



Information Booklet

**“We carry a new world here, in our hearts.
That world is growing in this minute”**

-Buenaventura Durruti



“We anarchists do not want to emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves.”

-Errico Malatesta



Anarka- emerged in May 2022 at METU, a university located in Ankara, the capital of Turkey. A group of students and graduate anarchists, some of whom already knew each other and were already engaged in various fields of struggle, began to meet and hold meetings to discuss what could be done to bring anarchists together in a more organised way and to spread anarchist thought and practice. As a result of the discussions, it was decided to publish an anarchist magazine as a first step and the first issue of the magazine was published in September of the same year. Thus, the anarchist magazine Anarka- was born.

The name of the magazine, written as a prefix, came from the term "anarka-feminism". The feminine form of the prefix signalled the feminist perspective adopted by the journal. The fact that the name was written with a hyphen at the end, underlining that it was a prefix, meant that a non-reductive, total and integrated perspective of struggle was adopted; this prefix could have been complemented with different words pointing to different types of anarchism that emerged against different forms of domination and exploitation. However, the adoption of different types of anarchism together was not based on a vague understanding of anarchism, but on the recognition that although they do not exist in isolation from each other, there are different forms of domination and exploitation that cannot be reduced to a fundamental contradiction, and therefore the struggle against them must also be diverse.

Whether the team that published the magazine would have the quality or structure of an organisation in the narrow sense of the word remained uncertain and a matter of debate for a certain period of time. However, as the team gained an organisational structure in practice, Anarka- became not only the name of an anarchist magazine, but also the name of an anarchist organisation.

Although Anarka- was founded by METU students, from the very beginning it had the will to be an organisation that would not remain within the borders of university. In time comrades from outside the university joined the organisation and Anarka- went beyond the borders of the university and became a local organisation in the province.

As the geography of Turkey has witnessed the establishment of many local anarchist organisations and initiatives in recent years, Anarka- has given importance to being in communication and solidarity with anarchist groups, organisations and initiatives operating in many parts of the geography. 6 February 2023 Turkey- Kurdistan-Syria earthquake and the urgent need for solidarity and coordination due to the devastating consequences of the earthquake in the region, brought together anarchists in many regions under the name of Anarchist Solidarity Coordination which strived for emphasizing the political character of the earthquake and knitting of emergency solidarity networks together. While the state left thousands of people under the rubble or freezing to death and destruction,

the extensive solidarity and mutual aid networks woven throughout the geography once again revealed that our greatest weapon is solidarity against the massacres caused by the State and capital.

In a geography where oppression, torture, massacres and crisis are escalating day by day, Anarka- continues to be in the streets, and grow solidarity in order to raise an anti-authoritarian, anti-fascist and intersectional struggle in line with anarchist principles.

This booklet is a translation into English of the manifesto text published in the first issue of the Anarka- journal, which outlines Anarka-'s understanding of anarchism, with the addition of an introductory article.

From Anarka- Journal Issue 1



≡ TAKE TO THE STREETS! ≡

What Kind of Anarchism?

Who are we?

We are anarchists who decided to publish this fanzine as a modest step to explain, spread and organize anarchism.

We call ourselves anarchists because we are against any kind of domination and exploitation and we want to create a free society in which such domination and exploitation mechanisms are abolished. We call ourselves anarchists because as we give a struggle to create such a society, we strive to make anti-domination and anti-exploitation our guide in our lives and in our relationships with other people.

What kind of anarchism do we embrace?

“Social inequality – inequality of classes, privileges, and wealth – not by right but in fact. will continue to exist until such time as the right of inheritance is abolished. It is an inherent social law that de facto inequality inexorably produces inequality of rights; social inequality leads to political inequality.”

- Mihail Bakunin- Revolutionary Catechism

We don't adopt an anarchism limited to our individual lives and narrow circles; we want to spread, organize and socialize anarchism; we want to reorganize society as a whole in line with anarchist principles and values and create a new world. But we consider it necessary to point out that an anarchism that has no counterpart in our life and relations is far from us; if we call

ourselves anarchists, we believe that we must live differently, relate to other people differently, and treat each other differently. We believe that it is impossible to achieve freedom without abolishing the state and private property, without realizing a total and radical transformation of society. At the same time, we believe that without transforming our lives and our relations with each other in line with anarchist principles and values, we cannot wage a struggle that will create an anarchist society. In a single sentence, we advocate an anarchism that will guide us both in our daily life and relationships and in the construction of a new society and world.

“The State is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently toward one another... We are the State and we shall continue to be the State until we have created the institutions that form a real community”

- Gustave Landauer

Since the state, by its very nature, implies domination and exploitation, we consider any form of state to be our enemy. We maintain that political and economic freedom are inseparable, that one requires the other and that the two make each other possible. We therefore declare ourselves to be enemies of the state as well as of the institution of private property, which compels the workers to sell their labor power to the capitalist, and we maintain that the abolition of the state and the abolition of private property over the means of production and consumption are inseparable elements in the construction of an anarchist society.

"Anarchism teaches that none of us can be free if even one of us is imprisoned."

We know that the state and private property are the main sources of domination and exploitation, and that a free society cannot exist and no struggle for freedom can be successful without their abolition. (To explain with an example; we know that the state cannot be feminist and capitalism cannot be queer). But we are also aware that they are not the only obstacles to the creation of a free society. We are not under the illusion that all forms of domination and exploitation arise together with the state and private property and that they will automatically disappear with the abolition of the state and private property. We recognize that different forms of domination and exploitation are interrelated; that they cause, nourish and reinforce each other in various ways. But, on the other hand, we argue that they each have their own dynamics and autonomous existence. Therefore, we do not believe that different problems can be reduced to a single "fundamental problem" and that by eliminating this fundamental problem, other problems will naturally disappear. We advocate a holistic and intersectional struggle against all forms of domination and exploitation, all hierarchies and power relations.

Starting from the detection that there are different forms of domination and exploitation that cannot be reduced to each other, we argue that the subjects of each community under domination and exploitation should build their self-organization and independent struggles according to the

specificities of their problems. To concretize a bit; we say that women, queers, Kurds, immigrants, Alevis...; should create their own organizations and create their own independent struggles to solve their own problems. However, we argue that freedom is a holistic thing, that none of us can be free until each of us is free. We therefore believe that none of these problems can be solved in isolation from the others, and that the different liberation struggles, while maintaining their independence, and must be in constant solidarity with each other.

What do we understand from an anarchist organization, how do we organize?

“Metaphysics, failing to recognize the social character of human nature, looked upon society as a mechanical and purely artificial aggregate of individuals, suddenly brought together in the name of some formal or secret compact concluded freely or under the influence of a superior power. Before uniting in society, these individuals, endowed with some sort of immortal soul, enjoyed complete liberty, according to the metaphysicians. We are convinced that all the wealth of man’s intellectual, moral, and material development, as well as his apparent independence, is the product of his life in society. Outside society, not only would he not be a free man, he would not even become genuinely human.”

–Mikhail Bakunin-The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State

We know that the way to be free is not to isolate ourselves from society and become atomized, but to come together in a way that does not undermine each other's freedom but supports and strengthens it. Therefore, we claim that freedom and anarchism are only possible through organizing. However, we see the importance anarchism attaches to the correspondence between ends and means as one of the main distinguishing features of it, and we argue that methods and forms of organization that belong to a class and hierarchical society and are used to maintain it cannot be used in the construction of a free society. Because we believe that such methods and organizations will reproduce the relations prevailing in the society they reflect, namely the relations of domination and exploitation, and consequently class and hierarchical society itself. Therefore, we are against organizations based on hierarchy, centralism, representation and imposed discipline. We advocate an organization based on free agreement and voluntarism, self-management and direct democracy, self-organization, a spirit of initiative, self-discipline and a sense of collective responsibility, because we believe that the means we use should be based on the same principles as the society we want to create.

“I am truly free only when all human beings, men and women, are equally free. The freedom of other men, far from negating or limiting my freedom, is, on the contrary, its necessary premise and confirmation....My personal freedom, confirmed by the liberty of all, extends to infinity.”

- Mikhail Bakunin- God and State

Free Agreement

By free agreement, we mean an agreement that is not based on any coercion or manipulation. It is in this context that we must state that we do not regard the agreement between the worker and the capitalist as a free agreement. Because we know that the workers, deprived of the means of production and subsistence, has to sell their labor power to the capitalist in order to survive, and that an agreement made by taking advantage of someone's helplessness cannot be described as a free agreement. In the same way, we argue that if we are talking about what a free contract is and is not, we cannot close our eyes to the manipulation of human beings subjected to the incessant ideological bombardment of the state and capitalism, or to the way consumer culture controls and shapes our needs and desires.

Voluntary Union/ Association

Whilst we advocate the voluntary nature of unions, we also recognize that a voluntary union can only be achieved if the right to secession is unconditionally accepted. That is why we defend as a fundamental freedom not only the freedom of each individual, but also the freedom of each union, commune, region, country and people to secede from the union at will. To put it in one sentence; being anarchists, we unconditionally recognize the freedom of self-determination of peoples.

Direct Democracy

We see representative democracy as a deception. Because we do not believe that electing people who decide on our behalf makes us decision-making subjects. On the contrary, we believe that this means that by delegating our will to others, we cease to be subjects and are de facto excluded from the decision-making process. We argue that representative democracy, far from being an instrument for the manifestation of our will, means that the will of individuals is erased by dissolving it into the abstraction called "common will". Therefore, we reject representative democracy and advocate direct democracy, which means the actual, unmediated participation of individuals in the decision-making process, where individuals can speak for themselves and have a real opportunity to influence decisions.

Self-Governance

"We declare ourselves the enemies of every government and every state power, and of governmental organization in general. We think that people can be free and happy only when organized from the bottom up in completely free and independent associations, without governmental paternalism though not without the influence of a variety of free individuals and parties."
- **Mikhail Bakunin- Statism and Anarchy**

We believe that all forms of centralism, including the so-called democratic centralism, will result in localities becoming subordinated to the center and losing their ability to be decision-making subjects, and inevitably, in parallel, losing their spirit of initiative and dynamism.

That is why we reject all forms of centralization and defend self-governance, which means that each locality takes decisions about itself. However, we do not understand by each locality having its own self-governance a situation in which localities are isolated from each other, without cooperation, co-ordination and solidarity. What we advocate is that cooperation, coordination and solidarity should not be achieved through the dictates and impositions of a center, but through the coming together of localities in the form of a confederation based on free agreement and voluntary unity.

Self-Organization

The aim of an anarchist organization cannot be to create a leadership which the oppressed and exploited will follow to liberation. The organization defended by anarchism, which is fundamentally opposed to the claim to represent others, to speak and decide on behalf of others, can only be self-organization. What we mean by self-organization is that people take the initiative and organize themselves for the solution of their own problems and the organization of their lives, rather than entrusting the solution of their problems and the organization of their lives to others; that the subjects of each community under domination and exploitation form their own organizations and independent struggles according to the specificity of their own problems and needs. This does not mean that anarchists should stand by and wait for the oppressed and exploited to organize themselves. While organizing on their own behalf in areas where they themselves are the subjects, anarchists must also be in a sincere relationship of solidarity with

other people so that they can create their own organizations and mobilize the means at their disposal for this purpose. The fact that we are in favor of self-organization does not mean that we advocate the isolation of different struggles for freedom from each other. On the contrary, we maintain that none of us can be free until each of us is free, and that no liberation struggle can succeed in isolation from others; therefore, we believe that different liberation struggles, while maintaining their independence, must be in constant and strong solidarity with each other.

The Spirit of Initiative

“Well, then, those who will work to break up these superannuated tactics, those who will know how to rouse the spirit of initiative in individuals and in groups, those who will be able to create in their mutual relations a movement and a life based on the principles of free understanding—those that will understand that variety, conflict even, is life, and that uniformity is death,—they will work, not for future centuries, but in good earnest for the next revolution, for our own times.”

- Pyotr Kropotkin-Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal

Hierarchical and centralized organizations kill the spirit of initiative. Because in such organizations, what is expected of individuals and localities is generally, not to be active subjects taking initiative, but to obey. The fact that localities and individuals are active subjects taking the initiative is seen as detrimental to discipline and organization by these kind of organizations. Anarchism, on the other hand, envisages a society and a form of organization in which the division of labor, which is a

common element of all organizations, a phenomenon necessitated by life and social life, is realized through the free initiative of individuals, not by someone assigning or commanding tasks and responsibilities. For anarchism, the spirit of initiative constitutes a fundamental element of organization. Because if it is not the central authority, the committees, the chiefs, the leaders who make the decisions, but if in spite of this we want to continue to organize life, to strive for the realization of our common interests, aspirations and tendencies, we have no choice but to become people who take the initiative. Therefore, the strength and influence of an anarchist organization will be proportional to the spirit of initiative it embodies, while the lack of a spirit of initiative will result in a weakness of organizational capability and a departure from anarchist principles.

Our inability to form our own free organizations on the basis of free initiative will render our struggle with the rulers weak and ineffective; it will lead to our subordination to the organizations of the rulers, i.e. organizations that serve the purpose of exploiting the majority in favor of a privileged minority.

On the other hand, as an authoritarian organization would lead to the death of the spirit of initiative, an organization lacking the spirit of initiative would face the emergence of authorities. Those who do not show the responsibility to take the initiative will not only enable the authoritarian tendencies of individuals to be realized; they will also cause those on whom they heap responsibilities to become authorities themselves. In an organization where the spirit

of initiative is not a widespread feature, those who have to take on more responsibility because of this situation may find themselves transformed into authorities, perhaps despite their best efforts to prevent this from happening. Furthermore, the fact that fewer people taking the initiative leads to disproportionately more work being done by others means that those who have to take on more responsibility are exploited. Although anarchism foresees that everyone should do as much as they can, it does not mean that fewer people do much of the work because of our irresponsibility. If we strive for a society in which no one's labor and time is exploited for the sake of someone else's comfort and leisure, we must also consider the time, labor and energy of the people we organize with.

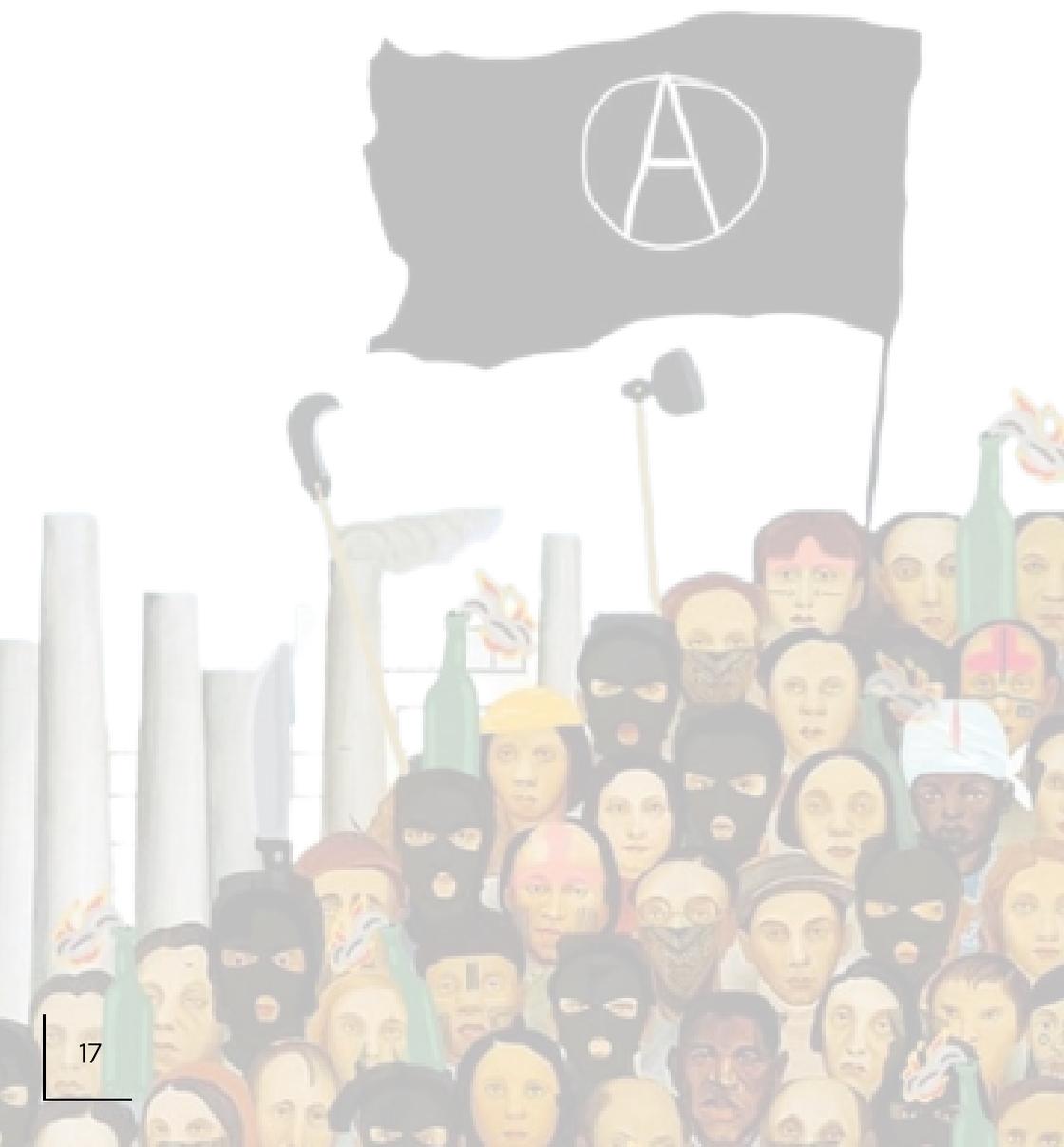
Self-discipline

“I believe, as I always have, in freedom. The freedom which rests on the sense of responsibility. I consider discipline indispensable, but it must be inner discipline, motivated by a common purpose and a strong feeling of comradeship.”

- Buenaventura Durruti

Just like the absence of the spirit of initiative, we are of the opinion that lack of discipline means lack of the ability to organize, and since we know that we cannot be free without being organized, we think it is impossible for us as anarchists not to defend discipline. Therefore, we are opposed not to discipline itself, but to imposed discipline, the source of which is fear and coercion, but we consider

self-discipline, rooted in respect and responsibility towards other people, in the importance we attach to our goals and our struggle, as one of the fundamental elements of anarchism together with the spirit of free agreement, voluntary association and initiative.





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