military exercises above the brigade level within a mutually agreed buffer zone along their borders.

Article 8:

- This agreement does not affect the United Nations Security Council's fundamental responsibilities for maintaining international peace and security.

The provisions of the 27 May 1997, agreement are very clear. U.S. and EU imperialists have completely disregarded this agreement.

Article 5 explicitly states:

"The parties reject the deployment of ground-based intermediate- and short-range missiles in regions where they could target the territories of other parties."

Article 6 states:

"NATO members agree to obligations preventing the alliance's further expansion, including Ukraine's membership."

How Did This Play Out in Practice?

When the 1997 agreement was signed with the Russian Federation, NATO had only 14 members.

From the 2000s onward, U.S. and EU imperialists ignored this agreement and began expanding NATO by integrating the former socialist countries that had dissolved. This expansion was aimed at encircling Russia.

Today, NATO has 30 members, and the U.S.-EU imperialists continue their offensive by further expanding NATO to tighten their encirclement of Russia.

They aim to increase NATO's membership to 36 by adding Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Bosnia, Sweden, and Finland. All these countries are either direct land or maritime neighbours of Russia or are within striking distance with medium- and short-range missiles.

The U.S. and EU imperialists have flooded these countries with NATO weapons and military bases. They conduct constant military exercises against Russia, heightening tensions in the region.

Although Ukraine is not yet a NATO member, its collaborationist leadership has effectively turned it into a frontline state against Russia.

Strategy of Encircling and Strangling Russia

Since Joe Biden's election as president and his declaration of Russia as a "great enemy", the U.S. has systematically pursued a strategy of encircling Russia.

The strategy involves starting from the Baltic region (Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland) and moving into Eastern Europe, expanding to the countries along the Western Black Sea and the Black Sea corridor, reaching Georgia, and continuing through Central Asia to Kazakhstan. The goal is to create pro-Western regimes and encircle Russia.

Since 2005, the U.S. has made Eastern European countries and Black Sea countries NATO members. It is also looking for opportunities to make Ukraine and Georgia NATO members. To achieve this, the U.S. has attempted to create pro-Western governments through NGOs, conspiracies, assassination attempts, and coups in countries like Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, and Kazakhstan.

In Belarus, there was an unsuccessful coup attempt in 2020. In 2021, Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko was the target of an assassination attempt, which also failed. Similarly, in early 2022, an attempt was made to overthrow Kazakhstan's government using popular discontent, but Russia intervened, preventing success.

The U.S. is also attempting to encircle China in a similar manner, aiming to isolate it with neighbouring countries such as India and Japan. To this end, the U.S. has formed military alliances like QUAD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) with India, Japan, and Australia, and AUKUS (Australia, United Kingdom, United States) with the UK and Australia. It stations tens of thousands of troops in Japan and South Korea and has turned Australia into a nuclear base.

Ukraine as the U.S.'s Forward Base Against Russia

During the 1990s and early 2000s, U.S. and EU imperialists shamelessly plundered the countries that emerged from the dissolution of the Soviet Union. These countries were overwhelmed by ideological attacks, leaving them unable to resist the looting. They were pushed into a debt trap by IMF and World Bank loans.

Under Putin's leadership, Russia began to recover economically, slowly breaking its dependency on the IMF and World Bank. Russia also worked to strengthen its relations with the former Soviet republics, including Ukraine.

Ukraine, as part of this process, sought to improve its relationship with Russia. In response, the U.S. and EU initiated the so-called "**Orange Revolution**" in November 2004 to prevent Ukraine from strengthening ties with Russia. The 2004 presidential election saw two main candidates: **Viktor Yushchenko**, a U.S.-backed figure, and **Viktor Yanukovych**, a pro-Russian candidate. Although Yanukovych won the election, the U.S. orchestrated protests and claims of electoral fraud, leading to a re-election in which Yushchenko won.

Yushchenko, pro-Western, served as president until 2010.

In the 2010 presidential elections, Viktor Yanukovych ran again and won the majority of the votes against Yulia Tymoshenko. The election was deemed "free and fair" by international observers. However, the pro-Western leaders in Ukraine were deeply mired in corruption, fraud, and bribery, so claims of electoral fraud did not resonate with the public.

After being elected president, Yanukovych rejected the previously delayed "EU Association Agreement" and instead opted for a Russian bailout package, seeking closer economic, political, and military ties with Russia. This shift in policy prompted the U.S. and EU imperialists to act. They, once again, mobilised their allies, NGOs, and fascist groups to initiate uprisings and protests.

As a result, the legitimate government, which rejected U.S. and EU policies, was attacked directly by armed neo-Nazi fascist groups backed by the West. Dozens of people lost their lives, and a civil war ensued. On 21 February 2014, President Yanukovych's convoy was ambushed by these groups.

Eventually, Viktor Yanukovych was overthrown in a coup orchestrated by the U.S. and the EU, and puppet leaders loyal to imperialism took power.

This intervention in Ukraine by the U.S. was also a direct challenge to Russia's support for the Assad regime in Syria. The U.S. effectively warned Russia, saying, "If you oppose me in Syria, I will bring the war to your doorstep in Ukraine". However, Russia did not remain passive and intervened directly in the Ukrainian civil war.

On 18 March 2014, **Russia annexed Crimea,** which has a predominantly Russian-speaking population. Following the annexation, Crimea was officially divided into two federal units: the Crimean Republic and the Federal City of Sevastopol.

Referendum in Crimea

On 16 March 2014, a referendum was held in Crimea regarding its accession to Russia. The participation rate was 83%, with 96.77% of voters in Crimea and 95.6% in Sevastopol voting in favour of joining Russia. In response, U.S. President Obama imposed sanctions on 11 Ukrainian and Russian officials, and Russia's G-8 membership was suspended.

On 30 March 2014, Crimea announced the Russian Ruble as its official currency and adopted the Russian time zone. Russian President Putin issued a decree recognising the Crimean Republic as an independent and sovereign state and approved Crimea and Sevastopol's inclusion as federal units of Russia.

While the U.S. and the EU imperialists were attempting to pressure Russia through Ukraine, they lost control over Crimea and the eastern Ukrainian regions of Donetsk and Luhansk.

Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics:

After Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych was overthrown by the U.S. and EU-backed coup, early elections were scheduled for 25 May 2014.

However, the interim government appointed illegitimate, unelected pro-Western governors to the eastern regions with significant Russian populations. This led to uprisings in those regions.

The uprising grew, and on 6 April 2014, the people of Donetsk stormed the regional government building, taking control.

On April 7, the Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) declared its independence, and a People's Council was formed. On 11 May 2014, an independence referendum was held, which was overwhelmingly approved by the people.

The DPR declared its independence on 12 May 2014, and on 21 February 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin officially recognised the independence of both Donetsk and Luhansk.

Luhansk also followed the same process as Donetsk. On 24 May 2014, Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic formed the Novorossiya (New Russia) confederation. However, this confederation was dissolved on 1 January 2015.

After declaring independence, Donetsk and Luhansk faced continued military aggression from pro-imperialist neo-Nazi groups and the Ukrainian military. These attacks, involving rocket and missile strikes, never ceased. Between 2014 and the start of Russia's military operation in Ukraine on 24 February 2022, around 14, 000 civilians were killed in these regions.

Minsk Protocol:

After Donetsk and Luhansk declared their independence, they faced continued attacks from the Ukrainian military and neo-Nazi groups. Russia started providing direct support to the Donetsk and Luhansk forces. To halt the conflict, the Minsk Agreement was signed on 5 September 2014, in the capital of Belarus, Minsk, with representatives from Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the Donetsk People's

Republic, the Luhansk People's Republic, and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). However, the protocol failed to stop the war in the Donbas region.

A second protocol, known as Minsk II, was signed on 12 February 2015. Despite this, the Ukrainian government, continuously provoked by the U.S., did not comply with Minsk II and continued launching rockets at the people of Donetsk and Luhansk. By the time of Russia's intervention on 24 February 2022, around 14, 000 people had lost their lives in the conflict.

The protocol consisted of 13 articles, some of which were as follows:

1. Creation of a safe zone in eastern Ukraine: The protocol called for the removal of heavy weapons from a 50 km wide area between the two sides, with the withdrawal of artillery over 100mm calibre at 50 km, portable rocket systems at 70 km, and tactical missile systems at 140 km, within two weeks of a ceasefire. Ukraine did not adhere to this, and in fact, continued its attacks using drones.
2. OSCE's role in monitoring: The protocol required the OSCE to monitor the ceasefire and the withdrawal of heavy weapons. Despite the ongoing attacks by the Ukrainian military and neo-Nazi groups, the OSCE failed to fulfil its duties in this regard.
3. Special status law: The Ukrainian parliament was supposed to pass a "Special Status Law" for Donetsk and Luhansk within thirty days of the protocol's enactment. However, this was never done. Additionally, a law granting amnesty to those fighting for the independence of Donetsk and Luhansk was also not passed.

In summary, Donetsk, Luhansk, and Russia's calls for adherence to the Minsk II protocol were ignored from 2015 onward. The OSCE, which was supposed to monitor the situation, did not fulfil its responsibilities. Instead, the U.S. and EU imperialists used Ukraine as a pawn against Russia, with the Ukrainian military being trained and equipped by the U.S. and the EU. NATO membership for Ukraine was sought, and even before its membership, Ukraine was being supplied with NATO weapons against Russia.

The root of the issue between Russia and Ukraine does not lie within the two countries themselves, but rather in U.S. imperialism. The EU imperialists have aligned themselves with U.S. policies, regardless of whether they serve their own interests.

The Russia-Ukraine War: The End of U.S. Hegemony

By the early 2000s, the United States found itself trapped in the Middle East, struggling to exit the quagmire of Iraq, Afghanistan, and the broader region. The resistance movements in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Libya, and Syria have undermined the U.S.-led BMENA, gradually eroding its dominance as the world's "sole determining power." In contrast, Russia, aligning itself with the Assad regime in Syria, started expanding its military and political influence, directly opposing the U.S. imperialist interests.

As the U.S. sought to encircle and subdue Russia with its neighbouring states, Russia responded by forging military, political, and economic alliances to minimize the U.S.'s influence in the region. Ukraine became the most useful tool for the U.S. in its attempts to counter Russia.

From 2014 onward, the U.S. shifted its focus from the Middle East to directly confronting Russia via Ukraine.

The 2014 coup that ousted Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych, the support of neo-Nazi groups, the non-implementation of the Minsk Protocol, and the training and arming of the Ukrainian military were all efforts to impede Russia's growing military and political power.

Conclusion:

1. By 2020, the U.S. and the EU are no longer the sole determining powers in the world.

2. The U.S.-centric imperialist world order is coming to an end. A new power balance is emerging, led by Russia, China, India, and North Korea. This new power balance does not form a socialist bloc opposing the U.S. and EU but serves to counter their global imperialist dominance.
3. The world will reshape in this new power balance. The crisis of the U.S.-EU imperialists will deepen.
4. The Russia-Ukraine war uses Ukraine as a pawn, but fundamentally, it is a proxy war between the U.S. and Russia. The U.S. has been waging this war through Ukraine.
5. In 2020-2021, during Joe Biden's presidency, Russia was declared the "primary enemy".
6. The U.S. attempted to surround Russia with NATO forces, but Russia had to either act or submit to the U.S. Russia chose not to surrender.
7. Russia did not initiate the war; rather, it was already an ongoing conflict instigated by the U.S. The Russian intervention in Ukraine aimed to halt the war and break the encirclement.
8. As the U.S. loses influence in regions like North Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia, and East Asia, Russia's operation in Ukraine marks the start of an inevitable confrontation with the U.S. at the time of Russia's choosing.
9. While Russia's economy does not have the power to impact the global market significantly, its natural resources have strategic importance and can trigger a global crisis.
10. Through Ukraine, the U.S. and EU imperialists aim to prolong the war and financially collapse Russia by imposing sanctions.
11. However, the sanctions on Russia have had a broader impact on the global imperialist market, exacerbating the crises faced by U.S. and EU imperialists.
12. These sanctions have reduced Russia's dependency on external markets and increased the value of its natural resources in the global marketplace.
13. Politically, the U.S.-dominated dollar empire has begun to crumble, and the process of establishing an alternative system to the U.S.-centric imperialist order is accelerating.
14. The contradictions will continue to deepen, and the crisis of imperialism will intensify.
15. The global consequences of this deepening crisis will manifest in greater hunger, poverty, unemployment, and suffering. Every development in this process will increasingly highlight the need for **revolutions and socialism** as the only way forward.
16. While Russia, China, and others emerge as significant powers against the U.S. and EU imperialists, as long as they remain within the capitalist system, they will not provide a true alternative for the world's peoples.
17. **The only alternative to imperialism is socialism. The people's only salvation lies in revolutions, and it is the Front and its members who will embody this revolutionary alternative**.

SECTION 7

THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE FOR THE PEOPLES IS SOCIALISM
THE ONLY PATH TO LIBERATION IS REVOLUTION!

From the early 1990s to the 2000s and from the early 2000s to 2020, the collapse of the Socialist Bloc and the emergence of a "unipolar" imperialist system have been a great disaster for the peoples of the world.

From Eastern Europe to the Caucasus, from the Middle East to Africa, U.S. and EU imperialists have fuelled hostility among nations, setting them against each other.

In Yugoslavia, peoples who had lived together under socialism for decades turned against each other after its collapse due to nationalism incited by imperialists, leading to the massacre of tens of thousands. Yugoslavia was fragmented into six separate states. In all Eastern European countries where people's governments collapsed, agriculture and livestock farming were dismantled, and industry was destroyed. The people were left dependent on privatisation revenues, IMF loans, and EU debts. By 2020, even though Eastern European countries were no longer in direct conflict with each other, they had lost independent economies, and unemployment, poverty, and debt to imperialist countries had deepened. With each passing day, they became more dependent on imperialism, and the people grew poorer. Despite various criticisms of socialism in Eastern Europe, the people have come to long for the past.

A similar fate befell the Caucasus and Central Asian countries after the dissolution of the Socialist Bloc. Georgia clashed with Abkhazia and Ossetia, Armenia fought Azerbaijan over Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh, and Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan faced continuous border disputes fuelled by nationalist provocations.

In the Middle East and Africa, conflicts between religions, sects, ethnic groups, tribes, and clans have persisted since the 1990s.

From Turkey to Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Lebanon, Palestine, Algeria, Libya, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Mali, Nigeria, and Darfur—millions of people have been killed between the 1990s and 2020s. Imperialists have played a direct or indirect role in all these conflicts through their collaborators.

Throughout the 1990s, arms dealers working for the imperialists looted weapons from the fallen Soviet military inventory by bribing corrupt commanders, shipping them by the plane-load to Africa, fuelling tribal and clan wars.

The word "stability" is frequently used by spokespersons of imperialist monopolies. They claim to seek stability in the economy, trade, and politics. However, in a system built on relentless exploitation and plunder, true stability is impossible. The system itself is the root of instability. While monopolies desire stability to maintain uninterrupted exploitation, they have also learned to turn crises to their advantage. In fact, they have become experts in crisis management. "Turning crises into opportunities" is the best-known strategy of imperialist monopolies, and they achieve their highest profits during times of crisis.

By establishing collaborationist governments in collapsed socialist countries, they sought to create a world where they could exploit without resistance. This was their so-called "New World Order." However, within just ten years (from the 1990s to the 2000s), the world they created forced them to admit that "***the 21st century will be a century of uprisings.***"

At the start of the 2000s, the U.S. imperial strategy was partly shaped by this reality—the reality that the 21st century would be marked by uprisings.

Following the collapse of the Socialist Bloc, imperialist monopolies did not only attack the fallen socialist countries for looting. The working class worldwide also lost many of the rights it had won over the past 100-150 years.

Imperialists, who had previously granted workers in their own countries certain rights and benefits to prevent socialist influence, took back these rights after the fall of socialism. To further maximize profits, imperialist monopolies dismantled their factories in countries with high labour costs and relocated them to places where labour was cheapest—Eastern Europe, Turkey, India, China, South Korea, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

These monopolies plundered the oil of the Middle East, the gold, diamonds, and uranium of Africa, and the natural gas of the Caucasus and Central Asia. Meanwhile, billions of workers across Eastern Europe and the Far East were forced to work for less than $1 a day.

Between 1990 and 2020, while the hunger, poverty, and misery of the world's peoples grew, the profits of imperialist monopolies multiplied.

When we look at the global GDP figures, we see the extent of unbridled exploitation:

- 1980: $11.23 trillion
- 1990: $22.63 trillion
- 2000: $33.66 trillion
- 2010: $66.13 trillion
- 2020: $93.00 trillion

Despite the total global wealth growing exponentially, the hunger and poverty of the people have also continued to grow. What we call "world wealth" is, in fact, the wealth of just a handful of imperialist monopolies.

Over the past four decades, the global income distribution has been as follows:

The top five largest monopolies (four of which are U.S.-based) have a combined revenue of $7.73 trillion—larger than Japan's GDP, which stood at $5.1 trillion in 2020. This figure also surpasses the GDP of India, which has a population of 1.35 billion.

Another striking figure: The second-largest monopoly in the world, Saudi-based ARAMCO, has a market value of $1.76 trillion, which is greater than Saudi Arabia’s GDP itself ($804.92 billion in 2021).

The top five monopolies:

- Apple (U.S.): $1.84 trillion
- ARAMCO (Saudi Arabia): $1.76 trillion
- Amazon (U.S.): $1.58 trillion
- Microsoft (U.S.): $1.55 trillion
- Alphabet (Google) (U.S.): $1.5 trillion

The reason for such unrestrained exploitation by imperialist monopolies is the absence of an alternative power to counter them.

The Marxist-Leninist (M-L) movements that remained unaffected by the counter-revolutions of the 1990s were rare exceptions. Among socialist countries, only the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and Cuba did not retreat. Elsewhere, counter-revolutions or regressions took place. Similarly, many armed M-L revolutionary movements engaged in national and social liberation struggles succumbed to surrender, compromise, and liquidation.

Through intense ideological and psychological counter-revolutionary assaults, the M-L movement suffered severe blows. Imperialist bourgeois ideologists declared "the end of class struggles" and promoted the hegemony of a "Unipolar World". The reformist, conciliatory left also played a significant role in reinforcing these narratives.

Despite this, certain M-L movements, including those in Turkey, continued to resist throughout the 1990s and 2000s. However, by 2020, DHKP-C (Revolutionary People’s Liberation Party-Front) remained

the only organisation still advocating armed revolutionary struggle. Other groups that physically still exist are undergoing processes of compromise, surrender, and liquidation.

As a result, the ideological and physical liquidation of M-L movements, which began with the counter-revolutions of the early 1990s, has continued into the 2020s, fostering widespread despair among the working people.

The imperialist slogans of the past—"Unipolar World, ""New World Order, ""Globalisation, "and "The End of History"—have proven to be empty rhetoric since the early 2000s. The brutal reality of unbridled imperialist exploitation has been exposed. However, due to the physical weakness of revolutionary M-L movements, they have failed to present themselves as a viable alternative to the masses.

Yet, the reality of the world created by the imperialists in just the first ten years from 1990 to 2000 clearly demonstrated that imperialism had not changed—it had only become a far more brutal system of exploitation. However, due to the weakness of the Marxist-Leninist (M-L) Left, imperialism's unchecked exploitation continued throughout the 2000s. In all neo-colonies, laws that could hinder imperialist exploitation were repealed, and new legal regulations were implemented. The largest privatisations in neo-colonial countries, including Turkey, took place between 2000 and 2010.

The growth figures of imperialist monopolies during this decade reveal the striking scale of exploitation. The world's total income, which was $33.662 trillion in 2000, doubled to $66.13 trillion by 2010.

Moreover, in 2008, a global economic crisis occurred in which all economies except China shrank. However, just as with COVID-19, imperialist monopolies managed to turn this crisis into an "opportunity" and navigated through it successfully.

Islam Has No Alternative Economic-Political Model to Capitalism!

Islamic Movements Cannot Bring Liberation to the People!

From the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 to 2020, the Middle East became a battlefield for imperialist wars. In response to imperialist occupation and exploitation policies, numerous resistance movements emerged in the region. However, the defining characteristic of these movements was that they were armed Islamic movements.

Particularly in Iraq and Afghanistan, these movements resisted imperialist occupiers for years and even achieved some successes. However, they lacked the ideological foundation necessary to secure the liberation of the people.

The entire history of Islamic movements—from Palestine to Iraq, Algeria to Lebanon, Iran to Afghanistan—demonstrates that although they may adopt an anti-imperialist stance at times, they do not have a programme capable of truly liberating the people.

Islamist organisations that temporarily engage in anti-imperialist struggles have, at other times, collaborated with imperialists, becoming tools of their policies.

Even when these movements achieve victories against imperialists, they do not bring true liberation to the people. For example, after 20 years of Taliban resistance in Afghanistan, the U.S. and its allies admitted defeat and announced their withdrawal in 2021. However, this so-called "victory" by the Taliban does not promise liberation for the Afghan people.

Similarly, in Palestine, Hamas gained strength after the 1990s and became a significant force in the Palestinian resistance. However, it failed to contribute to the cultural and political development of the Palestinian people and ultimately reconciled with imperialism.

After 2010, with the so-called "Arab Spring, "Islamist movements were fully used as imperialist tools in the Middle East, serving the policies of the imperialist powers. In Libya and Syria, imperialists used these organisations to destroy, divide, and fragment these countries.

As a result, none of the radical Islamic movements that emerged from Iraq to Somalia, Sudan to Ethiopia, Algeria to Afghanistan, Syria to Egypt, or Yemen have brought liberation to the people. Even

when they have temporarily taken anti-imperialist positions, they have remained open to reconciliation with and exploitation by imperialism. The so-called "successes" of groups like the Taliban, ISIS, Al-Nusra, Al-Qaeda, and Islamic Jihad have only led to greater oppression and terror for the people. The ultimate goal of these movements is the establishment of an Islamic Sharia-based system, which denies people even their most basic rights.

The past 30 years have demonstrated that Islamic movements do not offer true liberation for the people.

Due to direct imperialist occupation, interventions, and ruthless exploitation, some people support or even join radical Islamist organisations. In countries like Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Somalia, Niger, and Mali—as well as many other Middle Eastern and African nations—radical Islamist movements have gained power. However, the 20 years from 2000 to 2020 have clearly shown that these movements can never truly liberate the people.

These movements may resist imperialism in one period but collaborate with it in another. For example, the Taliban, which led the resistance in Afghanistan, and groups like Al-Qaeda have acted alongside imperialists or their local allies in Libya and Syria. They have been used as pawns by imperialist powers.

This is their inevitable fate because these movements lack an independent ideology and an alternative economic-political model to capitalism. What kind of production-distribution relations will they establish outside of the capitalist economy? How will they eliminate exploitation? How will they achieve justice? They have no answers to these questions.

The idea that "not all fingers are the same" is used to justify inequality, injustice, and exploitation, legitimising the existence of "the rich" and "the poor". Such an understanding cannot bring true liberation to the people. This is why "Islamism" is compatible with both feudalism and capitalism. It does not present an alternative system.

Not only do these movements fail to offer an economic alternative to capitalism, but they also lack the fundamental rights and freedoms that people have gained through struggles against the bourgeoisie. The realities of Sharia-based regimes like Iran, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the UAE are clear examples of this.

After 20 years, the U.S. announced its withdrawal from Afghanistan. This is undoubtedly a victory for the Taliban as a resistance movement. However, this victory does not bring true liberation to the Afghan people because the Taliban has no programme to advance Afghan society. On the contrary, the Afghan people are now fearful of what kind of deadlock they are heading into.

Similarly, in Iraq, Syria, and Libya, it is evident how Islamic movements have led their countries and people into destruction.

Conclusion:

1. The 30-year period from 1990 to 2020 has made it undeniably clear that imperialism is a complete disaster for the people. From the Balkans to the Caucasus, the Middle East to Africa, Latin America to East Asia, imperialists are directly or indirectly responsible for all wars and conflicts based on religion, sect, race, and nationality.
2. While millions of ordinary people have lost their lives in these wars, while populations have faced extreme poverty and destruction, imperialist monopolies have multiplied their wealth. Even during the COVID-19 pandemic, when more than 5.5 million people died according to official figures and the global economy shrank, the world's 2, 400 richest corporations increased their wealth by an average of 65%. This was the largest wealth increase in their hundred-year history, as imperialist monopolies turned the pandemic into an "OPPORTUNITY" at the expense of millions of deaths.
3. Just as the imperialist system is the main enemy of the people, Islamic movements that rise against it also fail to bring true liberation. The last 30 years have demonstrated this clearly. Rather than freeing the people, Islamist movements have become useful tools in the imperialist strategy of

dividing societies along religious, sectarian, racial, tribal, and national lines. They have fragmented societies and dragged them into endless conflicts.

Reformist/Revisionist and Nationalist Movements Cannot Achieve the Liberation of the People

Since the early 1990s, imperialist ideologues have propagated the rhetoric of the "New World Order" primarily through reformist and nationalist movements. It was the reformists and nationalists who promoted the idea that imperialism had changed and even legitimised concepts like "democratic imperialism."

Throughout the 1990s, the reformist-revisionist left insulted Marxism, Leninism, and socialism while acting as spokespeople for the bourgeoisie. However, with growing public resentment toward imperialism in the 2000s, reformist leaders were elected to power in Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico, Greece, and France. The idea of achieving socialism through peaceful means resurfaced.

Looking at the results, however, so-called “socialist governments” under reformists failed to solve any of the people’s problems. Although Venezuela and Bolivia implemented some populist policies, they never challenged the essence of the capitalist system. Moreover, when faced with U.S.-backed coups, reformist leaders such as Evo Morales in Bolivia failed to effectively resist, proving that reformist governments offer no real solution.

It is absurd to claim that the election of the Communist Party in imperialist France represented a true leftist victory. Yet, reformists in Turkey, such as ÖDP, and Kurdish nationalists portrayed it as such.

In Greece, when the country was bankrupted by imperialist economic policies, the people resisted for weeks. Reformist Syriza, which had come to power under anti-imperialist slogans, ultimately suppressed the people’s anger. Reformists in Turkey and the Kurdish nationalist HDP attempted to create a Turkish version of Syriza. However, Syriza could not even implement the results of its own referendum to leave the EU.

During the Arab Spring, reformist and revisionist leftists became tools of imperialist policies, helping to integrate popular movements into the system rather than challenging it.

Nationalism Cannot Solve the People's Problems

BMENA and the Arab Spring proved another fact: nationalism cannot solve the people's problems. One of the clearest examples of this is the Kurdish nationalist movements.

In 2003, during the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Kurdish nationalist groups such as Barzani and Talabani collaborated with American imperialism. The so-called "Autonomous Administration of Iraqi Kurdistan" attempted to justify its collaboration with the U.S. by portraying it as an exercise of the "right to self-determination". Reformist opportunists and Kurdish nationalists in Turkey also supported this collaboration.

However, the reality is that the Kurdish people in Iraq never truly exercised their right to self-determination. The invasion of Iraq resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, the destruction of the country, and its plundering by U.S. corporations. Kurdish nationalists Barzani and Talabani played a significant role in this process. What happened in Iraqi Kurdistan was not an exercise of self-determination but rather collaboration with the U.S.

Those Who Are Not Independent Cannot Determine Their Own Future

Iraqi Kurdistan, far from being independent, secured its autonomous status by collaborating with the U.S. Today, it hosts some of the largest U.S. military bases in the region.

In 2018, Kurdistan Regional Government President Masoud Barzani held a referendum for independence. The U.S. opposed this move because an independent Kurdish state did not align with its regional interests. The referendum results were overwhelmingly in favour of independence (over 95%), but instead of achieving independence, the referendum led to Barzani's resignation. Even though Barzani was a longtime leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), he was forced to step down due to U.S. disapproval.

Ultimately, even if Iraqi Kurdistan were granted official independence, it would not mean the liberation of the Kurdish people. It would merely create a second Israel—another U.S.-backed client state in the region.

No People Have Ever Gained Liberation Through the U.S.
The PKK-PYD, the U.S.'s Ground Force in Syria, Cannot Ensure Kurdish Liberation

One of the most striking examples of how Kurdish nationalism has been exploited by U.S. imperialism is the PYD-YPG (PKK) in Syria.

At the beginning of the Syrian war, Kurdish nationalists initially tried to maintain a "third path"—aligning neither with the Assad government nor with the imperialist-backed Islamist groups. However, this stance was less a strategic decision and more a necessity, as Islamist factions were hostile toward the PKK.

From the very beginning, Abdullah Öcalan urged the Kurdish nationalist movement to align with the U.S. and its allies. When Western-backed Islamist groups failed to overthrow Assad, the U.S. directly intervened in Syria under the pretext of fighting ISIS, using the Kurdish nationalist movement as its ground force. As a result, the PYD-YPG allowed itself to be used as the U.S.'s proxy army.

Today, the Kurdish nationalist movement is the only force in Syria that does not want the U.S. to withdraw. The U.S. will inevitably leave Syria one day, and those who have tied their fate to American imperialism will never achieve Kurdish liberation.

The liberation of the Kurdish people in Syria depends on expelling imperialist forces and ensuring Syria's sovereignty. However, rather than fighting for this goal, the Kurdish nationalist movement has become the guardian of U.S.-controlled oil fields.

With over 25 U.S. military bases in Syrian Kurdistan, the PYD-YPG (PKK) effectively functions as the U.S.'s local security force. Their so-called "Rojava and Kobane revolution" is nothing more than propaganda masking their collaboration with imperialism. Reformist opportunists who support the PKK are complicit in this U.S. collaboration.

THE ONLY PATH TO LIBERATION IS ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-OLIGARCHIC PEOPLE'S POWER! IT IS THE FRONT!

The past 30 years have once again proven that the only alternative to imperialism is socialism. The only path to the liberation of the people is a Marxist-Leninist revolution. Despite all its shortcomings and mistakes, revolutionary experiences around the world have confirmed this truth.

From Russia to China, from Eastern Europe to Central Asia, from the Middle East to Africa and Latin America, even in the most impoverished and underdeveloped nations, socialist governments have achieved tremendous progress in education, healthcare, housing, and fundamental rights and freedoms.

In countries where 99% of the population was illiterate, socialism reversed this reality, achieving levels that even the most developed capitalist nations struggle to reach today.

While the United States, falsely glorified as the "Land of Democracy and Freedom, "continues to murder people simply because they are Black, socialist systems have demonstrated that people of different

religions, sects, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds can coexist as brothers and sisters. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia stand as the most striking examples of this.

Socialism is the only ideology that unites all oppressed peoples on a class basis against a common enemy—imperialism. It is the only ideology that eliminates exploitation by ending imperialist occupation and political hegemony. That is why the only true path to the liberation of the people is socialism.

The fact that people's struggles today are not being led by a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement does not change this reality. The reason why imperialists can so easily manipulate uprisings and mass movements is precisely because these movements lack Marxist-Leninist leadership.

The Revolutionary Movement (The Front) has never yielded to imperialist pressures or deviated from its Marxist-Leninist ideology—not during the counter-revolutionary wave of the 1990s, nor during the "change your ideas or be annihilated" era of the 2000s.

During the 1990s, many armed national-liberation movements and Marxist-Leninist groups worldwide either sought compromise with imperialists and their puppet governments, surrendered, or dissolved themselves. Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Movement stood its ground, resisting both in cities and in the countryside, keeping the banner of socialism high.

When the U.S. implemented its imperial strategy in the 2000s, forcing the world's peoples to choose between submission or annihilation, surrender and hopelessness spread everywhere. But the militants of the Front built barricades with their own bodies.

The local version of the "change your ideas or be annihilated" policy in Turkey was the F-Type isolation prisons. The Ulucanlar and December 19–22 prison massacres were part of this. The Front responded with an unprecedented resistance.

When the resistance began, neither the 9/11 attacks had occurred, nor had Afghanistan been invaded, nor Iraq.

On 20 October 2000, the resistance against the U.S.-EU-imposed F-Type prison isolation policies began in Turkey.

With the 9/11 attacks, imperialists created an excuse to wage war on the world's peoples. A wave of terror was unleashed globally. But the Front had already been resisting for over a year.

The Küçükarmutlu massacre and the invasion of Afghanistan happened around the same time—but the Front continued resisting. When the invasion of Iraq was on the horizon, the Front fought against both the F-Type prisons and the occupation of Iraq.

When the U.S. declared that "Baghdad has fallen", the Front declared:

"Baghdad may fall, but it will rise again! This fire will not be extinguished! Baghdad may be destroyed, but from its ruins, countless new Baghdads will be born. Baghdad may be toppled, but it will rise from its ashes. Iraq may be occupied, but the resistance flag will be raised by its people!"

And indeed, the Iraqi people rose and resisted.

With the invasion of Iraq, the U.S. officially declared its empire and announced its imperial project—BMENA. But the Front declared:

"The declaration of an empire is also the beginning of its end."

And today, the so-called U.S. empire is crumbling.

During the "Arab Spring, "all reformists and opportunists blindly followed what they called the "Arab Revolution". But the Front warned that this was not a revolution, but an extension of BMENA.

At the time, we were accused of "closing our eyes to the process". However, it did not take long for the truth to be revealed—the so-called "Arab Spring" was nothing more than an imperialist scheme.

From the 1990s to the 2020s, the Revolutionary Movement has never been deceived by imperialist policies. The reason for this is our unwavering commitment to our Marxist-Leninist ideology. No matter how strong surrender, hopelessness, and liquidations may be, we have never deviated from our goal of seizing power. We have never lost our revolutionary claim.

Today, the only revolutionary movement in the world that continues to uphold the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary struggle is the Front.

This claim will grow stronger, take shape, and become the ideological beacon of hope for all the world's peoples.

ABBREVIATIONS

AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
AKP	Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)
BDP	Peace and Democracy Party (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi)
BMENA	Broader Middle East and North Africa Project
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
DHKP-C	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (Devrimci Halk Kurtuluş Partisi-Cephesi)
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIS	Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut)
FLN	National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale)
FSA	Free Syrian Army
G8	Group of Eight
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNA	Government of National Accord
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
MGK	National Security Council of Turkey (Millî Güvenlik Kurulu)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organisation
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
PYD	Democratic Union Party (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat)
RAND	RAND Corporation (originally named from "Research and Development")
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPLM-N	Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North
TBMM	Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi)
TOBB	Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği)
TSK	Turkish Armed Forces (Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri)
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UAR	United Arab Republic
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
U.S.	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
YPG	People's Protection Units (Yekîneyên Parastina Gel)

ENDNOTES

General explanatory notes

1. Kurdish Nationalist Movement: In this book, this term refers primarily to the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and, in the discussion of Syria, to the PYD and YPG, which the book treats as organisations of the same political movement.

2. Dursun Karataş (1952–2008): Revolutionary and leader of Revolutionary Left (Devrimci Sol), and later founder and leader of the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C) in Turkey.

3. Abdullah Öcalan (born 1949): Founding leader of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party). He was captured in 1999 and imprisoned on İmralı Island in Turkey.

4. Omar Mukhtar (c. 1858–1931): Libyan anti-colonial resistance leader who led the armed struggle against Italian colonial rule in Cyrenaica. He was captured by Italian forces and executed by hanging on 16 September 1931.

5. The Gülenists refers to followers or supporters of Fethullah Gülen, a Turkish Islamic cleric and the leader of the Gülen Movement, also known as Hizmet (meaning "service"). The movement is a transnational religious and social organization with a focus on education, interfaith dialogue, and civic initiatives.

6. SME: Small and Medium-sized Enterprises

7. George Soros, a Hungarian-American billionaire investor, philanthropist, and political activist. He is widely known for his work in financial markets and his philanthropic endeavours, particularly through his organization, the Open Society Foundations (OSF).

8. The so called "World" Wars I and II were simply wars of imperialist partition of the land and resources and the conflict amongst themselves cost lives of millions of people.

9. A term used to describe a vast, undefined area along the eastern Mediterranean shores, referring to a geographic, historical, and cultural region. Throughout history, it generally refers to a large area in the Middle East, south of the Taurus Mountains. It is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the west, the Arabian Desert to the south, and Mesopotamia to the east.

10. Mamluk Sultanate: A Turkish-origin state that ruled over Egypt and Syria for nearly 300 years (1250-1517) following the collapse of the Ayyubids and before the Ottoman Empire's conquest of Egypt. The Mamluks were eventually overthrown by the Ottoman Empire.

11. Tanakh: The holy scripture of Judaism, which includes the Torah and the Psalms. It is also considered sacred by Christians, who refer to it as the "Old Testament."

12. The term kibbutz refers to communal settlements in Israel. Kibbutzim represent a unique Israeli experiment that combines socialism and Zionism in a practical way. These settlements stand out as one of history's largest collective social movements, playing a significant role in the country's agricultural and social development.

13. Gladio refers to a secretive network of stay-behind paramilitary organizations in Europe, primarily established during the Cold War. These groups were created by the United States and NATO as part of their strategy to counter Soviet influence in Europe. The term "Gladio" itself originally referred to the Italian branch of this network, but over time it has come to represent the broader, clandestine operations that operated in several European countries.

14. Mehmetçik is a term used to refer to a Turkish soldier, particularly in a symbolic or affectionate way. The word "Mehmetçik" comes from the common Turkish name "Mehmet," which is a variant of "Muhammad," a popular name in Turkey, and is used to personify the average Turkish soldier.

15. Neanderthals were a species or subspecies of archaic humans who lived in Europe and parts of western Asia. They are closely related to modern humans (Homo sapiens) and are considered to be our closest extinct relatives. Neanderthals appeared around 400,000 years ago and became extinct approximately 40,000 years ago, though some studies suggest their genetic legacy lives on in modern human populations, as interbreeding occurred between Neanderthals and early Homo sapiens.

16. Pastoral refers to a way of life centred around the care, herding, and breeding of livestock, often in open or semi-open land. This lifestyle has been practiced by various societies throughout history and is typically associated with nomadic or semi-nomadic groups who move with their animals in search of grazing land.

17. The Amorites were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who originally lived in the western parts of Mesopotamia and later spread into the broader region, including parts of Syria, Palestine, and Jordan. They played a significant role in the history of the ancient Near East, particularly during the early and middle Bronze Age.

18. The Edomites were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who lived in the region south of Judah, extending from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba. The kingdom of Edom is mentioned numerous times in the Bible and ancient historical records.

19. The Moabites were another Semitic-speaking people who lived to the east of Israel, in the territory between the Dead Sea and the Arabian desert. The kingdom of Moab, which is also frequently mentioned in the Bible, was located in what is now modern-day Jordan.

20. The Persians were an ancient Iranian people who established one of the most powerful empires in history, known as the Achaemenid Empire, which was founded by Cyrus the Great in the 6th century BCE. This empire was one of the largest in the ancient world and spanned three continents: Asia, Africa, and Europe.

21. The Umayyads were the first major Islamic caliphate, ruling from 661 to 750 CE. The Umayyads were a prominent clan from the Quraysh tribe in Mecca. They rose to power after the assassination of the fourth caliph, Ali, marking the end of the Rashidun Caliphate and the beginning of the Umayyad dynasty.

22. Fatimid Caliphate (909–1171 CE) was a prominent Islamic dynasty and one of the major Shia caliphates in history. It is known for its political power, cultural achievements, and contributions to Islamic civilization. The Fatimids claimed descent from Fatimah, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad, and her husband, Ali ibn Abi Talib. They were adherents of Ismaili Shia Islam, a branch of Shia Islam that follows the line of imams descended from Ismail, the son of Imam Jafar al-Sadiq.

23. The Bahá'í Faith is a monotheistic religion founded in the 19th century by Bahá'u'lláh in Persia (modern-day Iran). It emphasizes the unity of all people, the harmony of science and religion, and the essential oneness of all religions.

24. The Druze are a religious and social community that originated in the 11th century in the Middle East. They follow a monotheistic belief system influenced by Islamic, Gnostic, Neoplatonic, and other philosophical teachings. While the Druze are often associated with Islam due to their historical roots, they form a distinct and independent religious tradition.

25. The Phoenicians were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who originated in the region of the eastern Mediterranean, in what is now modern-day Lebanon, parts of Syria, and northern Israel. They are most famous for their maritime skills, including establishing one of the earliest and most influential trading networks across the Mediterranean Sea. The Phoenicians were renowned as traders, shipbuilders, and navigators.

26. The Assyrians were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who originated in the region of Mesopotamia, in what is now modern-day northern Iraq, northeastern Syria, and parts of Turkey and Iran. They are best known for their powerful empire, which existed from around 900 BCE to 609 BCE, and for their contributions to military strategy, governance, and culture.

27. The Babylonians were an ancient Semitic-speaking people who lived in Mesopotamia, in what is now modern-day Iraq. They are particularly famous for their contributions to law, science, art, and architecture, and for establishing the Babylonian Empire, one of the most influential civilizations of the ancient Near East.

28. The Battle of Yarmouk was a pivotal battle fought between the Byzantine Empire and the Rashidun Caliphate in 636 CE. It was one of the most significant battles in the early Islamic expansion and marked the end of Byzantine control over the region of Syria. The victory of the Rashidun Caliphate at Yarmouk led to the rapid Muslim conquest of the Levant, including the Byzantine territories of Syria, Palestine, Jordan, and parts of Anatolia.

29. The Tulunids were a Turkic dynasty that ruled over Egypt and parts of the Levant during the 9th century. The Tulunid dynasty was founded by Ahmad ibn Tulun, who established an independent Muslim state within the Abbasid Caliphate.

30. The Maronites are an ethnoreligious group primarily associated with the Maronite Church, an Eastern Catholic Christian sect. The Maronites predominantly reside in Lebanon and are one of the largest Christian groups in the country.

31. Abyssinia is the former name of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is one of the oldest independent nations in Africa (and the world). Except for the Italian occupation between 1936 and 1941, it has never been subjected to foreign domination. Ethiopia is a country with a rich history extensively documented in historical records.

32. The Saadabad Pact was a four-party non-aggression agreement signed on July 8, 1937, at the Saadabad Palace in Tehran. The signatories were Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

33. Absolute Monarchy: A system of government in which legislative and executive powers are concentrated in the hands of the ruler. In this system, the ruler holds the highest and sole authority within the state.

34. Wahhabism: Although rooted in Salafism, Wahhabism was formally established as a religious-political movement or sect in the 18th century by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. However, the term "Wahhabism" is primarily used by its opponents rather than by its followers.

35. Salafism: An Islamic belief movement whose foundations were laid by Ibn Taymiyyah. The term "Salaf" means "those who came before" and traditionally refers to the group consisting of Prophet Muhammad, his companions, and those who followed them with purity of belief.

36. Ibadism (Ibadīyya) is a sect that emerged after the Battle of Siffin and the subsequent arbitration incident, when a group of people separated from Ali al-Murtada's army and became part of the faction known as the "Muhakkimah." This group, along with the Kharijites, was part of a broader movement.

37. Kharijism, or Khawārij, is a political sect within Islam that emerged in the first century of the Islamic era (Hijri) and has manifested in various forms over the centuries. It constitutes about 2% of the Muslim world. Historically, one of the most extreme factions of the Kharijites, the Azāriqa, held the view that those they considered outside their group were not true Muslims, accusing and condemning them as infidels (takfīr) and killing them.Today, the most moderate branch of the Kharijites is known as the Ibadis. They are predominantly found in the Sultanate of Oman, where they make up an estimated 70% of the population. Small populations of Ibadis also live in Algeria, Tunisia's island of Djerba, Zanzibar, and some areas in Tanzania. On the other hand, the "Omani Ibadis" reject the claim that they are a branch of the Kharijites.

38. The Oman Popular Liberation Front was established in 1965 in the city of Dhofar, Oman, with the intention of forming an independent state. The organization, founded by Musallim Nafi and Yusuf Alevî, began its guerrilla struggle on June 9, 1965. The group identified itself within the Arab nationalist movement, but after the Six-Day War, Nasser's failures, the British withdrawal from Aden, and the establishment of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, it shifted its focus towards the socialist movement. Its primary goal was "to expel British imperialism from the Gulf."In September 1968, at the second congress, revolutionaries took control of the organization. This leadership, influenced by Maoism, changed the name of the organization to the "People's Liberation Front of the Occupied Gulf."The uprising was crushed in 1976 after Sultan Qaboos, who came to power in Oman with support from the Shah of Iran, suppressed it.

39. The Hanbali School or Hanbalism is a school of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) in Islam. A follower of the Hanbali school is called a Hanbali. The Hanbali School refers to the rulings and legal methodology derived from Islamic sources by Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal according to his own principles. Muslims who adhere to the beliefs of Ahl al-Sunnah (Sunni Islam) and follow this school in their acts of worship and daily affairs are called Hanbalis. In the Hanbali School, the primary sources of law are the Qur'an and Hadith. If there is no definitive evidence in these sources, then the opinions of the Sahaba (companions of the Prophet) that do not contradict them are followed. If there is a contradiction, the opinion closest to the Qur'an and Sunnah is preferred. If no stronger evidence is available, transmitted reports (hadith) take precedence over qiyas (analogical reasoning), which is used as a last resort. The Hanbali School places significant emphasis on transmission and narration rather than rational deduction. Today, Hanbali followers are primarily found in Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia, particularly in the Gulf countries.

40. COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) was an economic cooperation and support organization established among socialist countries on January 25, 1949. It functioned as a framework for economic collaboration until 1991, when it was dissolved following the collapse of the socialist system.

Afghanistan

1. Indus Valley Civilization or Harappa Civilization, spread over a vast area that formed the backbone of the Indus Valley, is the oldest urban civilization in South Asia, believed to have emerged around 3300 BCE.

2. Oxus Civilization, located in modern-day Turkmenistan, northern Afghanistan, southern Uzbekistan, and western Tajikistan, thrived between 2200-1700 BCE and is a key example of Central Asia's Bronze Age culture.

3. Helmand Culture of Western Afghanistan was a Bronze Age culture from the third millennium BCE, exemplified by sites like Shahr-i Sokhta, Mundigak, and Bempur.

4. Maurya Empire, an ancient empire in India during the Iron Age, spanned from 322 BCE to 185 BCE under the Maurya dynasty.

5. Buddhism, with over 500 million adherents worldwide, originated in India and later spread throughout Southeast and East Asia.

6. Hinduism, a comprehensive belief system and way of life, predominantly found in India, Nepal, and Bangladesh, is the third-largest religion in the world.

7. Kushan Empire, a dynasty that ruled the northern part of India and Central Asia, flourishing from the 2nd century BCE and founded after the fall of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom.

8. Kanishka I or Great Kanishka, was a ruler of the Kushan Empire, known for his military, political, and spiritual successes.

9. Mahayana Buddhism, one of the three main branches of Buddhism, originated in India and spread to Central Asia and China in the 1st century CE.

10. The Great Game: A strategic, economic, and political rivalry between the British and Russian Empires over supremacy in Central Asia (1870-1890).

Pakistan

1. Punjab is a geographical and cultural region in South Asia, covering parts of eastern Pakistan and northern India.

2. Sindh was an ancient kingdom on the shores of the Black Sea, ruled by the Sindhi people, a subgroup of the Meotians.

3. Pashtuns are an Iranian ethnic group primarily residing in southeastern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan. Their language, Pashto, belongs to the Iranian language family. Historically, they were known as "Afghans" before the term was used for the entire country.

4. Baloch people primarily live in Pakistan's Balochistan province, as well as parts of Iran and Afghanistan. They speak Balochi and Brahui languages.

5. Sikhs follow Sikhism, a monotheistic religion that emerged in the 15th century in Punjab, India, under Guru Nanak's teachings. The term "Sikh" comes from the Sanskrit word śiṣya, meaning "disciple" or "student."

Ethiopia

1. Animism: Also known as vitalism, this is the belief that nature as a whole and every individual entity within it possesses a spirit beyond its physical existence. It is also a religious perspective that attributes spiritual significance to natural phenomena, animals, or objects in nature and worships them accordingly.

2. Amharic: A language belonging to the Southern Semitic branch of the Semitic language family. It is the native language of the Amhara people in northern and central Ethiopia and is spoken as a first language by approximately 15 million people, with a total of 25 million speakers worldwide. Amharic is the second most spoken Semitic language in the world after Arabic.

Sudan

1. The Funj State (Funj Sultanate or Sennar Sultanate) was a Black African kingdom established in 1504, centred in Sennar, in what is now Sudan's Nubian region. The kingdom later converted to Islam and was de facto dependent on the Ottoman Empire. In 1821, it was conquered by Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Egypt, and directly annexed into the Khedivate of Egypt.

2. As this article was being written, another military coup took place in Sudan on 25 October 2021.

Turkey

1. Tengrism: Also known as the belief in Göktengri or Sky God, Tengrism was the widespread belief system of Turkic and Mongolic peoples before they adopted their current religions. In addition to worshiping Tengri, animism and totemism were fundamental aspects of this faith. "Tengri" is the archaic pronunciation of the modern Turkish word "Tanrı"(God).

2. Yazidis (Ezidis): The term refers to an ethno-religious community that predominantly speaks Kurdish. Their religious beliefs, known as Yazidism or Ezidism, trace their roots to Zoroastrianism and ancient Mesopotamian religions. Historically, Yazidis have primarily lived in the Nineveh region of Iraq, which was once part of the Assyrian civilization.

3. Luwian Language: The language spoken by the Luwians, considered one of Anatolia's indigenous peoples, is among the oldest Anatolian languages. Luwian was also used in the hieroglyphic scripts of the Hittites.

4. Göbekli Tepe: Located 18 km northeast of the city centre of Şanlıurfa, near the village of Örencik, Göbekli Tepe is the world's oldest known complex of religious structures. The site features circular arrangements of 10–12 T-shaped megaliths connected by stone walls, with two taller central pillars placed opposite each other. The pillars are adorned with carvings of human figures, arms, hands, various animals, and abstract symbols, suggesting a narrative or message. The most commonly depicted animals include bulls, wild boars, foxes, snakes, wild ducks, and vultures. Göbekli Tepe is not a settlement but rather a cultic centre. The structures were built by hunter-gatherer groups transitioning to agriculture and animal domestication. The site's earliest use dates back to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A period (9600–7300 BCE), making it at least 11, 600 years old.

5. Hattians: A civilization that lived in Anatolia between 2500–2000/1700 BCE. The Anatolian Peninsula's oldest known name was "Hatti Land."

6. Hurrians (Hurrian Kingdom): A civilization mentioned in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian sources from the 3rd millennium BCE. The Hurrians ruled Mesopotamia and Upper Tigris regions and spoke a language considered to be of Asian origin. Their state lasted until the 7th century BCE.

7. Hittites (Etiler): A people who established a state in Anatolia during the Bronze Age. Around 1600 BCE, they conquered the Hattian principalities of Central Anatolia and founded a kingdom centred in Hattusa. By the mid-14th century BCE, under King Suppiluliuma I, they expanded into the Levant and Upper Mesopotamia, becoming a superpower. The Hittites spoke Hittite and Luwian, the earliest known Indo-European languages, and also used Sumerian and Akkadian in their written records. Their writing systems included cuneiform and hieroglyphs.

8. Assyrian Empire: An ancient Mesopotamian empire composed of Semitic peoples, existing from 2025 to 612 BCE.

9. Phrygians: A people who lived in Central Anatolia during antiquity. After the collapse of the Hittite Empire around 1200 BCE, they likely migrated from Southeastern Europe to the region.

10. Urartians: A kingdom centred around the capital city of Tushpa. At its peak, the Urartian Kingdom controlled modern Eastern Anatolia, Northwestern Iran, parts of Iraq, and the Aras Valley in the north.

11. Lydia: A historical region that served as the centre of the Lydian civilization, which ruled parts of Anatolia from the end of the Bronze Age until the 6th century BCE. The region mainly encompassed the Gediz and Küçük Menderes river valleys, corresponding roughly to modern-day Manisa and Uşak provinces.

12. Caria (Karia): The ancient name for a region in southwestern Anatolia, corresponding to modern-day northern Muğla and its inland areas. Caria predates Greek colonisation along the Aegean coast, and historians increasingly agree that the Carians were an indigenous Anatolian people who developed their own civilization.

13. Lycia (Lykia or Lisiya): An ancient region covering the Teke Peninsula in Anatolia. Lycia was also the name of a federation of city-states and later a province of the Roman Empire. The name "Lycia" means "Land of Light". The Lycians, thought to be related to Indo-European Luwians, formed one of history's first democratic federations, uniting city-states under a common culture. Over time, Lycia was Hellenized and fell under the rule of various empires, including the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans.

14. Aeolians (Aiolians): One of the four main Greek tribes (alongside the Achaeans, Dorians, and Ionians). Archaeological findings suggest their history dates back to around 1100 BCE. They settled in Thessaly, Boeotia, and the northern Aegean coast of Anatolia, particularly around the Gulf of Çandarlı, which became known as Aeolis.

15. Ionian Civilization: A civilization founded by Greek settlers in western Anatolia around 1200 BCE. The Ionians established city-states along the Aegean coast, roughly between the Gediz and Küçük Menderes rivers, calling the region Ionia. They lived in independent city-states.

Kazakhstan

1. Sakas were a historical people who lived in the northeastern Eurasian steppes and the Tarim Basin, known for their skills in horse breeding and mining. While sources generally classify the Sakas as either Turkic or Iranian, debates about their identity continue. The term "Saka" began to be used in Old Persian after the Achaemenid period. In Greek sources, they were referred to as "Sakai". Although the Sakas and Scythians are considered closely related and part of the common Scythian-Siberian culture, they are generally regarded as distinct peoples by scholars.

2. Huns (370s–469) were a nomadic confederation known for initiating the Migration Period, which led to the invasion of the Roman Empire. Under the leadership of Attila, they established the European Hunnic Empire.

3. Göktürk Khaganate was a Turkic state founded by the Göktürks, ruling Central and Inner Asia between 552 and 744. Its founder and first leader was Bumin Khagan. His brother, Istämi Yabgu, governed the western wing of the state.

4. Kipchaks or Cumans (9th–11th centuries) were one of the ancient Turkic peoples. They spoke the Kipchak language, which later developed into three branches and became the foundation of the Kipchak languages.

5. Karakhanid State or simply Karakhanids (840–1212) was a Turkic dynasty that ruled in Central Asia and Transoxiana. It was the first Islamic dynasty established in Central Asia. According to the widely accepted view, the Karakhanids were of Karluk Turkic origin.

6. Golden Horde or Golden Horde State (1242–1502) was a Turkic-Mongol khanate. Before his death, Genghis Khan divided his lands among his sons, assigning the region west of the Syr Darya River and Lake Balkhash to his eldest son, Jochi. Jochi's younger son, Batu Khan, expanded these territories through western campaigns. The lands of Jochi were later divided between Batu Khan and his elder brother, Orda Khan. The eastern part, controlled by Orda, was called White Horde, while the western part, under Batu, was initially called Blue Horde and later known as the Golden Horde.

7. Oghuz Turks were a western Turkic people who spoke the Oghuz branch of the Turkic languages. In the 8th century, they established a tribal confederation known as the Oghuz Yabgu State in Central Asia. The name "Oghuz" comes from a common Turkic word meaning "tribe."

8. Karluks were a Turkic people who existed between 766 and 1215 in Central Asia. They were divided into three tribes and are first recorded as living in the southwest of the Altai Mountains and northwest of Bešbalık. Around 627, after the Sir Tardush migration into the Eastern Göktürk Khaganate, the Karluks settled in the Tarbagatai steppes north of the Tian Shan Mountains. Later, they rebelled against the Western Göktürk Khaganate, contributing to its decline.

9. Turkic Council (Türk Keneşi): Established on 3 October 2009, through the "Nakhchivan Agreement" between Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, the Turkic Council fosters cooperation in foreign policy, economy, transportation, customs, tourism, education, media, youth, and sports. Later, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan also joined the meetings. The total area of the member countries is approximately 5 million km².

10. Afanasevo Culture was a Chalcolithic archaeological culture that existed between 3300 and 2500 BCE in the Altai Mountains and the Minusinsk Basin of Southern Siberia. It is the earliest known culture in the region, named after Mount Afanaseva.

11. Andronovo Culture was a Bronze Age culture (1700–1200 BCE) associated with early Turkic groups. It developed in the Altai-Tian Shan Mountains, Southern Siberia, and northeastern Caspian regions.

12. Massagetae were a nomadic state in the 6th century BCE, located in the southern regions of Central Asia and neighbouring the Persian Empire. According to the ancient Greek historian Herodotus, the Massagetae forced the Sakas to migrate westward and establish a new state. Some sources claim that the Persian King Cyrus the Great was killed in battle against the Massagetae on the banks of the Syr Darya River, rather than against the Sakas. It is believed that they lived east of the Caspian Sea and north of the Aral Sea. While Alan and Khwarezmian Iranian elements mixed with them, some scholars argue that the Massagetae were of Turkic origin.

Kyrgyzstan

1. Perestroika: A series of economic and political reforms initiated in the 1980s in the Soviet Union. First proposed in 1979 by then-leader Leonid Brezhnev, it was later promoted by Mikhail Gorbachev. The policy ultimately led to revisionism and counter-revolutions, contributing to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

2. Glasnost: A set of political and economic policies introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev to address the Soviet Union's economic problems. Implemented in 1985, Glasnost continued until the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Ukraine

1. Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS): Established through an agreement signed on 8 December 1991, between Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, this community of states marked the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union. On 21 December 1991, all former Soviet republics, except Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Georgia, signed the agreement. Georgia later joined in 1993. The member states are Azerbaijan, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Russia, and Tajikistan.

2. Kievan Rus' (Kiev Duchy or Principality): A federation ruled by the Rurik dynasty, founded by the Varangian prince Rurik. It existed from the late 9th century until the mid-13th century. This state is considered the ancestor of Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine.

3. Kingdom of Galicia–Volhynia (Galicia-Volhynia Principality): Also known as the Ruthenian Principality, it was a Slavic state that existed in Eastern Europe between 1199 and 1349. It was invaded and annexed by the Polish King Casimir III the Great in 1349.