

# Typological Analysis of The Ideological Change of Illegal Organizations

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## Abstract

The PKK terrorist organization, which was influenced by the ideology of communism during its establishment, established its organizational structure by taking inspiration from other communist organizations. The PKK terrorist organization introduces itself as "revolutionary-communist", but like the Mussolini government, it has undergone an ideological change. The PKK terrorist organization acts according to the ideology of Kurdish nationalism in Europe and Turkey. However, the PKK terror organization is a terrorist organization that cooperates with the imperialist states in Iraq. This situation is also against the nature of both communism and the ideology of nationalism. In addition, The PKK terrorist organization first adopted the communist ideology to provide social support. In addition, this situation also caused the PKK terrorist organization to establish relations with other illegal communist armed organizations. In the study, the ideological structure of the PKK terrorist organization and its examples in the world have been tried to be compared.

**Key Words:** Terror, PKK Terrorist Organization, Nationalism, National Security, Security

## Yasadışı Örgütlerin İdeolojik Değişiminin Tipolojik Analizi

### Özet

Kuruluşu sırasında komünizm ideolojisinden etkilenen PKK terör örgütü, örgüt yapısını diğer komünist örgütlerden esinlenerek oluşturmuştur. PKK terör örgütü kendisini "devrimci-komünist" ideolojisi ile tanıtmaktadır. Ancak Mussolini hükümeti gibi komünizm'den faşizm ideolojisine değişim geçirdi. Geçen zaman zarfında ise PKK terör örgütü, Avrupa'da ve Türkiye'de Kürt milliyetçiliği ideolojisine göre hareket etmektedir. PKK terör örgütü Irak'ı işgal eden emperyalist devletlerle işbirliği yapan bir illegal silahlı terör örgütüdür. Bu durum PKK'nın kendileri için belirtmiş olduğu komünist ideolojinin doğasına ve milliyetçilik ideolojisine aykırıdır. PKK terör örgütü kendisine ideolojik alt yapı oluşturarak kitle desteği sağlamaya çalışmaktadır. PKK terör örgütü Avrupa, Türkiye ve Irak'ta kaybolan toplumsal desteğini tekrardan sağlamak için ilk olarak komünizm ideolojisini benimsemiştir. Bu durum aynı zaman da PKK terör örgütünün diğer komünist illegal silahlı örgütleri ile ilişki kurmasına sebep olmuştur. Ancak zamanla PKK terör örgütü ideolojisini değiştirerek terörizm faaliyetlerini kolaylaştırma stratejisini benimsemiştir. Çalışma da PKK terör örgütünün ideolojik yapısı ve dünyadaki örnekleri ile karşılaştırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Terör, PKK Terör Örgütü, Milliyetçilik, Ulusal Güvenlik, Güvenlik

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## 1. Introduction

The international system had extraordinary organizations, especially, the star of non-state actors shined because of imperialism in the cold war. In addition, the USA battle failed in Vietnam and the international system met the effect of guerilla tactical war, and many illegal communist organizations been the sources of inspiration for terror organizations.

Turkey has made counter terror against the Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization (PKK) for a long time. Ideology of The Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization (PKK) was the communism, but it change to day. The Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization (PKK) has much complex their illegal finance systems, terror attacks' strategies, organizations chart and ideology.

According to many researchers, the anatomy of the Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization (PKK) looks like the nature of ETA, IRA, Tamil Tigers terror organization, etc, this theory is a little misleading, because, every legal or illegal organization have their characteristic feature.

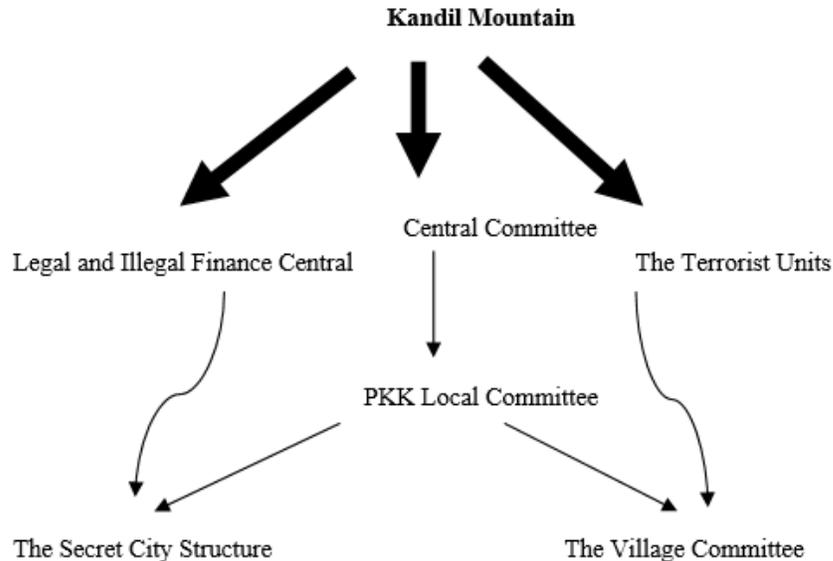
The Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization (PKK) was established with inspiration from Vietnam Communist Party, communist organizations from Latin America and Europe. In this study, we try to explain the similarity between the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) terrorist organization's organization chart of the Vietnam Communist Party and the organization chart of some Latin American and European Communist organizations. That are example for this study. All in all, the anatomy of the Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization terrorist organization (PKK) will be examined in this study.

## 2. Establishment of The Kurdistan Workers' Party Terror Organization and Ideology

Firstly, Abdullah Ocalan founded Democratic Higher Education Association in Ankara in 1974. By this way, He worked on Independent Kurdistan Revolution Road in Democratic Higher Education Association, and this mentality of Abdulah Ocalan was the first argument of the Kurdistan Workers' Party Terror Organization. In addition, The Statute of the Communist Party of Vietnam was significant example for the Kurdistan Workers' Party Terror Organization while establishing the PKK by Abdullah Ocalan (Karabulut, 2014: 103-104; Ali, 2008: 1-10).

In the 1978 year, The Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization was established in Lice Village in Diyarbakir. Abdullah Ocalan is a leader of the Kurdistan's Party terror organization, and he signed a compromise agreement with Barzani in 1982. In this agreement, the Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization has lived in Iraq for long years. In the early 1990s, Kandil Mountain is a significant terror base for the Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization, because Kandil Mountain has a strategic location for the PKK (Aslan, 2007: 23-24, Aron, 1976: 22-26).

**Schema 1 : The PKK Organization Schema**



*Source: National Security Council. (1994) "Who Is The PKK With Its Own Statement? What Does It Want To Do" Ankara: Publication No. 3 of the General Secretariat of the National Security Council.*

Central Committee has three or five administrators. Central Committee is an important and strategic high level on other PKK committees. The Central Committee consisting of a general secretary and four members, the Central Committee meets every six months. The Local Committee has one or two administrators. District Committee makes organization between Village Committee and other committees. Village Committee of the Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organization has three managers for managing and direct. Purpose and scope of Kurdistan Workers' Party terror organizations Village Committee; factory, trade unions, labor unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, etc. running and organizing all organizations as a party (National Security Council, 1994: 6-90).

The PKK terror organization believed in communist ideology, they were imposing their ideology on the poor and the working class, because the PKK terror organization wanted to change the mentality of people from Turkey, with this method, they could ideological attack in people from Turkey. The PKK want to control ethnic ID of Turkey while using ideological arguments (Aydin, 2009: 29-55).

The PKK terrorist organization wants to be the leader of the Kurdish people by using the ideology of Kurdish nationalism; Kurdish people do not interest in this theoretical approach of the PKK terror organization nowadays, because the PKK killed many Kurdish people by the terror attack in Diyarbakir. Because of this, eleven terrorists from various countries joined the PKK terror organization in the 2021 year (DHA, 2017).

With the passing time, the PKK terror organization changed its ideology. Kurdish people from Turkey do not support the PKK terror organization, because of this, the PKK needs a new ideology; in addition, they accept Kurdish nationalism ideology. How do we understand to Kurdish nationalism ideology of the PKK terror organization? Kurdish people did not satisfied from old ideology of the PKK terror organization, because of this, many Kurdish people gave up to support the PKK terror organization, but in this Kurdish nationalism of the PKK, some Kurdish people from Iraq and Syria support to the PKK, but the PKK's new ideology is deception because the PKK terror organization kills Kurdish people from Sinjar in Iraq (alkhaleeonline.net, 2017). In addition, we can say other a factor that; old flag of the PKK terror organization was sickle and hammer symbol but sickle and hammer symbol canceled by the PKK terror organization, the PKK terror organization's flag is only star today (Karabulut, 2014: 112).

According to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology, communist organizations should have guerrilla groups. Illegal armed groups of the PKK terror organization are mountain guerrilla, but they want to have urban guerrillas (Kürkçü and Gür, 1988: 115). Because of this, the PKK terror organization made terror attack in Diyarbakir in 2015, also they want to have in Diyarbakir so they can be a guerilla (Yanmiş, 2016:27).

According to the Marxism ideology of the PKK, independence, equality of peoples, struggle with imperialism significant factors (Gürses, 2003: 25-65). In the 21st century, the USA is imperialist government more than other Europe countries in international system, so the USA should be enemy country for the PKK, but the USA gave 400 million dollars to the PKK and the YPG terror organizations for support (AA, 2020, Ufuk, 2009: 83).

## 2.1 Communism Ideological Modeling While the PKK was Founded by Abdullah Ocalan

In the 1920s, effects of Communism ideology increased in South Asia, East Asia and Latin America. For example; Vietnam, Cuba, and Colombia, this countries are a model for many terror organizations. American military attacks were a danger for people from Vietnam. In addition, people from Vietnam lived in hunger and misery. North Vietnam people believed in communism because communism ideology could be a savior for them. Because of this, people from Vietnam made guerrilla operations against the USA. Viet Cong guerillas were farmer and civilians, they worked in farm morning, at night, they made sabotage and guerilla attacks. (Mark, 1964: 99-100).

Phan Boi Chau from Vietnam started communism ideology in Vietnam. In addition, Nguyen Ai Quoc from Vietnam translated Karl Marx's books in Vietnam. Nguyen Ai Quoc made their first secret organizations in Vietnam, in addition, he told about communism to farmers from Vietnam for asking for support from farmers. The Soviets supported to communist people from Vietnam for the struggle with imperialism and the west. By the time, the Air force of the USA air attacked Vietnam, also Japan's government invaded rice fields and warehouses of Vietnam. Ho Şi Minh formed Vietnam Communist Liberation Army on 13 August 1945 in Vietnam. Vietnam Communist Liberation Army attacked guerilla strategies and was successful (V.C.L.A.) against the USA army in Vietnam. But, the city guerilla of Vietnam Communist Liberation Army was not been effect. Strong guerilla fights of Vietnam have been model, also they explained effectively about communism on people from Vietnam (Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions-1, 1975: 45-90).

**Schema 2 : The Viet Cong's Organizations Schema**



*Source: Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions, (1975), Istanbul: Gelisim Publishing, P. 45-90.*

Viet Cong's organization's schema has specific details. Firstly, Nguyen Ai Quoc from Vietnam formed the Vietnamese National Revolutionary Party. The party needed secret activity, because of this; they formed the organization of the secret house. The organization of the secret houses was the first important point for Viet Cong. Missions of the organization of the secret houses were to organize meetings, rallies, and protests, to teach communism and revolution to the public. The second important point is Village Committee for Viet Cong. Missions of the Village Committee was to participating in rallies and guerrilla actions, provide guerrilla, produce food, perform tasks of secret houses organization. In course of time, Missions of the Village Committee was significant than the organization of the secret houses. Because of this, Vietnamese National Revolutionary Party formed Representative Government for represent the village committee. Vietnamese National Revolutionary Party would give orders to Guerilla Units (Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions, 1975-1: 45-61).

Colombia had the first guerilla organization in Latin America. On 9 April 1948, populist leader Jorge Eliecer Gaiten killed by unidentified persons in Bogota, because of this, people from Colombia started a rebellion against the Colombia government, in this way, civil conflict broke out between the government and the people. According to guerillas from Colombia, the guerilla system had a specific level, the first stage was anarchic banditry. If illegal independent groups want to illegal armed activity so they were anarchic banditry (Banditismo Anarchico). In the final stage, anarchic banditry (Violencia) had made armed violence (Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions-1, 1975: 144-145; Buesa, 2012:11-33).

Guerillas captured Huila, Tolima and Valle del Cauca, El Pato, Rio Chiquito, Guayabero, cities from Colombia government. Communist Party of Colombia needed systematic organizations (Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions-1, 1975: 146).

**Schema 3 : Communist Party of Colombia Organization Schema**



\*Colombian Communist Party Police Station’s duty had made order in autonomous Regions.

\*Colombian Communist Party Police Station’s schools had taught about Communism ideology to children.

\* Colombian Communist Party Guerilla Units had been according to two systems. First, according to some administrators, the guerilla units would be a defense in autonomous Regions. Second, according to other administrators, the guerilla units would be offensive for spreading the revolutionary movement to other regions, but the second opinion failed. In the elapsed time, guerilla organizations from Colombia divided into two branches, F.L.N (National Liberation Army) and F.A.R.C. (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) were two independent organizations from each other (Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions-1, 1975: 149-150).

**Schema 4 : F.A.R.C. (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) Organization Schema**



*Source: Insightcrime, (2013) "FARC" <https://insightcrime.org/colombia-organized-crime-news/farc-profile/> (24.05.2021).*

F.A.R.C. makes money by selling drugs. The city armed organizations are not very effective but the mountain armed organizations effective for armed attack. Duties of the policy office representations F.A.R.C. in politics, society, and international arena (Kisacik, 2012:22).

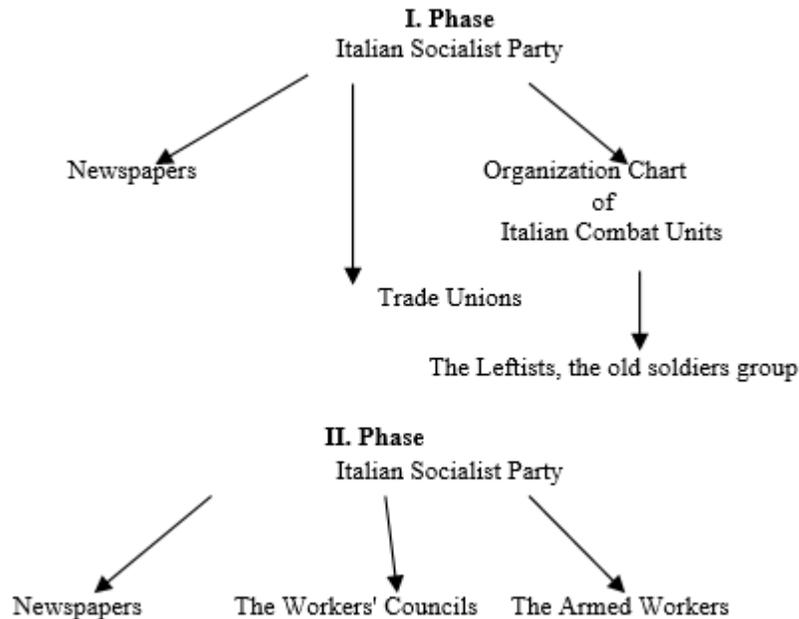
**2.2 Could Nationalist Movements Be A Model When Abdullah Ocalan was Founding the PKK? For Example: Mussolini government of Italy**

As stated before, the PKK terror organization tries to change their ideology from communism to nationalism. The PKK terror organization has a hybrid ideology, and they synthesize with communism and nationalism nowadays. Even if the PKK name is communism, nationalism ideology has been more effective more than communism for the PKK terror organization, but we cannot make explanation ideology of the PKK terror organization is only communism (Yanmis, 2016: 18).

According to Kedeourie, the definition of nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe in the early 19th century. Ernest Gellner explains nationalism as a product of modernity and a sociological necessity. The definition of nationalism is generally explained subjectively because of this is no clear the definition of nationalism (Yildirim, 2014: 26-27; Simsek, 2009: 84).

Early 19th century, nationalist ideology was popular in some governments. The most striking example is the Italian government. Mussolini believed in socialist ideology, and he met Lenin and Serrati. Mussolini worked for socialist ideology and wrote many socialist articles in Italy Class Fight Newspaper. In 1914, Mussolini became a member of the socialist party. Mussolini was a pro-war, because of this he had new ideology, it was nationalism (Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions-2, 1975: 240-246).

**Schema 5 : Organization Chart of Italian Combat Units Before Mussolini Comes To Power**



In I. Phase, Socialist Newspapers made propaganda for the Italian Socialist Party, they had a military system of the Leftists and the old soldiers' group due to the political void in Italy. Trade Unions were in charge of holding an armed, unarmed rally. In II. Phase, The Socialist Newspapers' importance for propaganda, The Workers' Councils would do effective armed actions. The Armed Workers' was professional soldiers more than the leftists' soldiers (Encyclopedia of revolutions and counter-revolutions-2, 1975: 240-246).

### 2.3 Ideological and Organizational Schema Comparison of Nationalist, Communist and PKK Terrorist Organizations

Every illegal organization needs an ideology to control their societies, in this way, they can provide the militant from people. For example, Jewish Zealot and friends started a riot against the Rome Empire in 1st-century, freedom was an ideology for them, and slaves from out of the Rome Empire supported them because of freedom. Another example is armed workers' rallies for us (Bal, 2006: 36; Aydin, 2009: 29).

Communism ideology affected Abdullah Ocalan while starting the PKK terror organization. Abdullah Ocalan wants independent Kurdistan in Southeastern Anatolian, because of this, they need illegal armed groups, also according to radical communism, and revolutions are brought about by guns and conflict, in this way, the PKK terror organization want to revolutionize by using terrorist activities. However, the revolution does not make by terrorist acts (Heywood, 2013: 68-73).

**Table 1 : Similar-Not Similar Aspects of the Italian Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Colombian Communist Party and the PKK Terrorist Organization**

<b>Organizations</b>	<b>Communism Ideology</b>	<b>Nationalist Ideology</b>	<b>Illegal Armed Units</b>	<b>Legal Armed Units</b>	<b>Central Committee</b>	<b>Local Committee</b>	<b>Legal Finance</b>	<b>Illegal Finance</b>	<b>Propaganda Center</b>	<b>Organization of The Secret Houses</b>
<b>Italian Socialist Party (Musolini)</b>	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	-	-	YES	NO
<b>Communist Party Of Vietnam</b>	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	-	YES	NO	YES
<b>The Colombian Communist Party</b>	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES <sup>1</sup>	YES	NO	YES	-	NO
<b>The PKK Terrorist Organization (Abdullah Ocalan)</b>	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The City Armed Organization

<sup>2</sup> Control of Central And Regional Committees

The organization type of the PKK terror group looks like other communist party organization types. In addition, the PKK terror organization leader is an ideological perspective of Abdullah Ocalan looks like the ideology of Mussolini. Nationalist Mussolini started first his political career in the Socialist Party like Abdullah Ocalan (Kurdistan Workers' Party) of the PKK terror organization leader; also, Mussolini changed socialist ideology to nationalism ideology, Abdullah Ocalan and the PKK terror organization changed socialist ideology to nationalism ideology like Mussolini.

Committee systems are significant for legal or illegal organizations, in this way; they can make effective decisions, take actions, and provide human resources. In general, The Secret Houses under the control of local or central committees.

### 3. Finally

The organizational structure of the communist terror organization can model for the PKK terror organization, many communist terror organization guides for them. In generally, PKK is ideologically a hybrid of other legal and illegal communist organizations.

When the organizational structure of the PKK terrorist organization is examined, it is seen that the PKK also has a hierarchical order. The PKK terrorist organization is ideologically a hybrid of other legal and illegal communist organizations. The PKK terrorist organization will be dissolved within itself due to counter-terrorism operations aimed at a point and above targets.

The ideological change of the PKK terrorist organization confuses its mass and terror structure. Accordingly, the PKK terrorist organization will not be able to get support from its mass. The PKK is not a communist organization due to the terrorist organization's terrorist acts against Kurds in Syria and Iraq and the support it receives from the imperialist states.

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