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International Theoretical Organ

RED DAWN

Workers and Oppressed of all Countries, Unite!



6th Congress of MLKP Program

/// Political Developments
and Our Revolutionary Tactics

MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
TURKEY/KURDISTAN



RED DAWN

19

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International Theoretical Organ of MLKP

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Preface

We have the pleasure to introduce you the new issue of our International Theoretical Organ, Red Dawn. With this issue, we announce, that the 6th Congress and 2nd Communist Women's Conference of our party and communist women's organization have been successfully held.

In this issue, we are presenting the public documents of our 6th Congress, which was held between January 27 and February 8, 2019. Our 6th Congress, which was realized under conditions of fascist dictatorship, is an important milestone on our path under fire towards victory.

Our Congress has made changes in the program and statute that respond new dimensions of the social material reality in Turkey and Kurdistan, as well as the needs of our party's organizational structure, its level of comprehension reached in the women liberation struggle, its Kurdistanian quality and practice.

We hereby present you the new program and the document "Political developments and our revolutionary tactic" of the Congress.



We Will Defeat Fascism!

Declaration of the Central Committee concerning the 6th Congress:

Workers, women, youth and our laboring peoples!

The unjust and bestial capitalist order of the exploiters, riches, oppressors maintains its reign which chains workers, laborers, the disabled, children, old people to poverty and a sorrowful life. Facing the anger and struggle of the working class and the oppressed, this reign is tried to be kept alive through a bloody fascist dictatorship, colonialist war, fascist psychological war based on lies and the abuse of religion.

Erdogan and his party have embarked on the fascist coup of the palace on 20 July 2015 after being panicked by the struggle of the working class and the oppressed that was growing and strengthening against fascism, colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. They have initiated a new fascist state terror campaign and colonialist war which exceeded all the previous ones. This was a declaration that the fascist chieftaincy regime has been established de facto. Democratic achievements on the basis of rights of speech, organization and action, which have been gained by strikes, resistances, manifestations, barricades, revolutionary mass violence and armed struggle of the working class and the oppressed, have been abolished.

To suppress the resistance developing against these attacks, they have used every methods including mass killings. Hundreds of thousands of people have been taken into police stations. The prisons have been filled up. The wheels of torture started to work. Forced disappearances have been organized. They've operated occupation attacks on Rojava. Through police violence, fascist laws and surveillance cameras, they've tried to eliminate all individual rights and freedoms, as well as those concerning lifestyle and religion. They have banned strikes and solidarity actions through decrees of the Palace. They've closed associations, mass organizations which aimed to be the voice of the oppressed. They've closed not only progressive and revolutionary press and seized all their equipments and finance, but they also silenced the press of the bourgeois opposition and closed radios and TV's.

Unemployment, poverty, workplace murders, femicides, sexual child abuse, patriarchal violence and sexual crimes, suicides, formation of gangs, use of drugs they all have increased several times during the same period. While all of these have been taking place, the monopoly capitalists, bosses close to Erdogan and in particular the family of Erdogan, administrators, bourgeois parliamentarians and administrators, who

worship possessions of AKP, have all multiplied their wealth. Feeding themselves with the blood of workers and laborers, they all have go down into the luxury and unlawfulness up to their throat.

Sisters and Brothers!

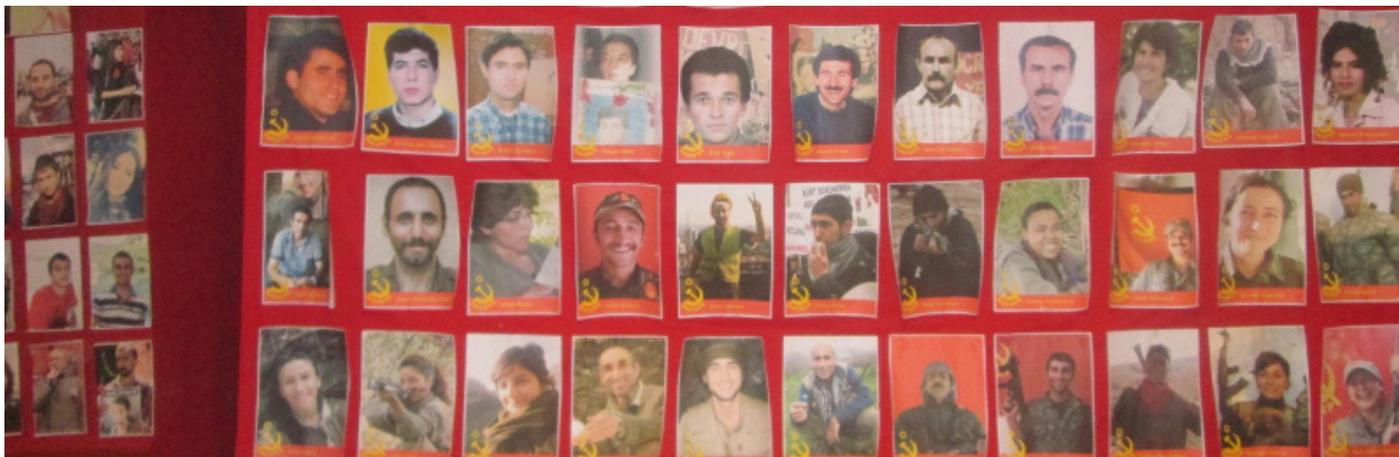
In this period, MLKP, has firmly been committed to its fundamental revolutionary goals and promises given to the working class and our peoples in the 5th Congress and continued its struggle of freedom and socialism as a devoted sacrifice troop at the expense of paying the gravest prices. And after passing through stormy years in which tens of its members, supporters, guerrillas and leading cadres fell martyr in Rojava, in Southern Kurdistan, in Istanbul, in the mountains of Dersim and Nurhak, in which many others were wounded with serious and lasting damages, in which hundreds faced attacks of custody, torture and imprisonment, MLKP has held its 6th Congress.

Our 6th Congress opened on January 27th with the International Anthem and a minute of silence for the immortal memory of those who sacrificed their lives all around the world to build a new life, for a humane and free world. After a process of intense work, the Congress ended again with the International Anthem on February, 8, 2019.

Just as the previous ones, the 6th Congress of the MLKP was held by breaking the fascist blockade through a tough struggle against the dictatorship. The fascist regime has been once again defeated in this particular battle.

The 6th Congress of MLKP, which was realized by the convention of delegates from different fronts of struggle, dealt with our party's political, organizational, ideological and theoretical development after the 5th Congress. It conducted strong debates on the "Political and Organizational Work Report" presented by the Central Committee. On the basis of the decisions of the 5th Congress and developments from the 5th Congress to the 6th Congress, it evaluated the Central Committee's work, situation of each fronts of our party and revolutionary struggle in general. By discussing the political developments in Turkey, Kurdistan and the world, the Rojava revolution and the existing state of capitalism in its imperialist globalization as well as possible directions and forms that all these developments would take, the Congress drew conclusions and set tasks.

As the living expression of MLKP's conduction of so-



cialist democracy and one of its main life vein, as well as the highest organization which determines the line and goals of our party's new period of struggle, our 6th Congress has successfully fulfilled its revolutionary function and tasks. It has made changes in the programme and statute that respond new dimensions of the social material reality in TurkeyKurdistan, as well as the needs of our party's organizational structure, its level of comprehension reached in the women liberation struggle, its Kurdistanian quality and practice.

Along with the election of the new Central Committee, the 6th Congress has decided to replace the institution of the General Secretary in its organizational structure with the institution of a CoPresidency.

Workers, women, youth, artists, intellectuals, poors, laborers of the cities and the villages!

Relying on evaluations and perspectives established by moving from our successes and achievements, as well as our inabilities and failures appeared in the period behind, the 6th Congress of MLKP has determined several political and organizational tasks to foster the struggle in Turkey and Kurdistan, proceeding our works in the context of regional revolution and strengthening internationalist action through a struggle which would use all means and forms of struggle in a complementary way. The MLKP will not hesitate to implement the decisions and perspectives of its highest organization, neither in creating solutions to occurring problems with respect to the party line, in other words, it will mobilize all its power and abilities to progress as the vanguard force and sacrifice troop of the democratic and revolutionary struggle of the working class and the oppressed.

This is our promise to our immortals, to the working class and the oppressed. Comrade Baran Serhat, a member of the Party Central Committee, who has been a vanguard of the first steps towards materializing the decisions of the 6th Congress in Kurdistan and the first martyr of the new period, will guide our struggle as the symbol of this promise.

Sisters and Brothers!

Our party's 6th Congress calls on the workers, laborers, the poor, women, youth, LGBTI+ from Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, Laz, Caucasian, Armenian, Georgian, Rum, Syriac, Chaldean, Bosnian, Pomak, Turkmen and Romani nationalities, on Alevists, Nusayris, anticapitalist Muslims, intellectuals, artists to raise the struggle of freedom, justice and equality of the peoples against the fascist chieftaincy regime and denialist colonialism, to raise their honor, to be a barricade against unemployment, poverty, workplace murders, femicides, sexual abuse of children, destruction of nature and colonialist war.

The MLKP will take a vanguard position within all these struggles and fight with a growing spirit of sacrifice. Let's rise the fight to overthrow the fascist chieftaincy regime, colonialism and patriarchal capitalist order of exploitation by unifying in the ranks of MLKP, by giving shoulder to its works, supporting our party to be strengthened financially and militarily, giving any kind of information that would contribute for asking the account from enemies of the peoples, embracing our immortals, increasing solidarity with prisoners and veterans. Let's open a path for the working class and the oppressed by a revolution that would break the front of the imperialist globalization.

Down with the Fascist ChiefRegime!

Down with the Capitalist Exploitation Order!

Down with the denialist colonialism!

Down with the Attack and Barbarism of Imperialist Globalization!

The only Way is Revolution, Long Live Socialism!

Long live the Union of Workers' and laborers' People's Republics!

Long live the World Revolution!

26 April 2019

MLKP Central Committee

We are Marching Towards Women's Revolution!

Declaration of the Women Leadership of MLKP concerning the 2nd Communist Women's Conference

All around the world, in Turkey and in Kurdistan, the fight of women for freedom and equality is growing, strengthening and unifying. Just like in Spain, the USA and Argentina, women in Iran, Sudan and Algeria have also come to the fore as signal rockets, daring symbols, determined vanguards of rebellions, revolutions and uprisings of the working class and the oppressed against patriarchal capitalism, poverty and hunger, racism and militarism, fascist regimes and colonialism. As the first revolution in the 21st century, which also developed as a women's revolution at the same time, the Rojava revolution stands upright as the inspiration of world women.

Under the conditions of imperialist globalization, where patriarchal oppression and exploitation on women's labor and body have overwhelmingly increased, where women's impoverishment has grown and where sex industry has spread with ramifications, while the gender contradictions are sharpening day by day, objective conditions for gender rebellion and uprising of women and women revolution are strengthening in an undeterred way.

In the previous period, the patriarchal colonialist fascist regime has reorganized in the form of a fascist chieftaincy regime in the name of Tayyip Erdoğan. The ideological and social transformation pillar of political islamist restoration has especially developed on the axis of consolidation of bourgeois family through assaults on women's freedom struggle, liquidation of acquired rights of women as a gender and reorganizing the domestic slavery of women by new means and forms.

Starting from the 2013 June uprising and Rojava Revolution, the rise of social struggles has consolidated the acquisitions of the women's freedom struggle and reinforced their effects. Against these acquisitions, an everincreasingly radicalizing patriarchal reactionary resistance has also developed. This situation has expressed itself in widely spreading of the various forms of patriarchal assaults starting from femicides.

Under these conditions, the "palace junta" of Tayyip Erdoğan and his fascist chieftaincy regime have undertaken the leading of patriarchal violence and aggression, tended to render patriarchy as its social pillar so as to attack the acquired rights of all workers and oppressed. The judicial system which takes femi-

cides, sexual assaults and patriarchal violence under legal protection, has waged war against women's freedom by means of family conservation laws, family and women policies, employment policies deepening gender oriented division of labor. It has also targeted the women's will and participation in political struggle by taking woman leaders and vanguards as prisoners, murdering woman revolutionaries and conducting sexual assaults on their dead bodies. Thus, as the gender contradiction has deepened, even the slightest appearances of gender contradiction such as the right of abortion and type of clothing of women has been more politicized and become a topic of confrontation of the workers and oppressed with the fascist regime.

The united movement of women has preserved its strength on streets and political reflex ability, and still carries this strength and ability. The 8 Marches, 25 Novembers and women's justice struggles are enforcing and exposing the palace regime. All these show over and over again that the fascist political islamist chieftaincy regime can be broken at its sexist link.

Under these extremely tough but hopeful conditions, our 2nd Communist Women's Conference convened on 4-10 March 2019 with the slogan "We Gained the KKÖ, We are Marching towards Women Revolution!".

Dedicated to our immortal women comrades in the name of comrade Yeliz Erbay, who was a delegate of 1st Communist Women's Conference and one of the general commanders of MLKPFESK (Armed Forces of the Poor and Oppressed), our conference convened with the memories of all immortal female fighters of MLKP, 18 communist women comrades from different generations who fell martyr in Rojava, Dersim, Medya Defense Zones, Istanbul and Suruç between two conferences, the communist female leaders Rosa Luxembourg, Clara Zetkin and Alexander Kollontai, the militant female fighters of world revolution Olga Benario, Ulrike Meinhof, Mirabel Sisters and immortal women from different revolutionary parties and organizations, and under the banners gathering their photographs together. The conference pledged commitment to their ideals and saluted woman comrades in prisons and on different struggle fronts.

The 2nd Communist Women's Conference, evaluated the five-year of existence and organizational, po-

litical and theoretical works of Communist Women Organization, which is itself an expression of elevation of the accumulation and experience of our party MLKP in women's freedom struggle to a new level. It evaluated the level and accumulation of KKÖ on legitimate struggle, political-military struggle and other various struggle fronts, its praxis of meeting with woman masses, which was one of the main topics of the 1st Communist Women's Conference, in a critical way. It handled the political developments of the previous period and determined the perspectives for struggles in the new period under the conditions of fascist chieftaincy regime. It announced the will to develop the level of organizing of women and to grow women's color on all fronts with all means and forms of struggle.

It handled the questions of equal representation and coorganization of women in revolutionary parties and revolutionary powers, by learning from the past experiences of revolutions, ongoing social uprisings and Rojava revolution. It carried out works elevating the vanguard claim and the political and theoretical productivity of communists in women's freedom struggle and the growing international women rebellion.

It displayed a will to overcome the traditional weakness of communist movement in theoretical and political productivity on topics, which play role in strengthening the strategy of women's freedom struggle, its ability of acting strategically and the analysis

of sexual exploitation, such as domestic labor, sex industry and sex work, LGBTI+ struggle.

It decided on new claims and new steps as well as new targets for reinforcement in legitimate struggle, struggle with political-military means and theoretical and ideological struggle.

The convention of the 2nd Communist Women's Conference has become the symbol and a threshold of organizational and political continuity of Communist Women Organization, and a new indicator of dare and seriousness of our party MLKP in its relation with women's freedom struggle.

Democratic and socialist revolutions, which will be made in the 21st century all around the world against imperialist capitalist system, reactionary fascist regimes and bourgeois powers, will also develop as a women revolution, and only and only those uprisings and victories which guarantee women's freedom, women's participation and women's power will have the chance to survive.

We appeal all women, who suffer from being a woman in the current society, who believe in women's freedom, who deeply long for a sexually emancipated society, to join the KKÖ, to walk with KKÖ shoulder to shoulder and to carry its struggle to every place where women live.

25 April 2019

MLKP Women Leadership



Program Of MLKP

CHAPTER I

CAPITALISM

1. The emergence of the free worker, who has broken away from the feudal ties and does not have the means of production and subsistence, is the historical condition of existence of capital. The accumulation of capital takes place by the confiscation of surplus labor-time of the worker by the capitalist. Where capital accumulation prevails, the labor-capital contrast becomes the decisive contradiction.

2. Wherever the capital enters, it dissolves the old relations of production, makes them dependent on itself and liquidates them during the process. Ultimately, it does not leave any other relation of production except itself; it is the historical tendency of capital to transform all kinds of ownership on the means of production into capital, the whole production into the production of commodities and all kinds of labor into wage-labor.

3. The capital production process consists of two stages. The first is the production of surplus, which is generated by the confiscation of the excess labor time of the worker during the process of commodity production; the second is the conversion of the surplus value into profit by the sale of commodities. In the production area, the bosses exploit the worker, while in the market the bosses who compete for the surplus-profit rob each other.

4. The capital concentrates in competition and centralizes, and the bigger ones swallow smaller ones. Monopolies on national and worldwide scale emerge. As capital accumulation increases, the rate of capital spreading to the world increases. Creating a world market is one of the main inherent trends of capital. The economic competition between the capitalist countries and between the monopolies is transformed into the highest political form through the occupation and colonial-sharing wars. Wars are the inevitable result of capital competition.

5. Under the capitalist mode of production, the confiscation of the surplus-labor time of the worker by the capitalist is the main source of wealth. The creation and production of the reserve industry army, the emergence of chronic unemployment, the brutal exploitation of the worker, especially the woman and

child labor force, the expropriation of the producers, starting from the small ones and gradually to the bigger ones, the confiscation of the accumulation of others through the financial means is the form of existence of this wealth accumulation. On the one hand, the growth of unemployment, poverty and dispossession, on the other hand, the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small minority is the nature of capital accumulation.

6. Capitalism not only condemns workers and other laborers to exploitation and poverty, but confronts them with social, intellectual decay and alienation.

7. The unplanned and anarchic development of production and the limited purchasing power of direct producers lead to overproduction crises, which profoundly shake capitalism at regular intervals. The capital comes out as more concentrated and centralized from every crisis. Some of these crises emerge as large-scale periodical crises and are the source of qualitative changes in the form of capitalist production. Free competitive capitalism reaches imperialism and imperialism reaches the stage of imperialist globalization.

8. The development of the productive forces of social labor is the historical function and existence condition of capital. The monopoly of capital becomes the block of the mode of production, which sprouts together with itself and under its sovereignty. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor eventually reaches a point where they are incompatible with their capitalist case. Continuous revolution in production becomes unrealizable. Instead of developing the social production forces of labor, capital becomes an obstacle in front of it. This is the objective basis for its existential crisis. Thus, the shell cracks. Capitalist production leads to its own denial with the inevitable necessity of a natural law.

9. Capital creates the material forces of the new society by its own hand, but for the free development of these forces capital must be eliminated.

10. The task of burying capitalism, which creates the material conditions of its own destruction, is on the shoulder of the proletariat, which constitutes the class of wage-slaves. The communist movement is, enlightened by the theory of scientific socialism, the conscious expression of the working class movement, which

aims at resolving the contradiction between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production.

SEXIST SOCIETY, PATRIARCHY

AND WOMEN REVOLUTION

11. The domination and enslavement of women by men is the first class conflict which steps on to the stage of history with the birth of private property. Sexist society emerges when the patriarchal social order and the slavery system builds an organic unity, creating the economic, political and ideological institutions of gender and class oppression. This structure also gains a heterosexist character in the historical development.

12. In the capital order, all relations between the genders are established on a socialized scale. Men's control on women's labor and body are socialized. As the power of men is inherent in all social organizations on the basis of the bourgeois family based on domestic slavery, women enter into a direct relationship with capital both as labor commodity and as a sexual commodity. The woman is exploited as a domestic worker and a wage-worker, her body becomes a general commodity and a general area of capital investment.

13. The unity of capitalism and patriarchy is a contradictory unity. The first end of the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of property pushes women into the social life as labor and commodity, while the second end permanently maintains its home-dependent position. In total, this contradiction reinforces the objective and subjective conditions of the elimination of patriarchy.

14. Women's liberation requires the abolition of the material social basis of patriarchy in the order of capital. This corresponds to the private ownership on the means of production and the bourgeois state, the political-economic-military-ideological institutional structure based on it. The bourgeois state is the institutionalized state of the patriarchal violence, the assurance of the maintenance of sexist exploitation within and outside the home.

15. Women revolution is the revolutionary program of women's liberation. The women revolution intersects with a social revolution which aims at socialism with the liquidation of the patriarchal bourgeois state, and with socialism. Its adventure finishes only in communism. The social revolution of the oppressed gender and the oppressed class carries the character of a united revolution.

16. The oppressed and oppressing genders are divided into antagonist classes within themselves. In the face of the necessity of the liquidation of private property, it unifies the fate of the proletarian man and the liberation struggle of the women which he suppresses as both on the basis of class unity and as an alliance force.

17. The women position themselves both, as components of the classes and strata which have interests in this social revolution in the name of these classes, and as a gender which has an interest in the revolution and is a social dynamic for itself, in the name of her gender. The relationship between the oppressed gender and the oppressed class has a dual character in the form of alliance and innerness. The gender struggle takes the form of ideological and political struggles within this alliance.

IMPERIALISM

18. Starting from the end of the nineteenth century, free competitive capitalism was replaced by monopoly capitalism. This period, in which bank capital merged with industry capital, capital export got ahead of commodity export, the determinant means of production began to gather in the hands of the monopolies and the world was shared among the monopoly groups and imperialist states fiercely competing for markets and spheres of influence, was the age of imperialism.

19. The fact that the law of uneven development of capitalism became much more prominent during imperialism and imperialism had made national economies a link to the chain of world imperialism rendered possible to carry out proletarian revolutions and establish socialism in individual countries through breaking through the weakest link of the imperialist chain.

20. In the age of imperialism, the contradictions among the imperialist states and the financial capital groups themselves, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the whole world but especially in the metropolitan countries and between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples of the colonial and dependent countries became sharper. The result of extreme sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism was the eruption of inter-imperialist wars, the socialist revolution of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the national liberation wars of the peoples of the colonial, semi-colonial countries and the anti-imperialist democratic revolutions. The age of imperialism is also the age of death of capitalism which has reached the final stage of its development, it is the age of proletarian revolutions.

21. Today is characterized by the full control over the integrated world market in the production, trade and capital export of international monopolies and the biggest ones among those, the world monopolies, the production process has also become globalized, the speculative capital has gained a prominent position in the total capital movement, the international monopolies and imperialist states enter into a violent competition over the world market and a struggle of re-sharing the world on the basis of this competition, new colonialism has been transformed into a heavier form of yoke, the financial-economic colonialism. With this distinctive features, today, world capitalism has reached a phase of imperialism, the stage of imperialist globalization.

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND RESTORATIONS

22. The period of proletarian world revolutions began with the Great Socialist October Revolution carried out in Russia in 1917. This revolution, which ended the sovereignty of the bourgeoisie in one-sixth of the world and dealt a heavy blow to the capitalist-imperialist system, divided the world into two separate and opposing systems. Imperialism, at this stage where the class struggle was intensified, wielded the fascist dictatorship as the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialist open dictatorship and the last form of domination of finance capital against the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world.

23. The Second World War, which started as an inter-imperialist conflict, resulted in a glorious victory of the peoples of Europe and Asia, led by the Soviet Union, against the fascist bloc. At the end of this war, the balance of forces changed significantly in favor of the forces of democracy and socialism, and a socialist camp was formed. American imperialism, which came out from the war without physical destruction, became the gendarmerie of the exploiting world and started the Cold War.

24. In the period following the Second World War, the concentration, centralization and internationalization of capital became more advanced; development in science has created jumps in technology. The multinational corporations and the giant monopoly unions have reached the strength and the prevalence, surrounding the earth like an octopus. Monopoly state capitalism has reached enormous dimensions. Despite the physical contraction of the imperialist world market due to the formation of the socialist camp, the imperialist market developed tremendously with the increase of demand after the terrible devastation

caused by the imperialist war of re-division, and as a result of it, until the late 1960s, capitalism experienced a relatively calm growth process in the metropolitan countries. This provided a suitable basis for the strengthening of reformism and revisionism in the communist and workers' movement.

25. In the same period, the vast majority of the former colonies were transformed into new (semi) colonies as a result of the struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations that developed with the active support of the socialist camp. Old-style colonialism collapsed. Due to the development of capitalism dependent on imperialism in the new colonies, the quantitative and qualitative weight of the working class gradually increased. This situation increased the possibility of the proletariat to establish its hegemony in the anti-imperialist democratic revolution and of the uninterrupted transition from the democratic stage of the revolution to its socialist stage.

26. The imperialists were rapidly armed after the '50s, the militarization of the economy became even more evident, with the explosion in the numbers of local and regional reactionary wars led by the imperialists themselves; the number of people who died in these wars surpassed the number of deaths in the 1st and 2nd imperialist wars of re-division. In the same process, the destruction of natural and historical environment also accelerated to the utmost.

27. Despite the attack of the counterrevolution against the international revolution front in the Soviet Union in 1956, the 1960s and '70s became a period when the revolutionary liberation wars of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America gained glorious victories. However, the '80s witnessed the decline of the wave of revolution worldwide.

28. In 1956, the modern revisionists, who seized power in the Soviet Union, initiated the process of demolishing socialism and rebuilding capitalism. The counterrevolution, which began with Khrushchev and continued by the Brezhnev regime, turned the Soviet Union into a social imperialist country dominated by monopoly state capitalism. The dictatorship of the bureaucrat bourgeoisie was established in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

29. The counterrevolution in the Soviet Union wreaked havoc on the world communist movement. Many communist parties took part on the side of betrayal. The countries that turned to socialism through socialist or uninterrupted revolution other than Albania, followed the path of capitalist restoration. The socialist camp broke up. ALP, which took a frontal stand

against modern revisionism, headed the international communist movement.

30. The Marxist-Leninist theory had seen the possibility of a restoration in a socialist country under conditions of imperialist siege; the imperialist aggression, the internal counterrevolutionary uprising and the white betrayal at the party were highlighted as reasons and means of this. The counterrevolution in the Soviet Union took place through bureaucratic corruption and betrayal at the party.

31. At the end of the 1980s, the revisionist camp, led by the Soviet Union, collapsed and this was followed by the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The world bourgeoisie turned this situation into a raging ideological attack opportunity and used it for the propaganda of the “death” of “socialism” with all its possibilities. As a part of results of all these developments and imperialist activity, Albania, which was a defiant stronghold of socialism, also suffered a restoration through liquidationism. ALP turned power over to the collaborators of imperialism. In Albania, mass reactions emerged at first; however, the fact that the communists at the party and particularly in the leadership could not dare to take up a civil war, prevented the workers and laborers from organizing a resistance through the revolutionary violence to repel the counter-revolution.

32. In spite of all these negative developments, humanity is objectively closer to socialism and communism in today’s world, where international production and distribution has reached tremendous dimensions, the social organization of the working class has progressed, the educational and cultural level of it has increased and the elements of crisis have deeper and sharper accumulation. Despite the demagogies of democracy and prosperity through scientific technical revolution, capitalism did not and cannot give humanity anything other than war, hunger, poverty, aggressive nationalism, fascism, unmeasurable destruction of productive forces, social and mental decay, ecological destruction, human alienation to nature. Humanity will not accept extinction; it will turn to socialism.

33. As the revolution could break out in the weakest link or links of the imperialist chain, the level that imperialist capitalism has reached today has created the possibility of regional revolutions. The same situation matures the objective conditions for the transformation of revolutions of each individual country into regional revolutions and waves of world revolution, reinforcing the possibility of revolutions that trigger each other in many countries.

34. The ranks of the proletariat in the stage of imperialist globalization have widened, the material ground of its international identity has been strengthened, the difference between the social positions of the manual and intellectual labor has weakened, the proletariat and the oppressed and exploited laborer strata of the population, whose existence conditions are increasingly depleted due to rapid expropriation, have become closer to each other and the possibilities of the working class joining other oppressed around its program have strengthened.

35. In the stage of imperialist globalization, the contradiction between the genders has been sharpened due to the deepening of the contradiction between the social character of production that brings women into social life and the private character of the property which reinforces women’s home-dependent position, and this constitutes the objective ground of the women’s uprising and the women revolution. The exploitation of women as cheap labor has been intensified, female workers have grown in quantity, the link between sexist exploitation and surplus exploitation has been consolidated, capital production has been brought into the home on the ground of homebased precarious exploitation and merged with the domestic slavery, and the sex industry has become globalized. On this basis, the 21st century began as an age of women revolutions. The LGBTI+s, who developed into a social force, have become an important alliance force of the women revolution.

36. The destructive effects of capitalism on nature at the stage of imperialist globalization have reached the level of an ecological crisis that confronts the life of human and living beings with the threat of existence. The struggles against ecological destruction have become one of the important issues of class struggles.

37. Today, filling the gap between the objective conditions and the subjective conditions of the proletarian world revolution, and the establishment and consolidation of the communist vanguard platoons of the working class in each country carry a vital importance. The fulfillment of this task goes through a determined and uncompromising ideological struggle against the ideological attacks of the bourgeoisie and new forms of modern revisionism, as well as maoism, trotskyism, and revisionism from all colors.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNISM AND TRANSITION

TO COMMUNISM

38. The ultimate purpose of the communist movement is communism, whose flag is written on the principle that is from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's needs. In the communist society, classes will have been completely eliminated, the enslaving dependence of people on the division of labor will have been abolished, the historical division of labor between men and women will have been overcome, heterosexism will have been ended, the contrasts between manual labor and intellectual labor, between urban and rural will have been obliterated, culture will have become a common property of everyone, work will have been turned into a pleasure and the primary requirement of life. The state arisen on the basis of the division of society into classes will have been disappeared, national inequalities coming from history will have been overcome and real equality will have been provided among the members of society. Communism is a world system; it will realize through the replacement of the capitalist siege by the socialist siege.

39. Socialism, which is the inevitable product of the uncompromising struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and the lower phase of communism, is a period of revolutionary transformations that corresponds to the transition from capitalism to classless society. Socialism, which has laid the social foundations of the liberation of the oppressed gender, also develops as a women revolution. Socialism carries the birth marks of the capitalist society from which it was born. Socialism applies the principle that from each according to one's ability, to each according to one's work. The proletariat destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus by the revolutionary armed struggle of the masses; it establishes its own dictatorship and engages in the construction of socialism through the use of determinant means of production. The maximum satisfaction of the masses' growing material and cultural needs is the basic economic law of socialism.

40. During the period of socialism, a hard, complex and long-lasting struggle takes place in all aspects of life between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the socialist path and the capitalist path, the patriarchy and the freedom of women. The proletariat, in the course of this struggle, gathers all laborers around itself and suppresses all counterrevolutionary attempts of exploitative class remnants and their foreign sup-

porters.

41. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the widest democracy for the workers and other laborers, the hardest dictatorship for the overthrown exploiting classes and their remnants, is socialist democracy. The proletarian dictatorship, which gradually entrenches the wide masses of laborers and with a special effort, the working women to the administration of the state, to the economic construction of socialism, to the creation of the new human. is the only and most reliable means of struggling the bourgeoisie and the reaction, and preventing the restoration of capitalism from socialism.

42. In the system of the proletarian dictatorship, the organs of power are the Soviets. The Soviet system is based on production and territory, combining legislative and executive. The Soviet system, which arms the workers with the right to directly elect and control their own representatives, dismisses them from position at any moment, and deals a crushing blow to bureaucracy by reducing the wages of state administrators to the level of average wages, is the dictatorship of the majority on the minority and a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic.

43. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the process of transition from state to statelessness. The proletariat can only sustain this dictatorship if it does not share power with any other class and it is ruled by a communist party that tightly embraces Marxism-Leninism.

44. There is a danger of restoration of capitalism under the conditions of socialism, but this is not a fate. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the communist party, by increasing vigilance against imperialist conspiracies, constantly strengthening Soviet power, educating the masses with the spirit of communism, ensuring women's equal representation, relying on a systematic struggle led by women against patriarchy in the ranks of the party and state organs, enhancing socialist democracy and mass initiative, meeting the increasing material and spiritual needs of the masses, can prevent the creation of a privileged layer and ensure the uninterrupted march towards communism.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST STEP OF THE REVOLUTION

45. The revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan under regional revolution conditions bears development possibilities in the forms of a united revolution of Turkey/

Northern Kurdistan, the liberation of Kurdistan on its own and united revolutions of the other three parts of Kurdistan, connected to revolutions of Iran, Syria and Iraq.

The Communist movement struggles by taking account of the whole of these revolutionary development possibilities. It sees this development as part of the Middle East regional revolution.

It works for the establishment of regional democratic or socialist federations in the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus.

A) Turkey/North Kurdistan

46. Turkey, which is a financial-economic colony of imperialism and a multinational country, holding Kurdistan under colonial yoke, is a moderately developed capitalist country, where the capital oligarchy dominates, the conflict of labor-capital has become determinant, the petty commodity economy has been rapidly dissolving even though it is still widespread, the significance of the rural in economic life has decreased, the minimum political, legal, economic and social conditions of gender equality do not occur.

The shape of classes on this economic structure is as follows:

Working Class: The ranks of the working class have become inclusive of the main bodies of service and intellectual laborers and toiling state officers, making the working class, which is gathered in the major industrial cities, in a quantitative way, the majority of the total active population.

The proletariat has the strength and ability to take the political leadership of the revolution, keep the petty bourgeoisie within the alliance led by itself, and move to socialism without interruption.

The working class of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, which suffers from lack of political freedom and has the task of preparing itself for the establishment of socialism by leading the struggle for democracy together with the economically, politically or socially oppressed class, gender, nationality, national and religious communities, is the main and leading force of the revolution.

Semi-Proletariat: The semi-proletariat, whose main body is constituted by the urban poor and poor peasantry, which is characterized by the fact that they often have to sell their workforce to make a living and has a position between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, holds an important place in Turkey. The semi-proletariat, as in the democratic revolution, is

the main and most reliable ally and support of the working class in the uninterrupted transition to socialism.

Petty bourgeoisie: The petty bourgeoisie, which consists of small land and workplace owners, artisans, self-employed, etc., forms the most populous part of the active population after the working class. In the globalization phase of imperialism; under conditions where the centralization and concentration of capital has reached an enormous extent and Turkey has turned into a financial-economic colony and integrated into the world market dominated by world monopolies; dispossession, impoverishment and the dissolving process of the petty bourgeoisie has accelerated. The class interests of the dissolving large portion of this stratum, whose existence possibilities have been increasingly exhausting under capitalist relations of production, coincide with the interests of the working class.

The still existing section of the petty bourgeoisie has a wobbly character due to being both, laborer and property owner. The petty bourgeoisie, which has partially sustained its weight in society despite its constant loss of strength, is under the economic exploitation of the imperialist monopolies and its collaborator, the capital oligarchy, and the political pressure of the fascist dictatorship. Therefore, it has a strong revolutionary potential. Despite its constant weakening, the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, one of the main forces of our revolution, is the strategic ally of the proletariat during the democratic revolution. The proletariat agrees to share the power that will be established in the first step of the revolution with this class. In the process of uninterrupted transition, however, the proletariat follows a policy of neutralizing the petty bourgeoisie and winning it as much as possible.

Middle bourgeoisie: The middle bourgeoisie consists of medium-sized business owners outside the collaborative monopolies in the cities and the rich peasantry in the countryside. Under the conditions of imperialist globalization, this class gradually loses its independent character, enters into the market dominated by the imperialist monopolies and the collaborative capitalist oligarchy by only depending on them, and its share in the surplus value distribution decreases, although it has an important place in the production and realization of the surplus value.

The middleclass bourgeoisie, which is an exploitative class, is on the one hand dependent on the imperialist monopolies and the capital oligarchy, and cannot survive without them, on the other hand it seeks to

stretch this dependence and increase its profit share. For this reason, it wobbles between the imperialist globalist liberalism and the attempt to limit this liberalism. The latter is evolving as a reactionary-fascist political trend, which is also sometimes backed up by the anger of the working classes suffering from attacks of imperialist globalization.

The middle bourgeoisie, which is strongly attached to the existence of monopolies in the cities and has a deep fear of the proletariat and a revolution in the hegemony of it and under its leadership, is a counter-revolutionary class.

In the process of democratic revolution, the proletariat follows a policy of isolating this class as the main mediator social force. It crushes the middle bourgeoisie's sections which is an armed resistance against the revolution and seizes their property.

However, because of the national problem, the middle bourgeoisie in Northern Kurdistan has the potential to play a different role. Tactical alliances are possible with those who support the national struggle.

Collaborative monopolist bourgeoisie: This class, the collaborator of imperialism, is the owner of the order and regime in Turkey. The rural allies of this class are large agricultural capitalists. This class, independently or in partnership with them, constitutes the capital oligarchy together with the international financial, industrial and commercial monopolies which have investments in Turkey.

Our revolution will destroy the fascist dictatorship of this class, which is the center of the counterrevolution, and it will be completely expropriated and oppressed.

47. In Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, the dominance of a fascist regime that keeps the working class, laborers, Kurdish nation, women, national and religious communities within the same political grip, keeping Kurdistan under colonial yoke, various economic and social contradictions and consequences caused by the financial and economic colonial reality necessitate the proletariat to organize democratic revolution with these allies, to train itself for socialism and to prepare the political preconditions of socialism. For this reason, the first step of our revolution is the antifascist, antiimperialist, anti-colonialist, gender emancipatory democratic revolution. The essence of this revolution is the acquisition of political freedom.

48. The proletariat must bring the democratic revolution to victory for the transition to the socialist revolution. Therefore, it constitutes a strategic link with

the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie, national and religious communities, the Kurdish nation and the oppressed gender on the basis of its minimum program. It aims at the establishment of the power of Union of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan People's Republics.

49. The economic and social conditions of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, the quantitative and qualitative level of development of the proletariat, makes it possible for the revolutionary proletariat to quickly switch from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. The proletariat, which is in favor of the uninterrupted revolution, does not stop in the half way, it transforms the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, depending on the degree of unification with the rural and urban semi-proletarian masses, and on the level of consciousness, organization and preparation.

50. The communist movement considers the struggle for democracy as an extremely important task, but carrying a relative value, and dependent on the aim of socialist revolution. Therefore, it supports Kurdish national, democratic peasant, democratic women and the general democratic popular movements, embraces their demands; but on the other hand, it combines Kurdish workers, agricultural workers and women workers in class organizations apart from the general democratic movement. The revolutionary proletariat ties reforms to revolution and treats democratic tasks from a socialist perspective. It follows the socialist patriotism in Kurdistan.

51. The democratic revolution, which is the preliminary step of the uninterrupted transition to socialism, also develops as a women revolution, dissolves the legal and institutional structure of the fascist dictatorship which has a completely patriarchal character, solves the problems of gender contradiction within the scope of political freedom, and with the tasks of ensuring equality between the unequal, relates to the oppressed gender and the oppressed gender identities on the basis of positive discrimination in all areas. The woman half of the proletariat, exempted from private ownership relations due to patriarchal privileges, is the most advanced dynamic of the advancement of uninterrupted transition of revolution to socialism. The women revolution is the requirement to secure the ultimate victory of the revolutionary proletariat.

B) Kurdistan Revolution

52. Divided into four parts, the Kurdistan Revolution is also the revolution of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Although the liberation of Kurdistan on its own is pos-

sible, the attainment of political freedom in Turkey as well as these three countries, the establishment of people's republics based on the worker-laborer councils is a threshold required for the completion and assurance of the Kurdistan Revolution. It is among the primary tasks of the proletariat to ensure the federative unity of the republics of Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, Persian and other peoples of the region based on councils. The communist movement struggles for the freedom and unity of the four parts of Kurdistan.

53. The Rojava Revolution, which the Kurdish nation carried out against the reactionary Assad regime and Arab colonialism in Rojavayê (Western) Kurdistan, is an extension and acquisition of the Kurdistan Revolution, the regional revolutionary situation and the regional revolution. In Rojava, a popular democratic power has been established, based on the principle of full equality of rights, which guarantees the free and equal living of peoples. The Rojava Revolution is also a women revolution.

a) The communist movement sees defending the Rojava revolution as a direct part of the work of organizing the united revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan, deepening and maturing the revolutionary situation in the region, and for the emancipation of peoples of the region. It works to organize and develop the revolutionary defense of the country.

b) It works to develop the socialist consciousness within the masses and to prepare transition to socialist revolution with the perspective of developing independent class organization by enlightening and uniting workers and semi-proletarians from Kurdish, Arab and other peoples, the rural and urban poor, women and youth, the peoples of Rojava with socialism, and of advancing towards socialism on the path of uninterruptedness of the revolution.

c) For the continuity and the future of the revolution, it works to organize the public administration in the form of the councils and communes of the workers, laborers and the poor, and to establish these boards in an effective and permanent way.

d) To prepare the conditions for the advancement of the revolution to socialism uninterruptedly, it works on the socialization measures to strengthen the economic foundations of popular power.

54. In Başûrê (Southern) Kurdistan, it aims at the liberation and freedom of the Kurdish nation against Iraqi colonialism, imperialist occupation and regional reactionary forces.

It treats all political problems in Başûrê Kurdistan on the basis of the principle of unconditional support of the right of nations to self-determination.

It acts with the perspective of isolating the leadership of the bourgeoisie within the Kurdish national struggle, isolating the Başûrê Kurdistan bourgeoisie which represents the reconciliation and cooperation with imperialism and the colonial powers in the region, and developing the line of struggle based on the Kurdish poor and laborers.

55. It fights with the perspective of the liberation of Rojhilat, which can be realized on its own based on the developments in other parts of Kurdistan, as well as has the possibility of realization intertwined with the struggle of Iranian workers, laborers and women, and of Balochi, Azeri, Arab and other peoples under the pressure of Iranian colonialism.

CHAPTER IV

ANTIFASCIST, ANTIIMPERIALIST, ANTICOLONIALIST, GENDER EMANCIPATORY, DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION PROGRAM

Turkey/North Kurdistan

1. The colonialist fascist dictatorship of the collaborative monopoly bourgeoisie will be overthrown with the revolution based on coercion, and instead, the Union of People's Republics of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan will be established, based on the worker-laborer councils and where the right of secession is protected.

Women will be equal and independent partner of the power in the Union of People's Republics of Turkey and the Kurdistan.

2. The army, police and other coercion apparatuses of the ruling classes will be dismantled and a popular army and a popular militia will be established under the control of the masses organized in the worker's and laborer's councils.

3. The judicial mechanism of the ruling classes will be dismantled and replaced by revolutionary courts attached to the worker's and labor's councils, and the hearings will be open to the public.

4. All institutions of the Union of People's Republics will be established and operated according to the principle of gender equality and equal representation.

5. As the assurance of the realization of the new society in the line of women's liberation, women will orga-

nize their social structuring independently in addition to co-representation in all institutions, the union of working and laboring women's councils will be established, the women's army and militia will be formed, special courts constituted by women and LGBTI+'s for sexual crimes will be established. All rights, including legislative power in all activities of the Union of People's Republic in the area of women's freedom, will belong to women's councils, starting from the tasks of the liquidation of the sex industry, socialization of housework, regulation of the economic, political and social life of female workers.

6. The freedom of propaganda, agitation, organization and action of the popular masses will be recognized, their use will be guaranteed, punishments that are incompatible with human dignity and torture will be lifted, discrimination on the basis of religion, confession, language, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, region and etc. will be prevented among the citizens. All patriarchal legal arrangements will be canceled.

7. Debts and obligations to all imperialist states, multinational corporations, imperialist financial institutions such as IMF and World Bank will be canceled.

8. It will be seceded from NATO and not joined any imperialist, reactionary military or political block, the US and NATO bases and institutions will be confiscated, all confidential agreements will be announced, and all confidential or explicit obligations will be canceled.

9. Enterprises, immovables and other resources owned by the imperialists, the collaborative monopoly bourgeoisie, the state and all the forces involved in the armed war against the revolution will be confiscated.

10. All the facilities and urban lands owned by the big real estate owners and the state, and large domestic and foreign trade will be turned into public ownership.

11. The power of the councils, which governs all sectors of the economy converted into public ownership, will provide workers' control through the worker's and laborer's councils in other sectors of the economy.

12. All land, production tools and other resources, which are the property of the big landowners and the state, will be made public property by confiscation. Some section of the land, production tools, etc., which have been converted into public property, will be considered as exemplary farms, and some of them will be offered to the use of poor and less-landed peasants who will be organized in cooperatives.

13. The debts of the agricultural workers, the poor,

the small and the middle peasants to the state, the banks, the big landowners, the usurers, the capitalists will be canceled and the mortgages on their lands and the production tools will be abolished.

14. The assimilation and colonialist fascist terrorism policies and dirty war against the Kurdish nation will be terminated, and all obstacles to the use of the right of the Kurdish nation to establish its own state and to the freedom to agitate, propaganda and organize for this purpose will be removed. The right of unification of the Kurdish nation will be recognized and defended.

15. Full equality of rights will be ensured between Kurds and Turks in every field, the pressures on all languages and cultures will be stopped and a systematic struggle against Turkish nationalism will be waged, an effort will be made for Turkish and Kurdish peoples, Laz, Gypsy, Abkhaz, Georgian, Circassian, Arab, Armenian, Greek, Bosnian, Pomak, Syriac, Yazidi and other national communities to live together in the Union of People's Republics with their free will and on the basis of full equality of rights.

16. The reality of the genocide that the sovereigns of the Ottoman Ittihat Terakki (Union and Progress) committed against the Armenian, Syriac, Yazidi, Pontus peoples, and that the sovereigns of the Turkish Republic have embraced will be revealed with a full clarity and condemned. Right of equal citizenship will be granted to the descendants of these ancient peoples of Anatolia, who spread all over the world after the Armenian, Syriac and Pontus genocides, the declarations of intent of those who demand citizenship will be taken account, and the accommodation in the places they request and safe living conditions will be created.

17. The systematic genocide of the sovereigns of the Turkish Republic against the Kurdish people, starting from the genocides in Dersim against Kurdish Alevis and in Zilan will be condemned and the demands of the victims of the genocides will be met.

18. The power of the worker's and laborer's councils will support the world proletariat and peoples' struggles for national liberation, revolution and socialism with all the means, and be a revolutionary base of the world peoples against the imperialist states which try to enslave the whole world.

19. The aggressive expansionist politics followed by the ruling classes in the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus and existence of their military bases will be terminated and the occupation in Cyprus will be eliminated. Their panturkist-panislamist expansionist politics aiming to poison Turkish workers and labo-

rers with chauvinism and anticommunism under the image of defending the rights of Turkish and Muslim peoples and national communities in other countries will be exposed and rejected.

20. All the demands of the Palestinian nation in the revolutionary and democratic context will be supported, and it will be acted shoulder to shoulder with the struggle for the victory of the Palestinian Revolution.

21. 30 hours of work per week and one month of rest per year will be guaranteed for all workers. It will be completely banned to work overtime and at night except for the mandatory cases.

22. Child labor under the age of sixteen will be banned, the working time of those under 18 will be limited to four hours per day and the apprenticeship will be abolished.

23. All kinds of measures will be taken to prevent injuries and deaths due to shortcomings in the workplace safety and it will be supervised by the workplace committees and local workers' councils. The treatment and care of those injured for any reason during work will be secured.

24. The legal and other obstacles that prevent workers from freely carrying out political work and organizing in their workplaces will be removed. The right of political strike, solidarity strike, general strike and strike for rights will be accepted and lockout will be banned.

25. Equal wage rule will be introduced for female and male workers, and a fight will be conducted against the sexist division of labor in the distribution of work branches, with the methods such as positive discriminatory incentives and quota, and the requirements of women's health will be taken into consideration. 8 March will be declared as a paid holiday.

26. Legal arrangements containing penalty increase will be made in cases of violence against women and femicides.

27. Child care will be considered as a work of the society and children will be accepted as a social value, men and women will be given a paid one-year granting of leave before and after the birth; baby feed and diapers will be provided free of charge; breastfeeding rooms, crèches and kinder gardens will be mandatory in all institutions with a considerable size.

28. Children's rights will be guaranteed; sexual, physical, economic, psychological violence and abuse of children will be defined in the context of serious offenses. Children's Rights Courts will be established for these crimes.

29. Abortion will be a legal right for all women and be provided free of charge. Birth control, birth method, etc. any restrictive law on matters relating to the right of women to control their own body will be revoked. Virginity control will be banned.

30. The living and working conditions of proletarian and semi-proletarian women working at home services and doing housework for the account of capitalists will be improved and their professional organizations will be established.

31. Necessary arrangements will be made for the elimination of domestic slavery of women and for the socialization of household works. The perception of the care of the disabled, the sick and the elderly as the duty of women will be eradicated. Female domestic laborers will be covered by basic wages and general insurance. Arrangements will be made for the promotion of the female domestic laborers to work in the social working areas.

32. The agreement of unity and separation is among the individuals. The Union of People's Republics will not be the addressee of marriage and divorce agreements. If the woman asks for it, the relationship can be reported to women councils. Women's councils are obliged to follow the rights of women and children in cases of unity and separation. No discrimination can be made between children who are born reported or unreported. Homosexual partnerships are treated equally with heterosexual partnerships in all social, economic and legal practices.

33. An effective struggle will be conducted against the sex industry, based on the steps involved in liberating women labor from domestic slavery and directing them to social life. In order to open the way for sex workers to work in different sectors, sex workers will be given priority in the employment in all economic enterprises under the control of the Union of People's Republic. Work and social rights of sex workers will be guaranteed until the sex industry is completely liquidated. The trade of sex slaves will be banned, and those who force women and LGBTI+'s into sex slavery will be punished. The use of children in the sex industry will be declared as the crime against humanity.

34. LGBTI+'s rights of speech, action, organization will be assured, systematic ideological and political struggle against homophobia, transphobia, heterosexism and hate speech will be waged and penalty increase will be applied to heterosexist crimes.

35. Positive discriminatory policies in the access of work, housing, education, transportation, etc. will be applied to LGBTI+'s, sex workers and other most

excluded groups from social mechanisms.

36. It will be tried to increase the living standards of urban and rural poor and their professional rights will be guaranteed. Measures for the betterment of the living conditions of small peasants will be developed.

37. All employees will be provided with job security, multifaceted economic and social measures will be taken to solve the unemployment problem and a general insurance system embracing all workers will be established. The unemployed, homeless, elderly, sick laborers will be protected with care. All unemployed and poor will be paid basic wages.

38. For the care, education and participation of disabled people in social life, positive discriminatory policies will be implemented in access to all social facilities like work, housing, education, transportation etc. and the needs of disabled people will be taken into consideration in social life.

39. All health services will be free of charge and a wide-ranging public health system will be applied.

40. Sports facilities will be established for all laborers.

41. Indirect taxes will be abolished, a single, graduated tax system will be implemented and the tax system will be arranged in a way to respect the workers and other laborers.

42. The solution of the housing problem will be initiated by a mobilization of mass housing and the introduction of the use of the houses converted into public property primarily for the laborers who are poor and need care. Work will be carried out to make residential, building and urban structures earthquake-proof and to eliminate nondurable structures.

43. Religious affairs and state affairs will be explicitly separated from each other, the current institute of religious affairs will be abolished, the oppression on different beliefs and religious communities starting from Alevi and the privileges given to some sects will be terminated, the political-Islamist religious pressure which destroys the freedom of lifestyle will be eliminated, religion will be declared as an individual issue, and the freedom of belief of both believers and nonbelievers will be secured.

44. The asylum demands of those who are under the threat of massacres, torture and prison because of their participation in the class, gender and national liberation struggles, whose scientific and artistic activities are prevented, and who are forced to leave their lands due to war and occupation will be met, policies will be produced for those who are forced to migrate

due to economic reasons in order to provide humane living conditions.

45. Today, the reactionary-fascist and sexist education system that poisons the youth with reactionary, fascist, chauvinist, religious and militarist ideas will be abolished. Universities will be made autonomous and democratic. Education will be combined with material production, all the necessary possibilities for a scientific and revolutionary education in mother tongue will be provided for all young people, paid-education will be terminated.

46. A largescale educational mobilization will be conducted to raise the scientific, political and professional levels of adult laborers condemned by capitalism and the ruling classes to ignorance.

47. The military and bureaucratic censorship and all kinds of antidemocratic constraints in the fields of science, art and culture will be removed; scientific and progressive thought production will be supported.

48. Radio, television and the press will be removed from being the tools of silence and ignorance to the masses of the bourgeoisie and reaction. These communication institutions will become the means of dissemination of communist, democratic and scientific ideas under the supervision of the power of workers and laborers councils.

49. Effective measures will be taken against begging, alcoholism and drug use and all kinds of support will be provided for return to normal and productive life.

50. The worker's and laborer's councils will wage a decisive struggle together with the peoples and the revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces of the world for the prohibition and the destruction of nuclear, biological, chemical and other weapons that threaten all humanity.

51. The worker's and laborer's councils, on contrary to the capitalists and the imperialists who destroy the natural, historical environment in order to achieve maximum profit, will protect this common heritage of humanity, stand against the use of backward and dependent countries as a landfill for industrial wastes of the imperialist states, support the struggles against global warming and strive to take necessary measures on a world scale. The actions that threaten the existence of different living species and torture to animals will be banned and works will be carried out with the aim of establishing a harmonious relationship of the society with nature.

Political Developments and Our Revolutionary Tactic

I – International Situation

The inter-imperialist contradictions are deepening. This deepening, on the one hand, manifests itself in the “trade wars” which have exacerbated between the USA and China, and been reflected in the EU, Japan and China, taking the role of flagbearers of “free trade” against the USA under the Trump administration. Accordingly, the USA has been making some moves such as raising tariffs and withdrawing from some international trade deals, while Britain voted to leave the EU via a popular referendum.

These developments are the expression of the multiple dimensions of the contradiction between the integrated world market, the internationalization of capital and the sovereignty of nation states; in other words, the expression of imperialist globalization reaching its political limits.

The deepening of contradictions, on the other hand, is reflected in the examples of NATO expansionism against Russia in Eastern Europe and the recent Ukraine war, tensions with North Korea and threats against China in the East Asia, in the examples of wars and political aggression increasingly growing on a regional scale in North Africa and Middle East.

As the war in Middle East spreads out over the region, a USA-Saudi Arabia-Israel axis materialized during the Qatar crisis, while the Russia-Iran-Syria axis has been consolidated, and the military forces of USA and Russia have been directly intervening on the Syrian battlefield.

The dissolution of the USA’s hegemony over the capitalist world has been more notable under the conditions where the existential crisis of capitalism has been extensively sharpening the inter-imperialist contradictions. The UN has been turned into an empty shell lacking will and function. The imperialist states have been entered into an accelerating arms race. The new axis formed by both the EU headed by France and Germany, and Russia and China, has been becoming more and more active on the field of inter-imperialist competition.

The world economy has been unable to rise again after the great depression of 2008. The economic policies applied in the Western capitalist countries as solutions to the depression, which are low interest rates, national debts, financialization and austerity measu-

res, have been themselves generating the inner dynamics of the depression, deepening the crisis. Capital, whose fires of production are waning, has been tending to expand itself through the recurrent speculation waves. The result is the speeding up of the course towards an extremely devastating and imminent new economic crisis.

The tendency of polarization of the society into two politically opposite poles has been increasing rapidly under these conditions, this existential crisis of capitalism. Neofascist movements rising in the USA and EU countries have been feeding on the reaction of the lower and middle classes to the results of imperialist globalization, the loss of security, jobs and homes. The rollingback bourgeois democratic norms and the tendency of fascistization of state structures find their plainest expression in the reactionary, fascistic transformation process of the political regime in the USA under the Trump administration.

The separation of capitalist society into two opposite poles, the exacerbation of the contradictions between capital and labor, state and people, brings about inevitable consequences, which can be seen in popular uprisings in many countries from Armenia to Tunisia to Brazil, and also in the growing worker’s movements in countries from France to Bangladesh.

Moreover, the propensity of a people’s rebellion, best symbolized by the “Yellow Vests” rebellion in France, once again shows that the “period of class reconciliation” in the capitalist metropolises has already become history.

Multiple gender contradictions have brought about the massive development of the women’s liberation struggle – against abortion bans, unequal wages, fascist male dominance and violence against women in many countries from Poland to Argentina, from Iceland to Ireland and to USA. The 5 million in attendance in Spain on the 8th of March 2018 Women’s Strike, which was internationalized in 2017, points out the immense current potential of the women revolution. Popular uprisings in Iran and Iraq, the intensified national independence struggle in Catalonia and the 3rd Intifada in Palestine are recent prominent examples of struggles of the people.

The limits of all these movements brings the ever-increasing urgency of the need to meet the struggles of the working class and the oppressed with revolution.

nary political leaderships in order to move forward.

The straining of PSUV leadership in Venezuela while dealing with the conspiracy of USA and its collaborators and the surrendering of SYRIZA to EU imperialism prove that in today's conditions, political subjects claiming to be revolutionary leaderships have no political choice except either daring to go into civil war during the moments of revolutionary crisis – or yielding to bourgeoisie; these examples also prove that the only way out for the workers and oppressed is revolution.

II – The Situation in Turkey and Kurdistan

The 20 July 2015 ‘Palace Coup’, which started with the Suruç massacre targeting young communists building bridges between the freedom struggles of Turkey and Kurdistan, intended to break the democratic popular will which emerged in June 7th 2015 elections, to start a new suppression wave of colonialist war, to crush the antifascist social dynamics, and for these, to gather all the apparatuses of the fascist state in the hand of Erdoğan. Since then, the fascist political-islamist restoration of the regime accelerated.

After suppressing the Gülenist military coup attempt on 15 July 2016, this process accelerated even more with governance through statutory decrees and fascist state of emergency applications. The fascist political-islamist dictator could only cross the turning point of 16 April 2017 referendum with the help of ballot stealing, fraud, naked repression and extortion then came to 24 June 2018 elections. As a result of this election, the fascist regime transformed from parliamentary form into presidential form; in short, it provided the transformation into what we might call the ‘fascist chieftaincy regime’. With the establishment of political authority over the regime by dictator Erdoğan and his party AKP, the state crisis emerged in the fission of state apparatuses was overcome.

However, the crisis relationship of the fascist palace power with the imperialist states of the West and its tense relationship with the Turkish collaborative monopolist bourgeoisie continued, its politic sovereignty has not yet gained consistency. More importantly, despite all the violence of colonialist war in Kurdistan and of the fascist state terror in Turkey, the Erdoğan dictatorship could not defeat the Kurdish national democratic movement, could not conquer the democratic Alevi movement, could not break the will of revolutionary and antifascist movement. It couldn't prevent the growing of women's liberation movement, for instance, couldn't prevent women from quelling the fascist patriarchal resolution acquitting rape in the

parliament during the state of emergency conditions.

The structural regime crisis couldn't be directed to any bourgeois solution path. Half of the society openly took a stand against Erdoğan's presidential dictatorship. Moreover, as the contradiction between the political-islamist fascism and political freedom has been sharpening, the bourgeois order left, finding its correspondence in People's Republican Party (CHP), experienced a clear loss of confidence of laborers and started to dissolve. Despite the withdrawal of antifascist masses in the face of fascist terror, they have not lost their potential for resistance and keep on taking the streets whenever possible. All these proved that dynamics of a revolutionary situation, which came out in the Gezi-June uprising; the conditions where any incident can trigger an outburst of people's uprising still exist.

The Turkish economy entered into a financial-economic crisis, which a shock of foreign currency and interest rate made its opening. During this process, international speculative capital movements caused serious concussions huge increases in foreign currency prices, interest rates and inflation rates occurred, foreign debt burden rang the bell of danger for bourgeoisie, the contradiction resulted from the position of Turkey as a financial-economic colony of Western imperialism, yet having a conflicting relationship again with Western imperialism ramped up. Thus, this process started to threaten the social-political pillars of the fascist chieftaincy regime more.

A following period kicked in as a result of unemployment and impoverishment, growing together with the financial-economic crisis, in which the working class will raise its rejection against the burden of the crisis put on its shoulders and will tend to stronger struggles against the fascist chieftaincy regime. As expected, a relatively stable worker's movement under the yoke of state of emergency and statutory decrees, made an entrance during this new period with effective steps taken on the course to break its shell, as symbolized in the outburst of anger of the construction workers of 3rd airport of Istanbul. Likewise, significant ecological struggles have developed to defend the natural and historical environment which was opened up by the fascist chief for his stooges to loot.

The colonialist fascist regime walked out on the negotiation table in Imralı where Abdullah Öcalan is imprisoned, and started applying an outrageous massacre policy intensifying the colonialist war in Bakurê (Northern) Kurdistan, occupying Rojava starting from Jarablus, beating off the national independence referendum in Başurê (Southern) Kurdistan with

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warmongering in order to crush any kind of national statute or demands of national statute of Kurdish people, to pulverize and liquidate struggles aiming to get collective national rights, by completely breaking their will.

The occupation Kirkuk by the Iraqi state after the Başûr referendum which is a legitimate national right, the occupation of Afrin by the Turkish state after a heroic resistance, and lastly occupational attack to Medya Defense Zones resulted in new challenges for Kurdistan revolution. Notwithstanding that, organizing self-governance resistances in Bakûr, the liberation of Manbij and Raqqa by the Rojava revolution and its spreading towards the North and East of the Syria Democratic Federation of Northern Syria were the historical acquisitions of Kurdistan revolution in the aforementioned period.

The colonialist fascist “extermination plan” couldn’t break the guerrilla’s will to enlarge the national liberation warfare in Bakurê Kurdistan which is kept under siege through covering the rural and urban areas with camera networks, continuous attacks of jöhpöh (armed Special Forces-Gend*Police Special Forces), designation of trustees instead of elected mayors of municipalities, waves of arresting waves, intermittent declaration of curfews every now and then and air bombardments strikes. All these developments also mean that the regional character of our unified revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan has become much more distinctive.

Since the 20 July 2015 palace coup until today, a period has passed where the struggle between revolution

and counter-revolution has intensified, the fascist political-islamist palace power has aimed at crushing all the political forces of which it cannot make submit, and the accumulation of all the elements for a civil war have accelerated.

In this period, the objective role of illegal and violent forms of struggle has come to the fore more and more. Apart from taking the police and bourgeois army under his control, the fascist chief has also increasingly organized fascist paramilitary gangs: organizing people’s self-defense has become more necessary than ever.

III - Our Revolutionary Tactic

In this political scene summarized with its general lines pointing out the existence of important revolutionary opportunities, the revolutionary tactic of our party is the tactic of active defense in the face of fascist political-islamist dictatorship, biding our time, but constantly on the prowl to strike blows against the oppressor.

In Turkey and Kurdistan, in this new period, every antifascist resistance and every antifascist action persisted and performed with a vanguard will, has modifying effects on the social mood, while boosting the morale and encouraging the masses who are angry with the fascist chieftaincy regime but have been withdrawn from the field.

Our party, will defend all the acquired legal revolutionary-democratic positions no matter what costs it has to confront and will use all forms of possible political mass-work among laborers and the oppressed in the

field of defacto legitimate struggle in order to awake and spread militant consciousness, appetite for struggle, and hope.

Apart from deployment of common forces of the unified underground front, which is the Peoples' Unified Revolution Movement (HBDH), in the guerrilla warfare in Dersim, Black Sea region and Amanos mountains, there will also be attempts to attract antifascist young people to people's militia especially in cities of Turkey and to spread the resistance.

All the potential possibilities in terms of developing the selfdefense of the people and growing the struggle against the fascist chieftaincy regime with the means of violence will be explored. Our tactic of seizing the opportunities to hit political and military blows against fascism, on the other hand, necessitates aligning wider sections of laborers and the oppressed against fascism and more advanced politic military blows to create a will to overthrow the fascist palace power among many more people.

Moreover, the unified legal struggle front still remains in the focus of attraction of millions of workers, yet the liberalreformist line within the front has increased its influence as a result of trimming of its politically most determined forces through the arrests. In the face of this, working for the revolutionary-democratic line to succeed in the hegemony struggle carries its critical importance in terms of alignment of masses on a revolutionary basis. In addition to this, putting forth a politic initiative and practical effort to widen the antifascist front with the participation of combatant sections of the laboring left movement of Turkey by relying on the acquired level of unified legal struggle front is a task for communists to handle seriously.

Both the revolutionary-democratic hegemony struggle within the unified legal struggle front and the initiative to expand the antifascist front, at the same time, necessitate a determined protection of the goal to politically isolate CHP. Because, the issue is about either the total mutilation of the dynamics of the struggle accumulated in the bosom of of the laborers and the oppressed by reconciliation of bourgeois interior layout – or deployment of them on a revolutionary basis.

Organizing the growing resistance of masses against Erdoğan and the dictatorship, or even pulling the laborers from the mass basis of CHP to more progressive struggles too, can only be possible with the political isolation of CHP. This, on the other hand, also requires a consistent nonstop ideological struggle with the petty-bourgeois reformism that ready to merge with CHP from our own unified legal struggle front.

Our party will carry out its socialist patriotic responsibility for both developing the Rojava revolution and defending Başûr against the occupier colonialism as well as the political struggle in Bakûre Kurdistan too. The communist vanguard will keep on taking its place in Kurdish national freedom war in armed and political forms in Bakûr, Rojava and lastly Başûr, and at the same time, with the aim to realise all the opportunities for a regional revolution in Middle East.

It will walk forward as a more localized force, as the vanguard communist force of the whole Kurdistan by shouldering military duties in Rojava and North Syria on the one side, and political and social duties in people's assemblies and communes on the other, by spreading its political works among Kurdish, Arabic, Assyrian, Syriac, Armenians, Turkmen, and Chechen peoples.

In the coming period, there is no doubt that desire of the dictator Erdogan to create an empire of fear with the police-dungeon-court terror and a graveyard silence based on fascist state coercion will cause even more intensification of the explosive politic materials being accumulating in the cells of society. The current target of our tactic is to unite workers' laborers' struggles that probable to explode under the conditions of financial-economic crisis with freedom struggles probable to develop and spread against the fascist and colonialist tyranny, and through this, to prepare a united popular resistance.

In order to end the fascist chieftaincy regime, our party will walk along the path of organizing the united revolutionary leap of Kurds demanding national freedom, Alevis demanding freedom of belief, women demanding a sexually emancipated society, highschool and university youth demanding a democratic education and a free future, secular people demanding freedom of lifestyle, national and religious communities meeting on the common ground of freedom and democracy, anti-capitalist Muslims, lgbti+'s, intellectuals and artists; in short, of workers, the poor of the urban and rural, and all the oppressed thirsting for political freedom.

We, the communist vanguard, will maintain ourselves in a vanguard mode with the commitment to the victory of the revolution and a spirit of limitless sacrifice, in the underground work, on the legal front, in factories, corporations, laboring neighborhoods, high-schools, universities, streets, and squares – on all fronts and positions of struggle and war.



Comrade Baran Serhat, a member of the Central Committee, who has been a vanguard of the first steps towards materializing the decisions of the 6th Congress in Kurdistan and the first martyr of the new period, will guide our struggle as the symbol of this promise.

