

İBRAHİM KAYPAKKAYA

SELECTED WORKS



Prairie Fire Publishing

This work is released into the public domain, free of all copyright restrictions worldwide. All content in this book is in the public domain except where explicitly marked otherwise; any such marked content retains its respective copyright and requires permission for use.

© Prairie Fire Publishing, 2025

<https://prairiefirepublishing.com/>

1st Edition

978-1-300-00229-1



İbrahim Kaypakkaya

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	9
II.	Kürecik Regional Report	17
III.	A Letter to Administrator Comrades in a Rural Area	48
IV.	Let Us Grasp Correctly the Red Political Power Doctrine of Chairman Mao	58
V.	Critique of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey Draft Program	78
VI.	The Theses of Şafak Revisionism Regarding the Kemalist Movement, the Kemalist Government During the Period of the Years of World War II, Post-War and May 27	156
VII.	The National Question in Turkey	238
VIII.	The Origin and Development of the Differences Between Ourselves and Şafak Revisionism: A General Critique of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Party of Turkey	312
IX.	Interrogation	497
X.	Glossary	507

I.

Introduction

Communist Manifestation of the Revolution in Turkey

As in all countries, there have been many revolutionary and Communist leaders in Turkey (including Turkish-Kurdistan). Each of them contributed significantly to revolutionary or Communist struggles. They have secured their place in Turkey's revolutionary history and in the hearts and minds of oppressed people as important figures, and will continue to endure.

However, some deserve exceptional recognition. Their personalities became inevitably identified with the political and social character of revolution because they historically shouldered and performed crucial duties during pivotal moments in history. Their most distinguishing characteristic is that they revealed the fundamental political and personal aspects of the country's revolution, like discovering a gem through the light of scientific socialism. Leaders who uncovered this gem definitely deserve a special place in history. Their names carry a talismanic impact. In this context, İbrahim Kaypakkaya merits mention as such a historical figure.

Kaypakkaya became identified with Turkey's political and social revolutionary character. He achieved this through the theoretical, political, and organizational framework he established. He truly embodied the spirit of Turkey's revolution. He developed rapidly and shouldered this historic responsibility by maturing at a time when ongoing processes, social conditions, and strong principles of class struggle necessitated a pioneering and leading force. Contrary to the tendency to resist social processes and the currents of the time, Kaypakkaya struggled to understand and comprehend these currents within their objective conditions. To understand, to comprehend, become interlaced with these currents within

objective conditions, and to master their principles is not only a formidable task but also a venturesome one. This was accomplished in accordance with understanding the objective world, including class dynamics, production, and scientific struggles.

Kaypakkaya opened a battle-front against minds that treated scientific socialism's theoretical insights and knowledge as dogmatic collections and absolute formulations. He adhered only to practical methods as a road to true knowledge. He maintained faith in the historic unity of subjective and objective elements, theory and practice, along with principles and their application. He did not hesitate to attack, without exception and with fierce determination, all kinds of ideas, ideologies, and worldviews that deviated from this method.

Kaypakkaya was just 23 years old when he pioneered and made significant contributions regarding a series of fundamental issues: socio-economic realities, political and social contradictions, the nature of the political regime, the foundations of national problems, the road of revolution, and the main organizing and working principles. He put forward extraordinary ideas for Turkey's revolution that had not been considered by any other potential movements until that time. Even 40 years later, his ideas remain valid, deserving to be mentioned among Communist classics.

| In general, the official program of a party is of less importance than what a party does. But a new program is after all a banner publicly raised, and the outside world judges the party by it.¹

¹Friedrich Engels, "Letter to A. Bebel," March 18, 1875.

Kaypakkaya's writings in this book comprise the programmatic views of the Communist Party of which he was the founder and leader. These are developed perspectives, some prepared specifically in the form of theses and others formulated during polemics with revisionist streams, all penned to clarify fundamental issues of Turkey's revolution. More importantly, our leader and comrade's views are not only the product of a deep comprehension of scientific socialist doctrines but also possess the maturity of having been developed through the line of class struggle.

Kaypakkaya developed an identity from the common point of revolutionary struggle in Turkey during the second half of the 1960s and the rising class struggle worldwide. His theses have the value of a *Communist Manifesto* as a result of this historical process. Today, undisputedly, his writings, like all articles belonging to the theoretical treasure of scientific socialism, may have outdated aspects with regard to current conditions and may also have deficient or inadequate elements, but the perspective of progressing science becomes meaningful at this point.

However much the state of things may have altered during the last twenty-five years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing...²

²Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Preface to the German Edition of 1872" (Foreign Languages Press, 1973), p. 2.

In fact, Kaypakkaya's opinions were processed under his leadership for decades. On one side, objective developments, and on the other hand, the progress of class struggle, have tested and strengthened his ideas. The main route of this line, the fact of class struggle, today's political line, and its emergence and development depend on dynamics that owe their analytical and enlightening power to the main principles underlying the *Communist Manifesto*.

It is also justifiable that this process is enriched by the experience of the international proletariat's common values worldwide. The bourgeoisie wages war using all kinds of methods and tactics, forming the basis of hegemony by reproducing all elements of its mechanism at full speed, and has dealt blows to all forces representing the proletariat and the future.

Guiding them, the inevitable ideological basis has been further strengthened.

For the ultimate triumph of the ideas set forth in the *Manifesto* Marx relied solely and exclusively upon the intellectual development of the working class, as it necessarily had to ensue from united action and discussion. The events and vicissitudes in the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the successes, could not but demonstrate to the fighters the inadequacy of the universal panaceas they had hitherto sworn by and make their minds more receptive to a thorough understanding of the true conditions for the emancipation of the workers. And Marx was right.³

³Friedrich Engels, "Preface to the German Edition of 1890" (Foreign Languages Press, 1973), pp. 20–21.

Kaypakkaya had a short but efficient Communist life. Torture continued for months and finally ended when he was murdered by firing squad after completing a historic manifesto of resistance. Due to his Communist leadership identity and heroic resistance against the enemy, they had no alternative but to destroy him. I should be happy that he created the program around which the Party was founded, and that fighting comrades have created a great tradition of struggle and resistance.

That tradition of Kaypakkaya's line has carried forward to today and continues to grow hopes for reaching revolution tomorrow. His followers have taken up the duty of practicing, developing, and advancing Kaypakkaya's views that he specifically formulated regarding Turkey and Turkish-Kurdistan. For that reason, they have looked to Kaypakkaya for their style of analysis and movement. Henceforth, it will continue to be like this. Following in the footsteps of the founders and developers of scientific socialism requires embracing this theory's philosophy of correlation with life's material phenomena.

There can be no strong socialist party without a revolutionary theory which unites all socialists, from which they draw all their convictions, and which they apply in their methods of struggle and means of action. To defend such a theory, which to the best of your knowledge you consider to be true, against unfounded attacks and attempts to corrupt it is not to imply that you are an enemy of *all* criticism. We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life.⁴

⁴V. I. Lenin, "Our Program" (Progress Publishers, 1977), pp. 211–212.