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*International Theoretical Organ*

# RED DAWN

*Workers of All Countries and All Oppressed, Unite!*

## Imperialist Globalization:

- *Seeking of a Revolutionary Road*
- *National Question*
- *Working Class and the Oppressed*

## The Women's Revolution

## Interview on the Rojava Revolution

## Interview on the Afrin Resistance



**MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY  
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**International Theoretical Organ of MLKP**

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## Preface

The Centennial of the great October Revolution has just taken place and the revolutionary spirit has been revived all around the world. The 14<sup>th</sup> issue of Red Dawn has been published after a long time to greet this historical event. The working class of all countries and the oppressed are once again emerging on the stage of history, especially with the sharpening struggles in the last few years. Conditions for revolutionary situations have been developing in almost every region of the world. And in a moment like that, theoretical questions also emerge on how to find the revolutionary path. Marxism-Leninism enlightens the path as always, and as always we follow this enlightened path.

In this issue, we share six articles which can be seen as answers to these questions in the search for revolutionary paths. We continue our publications of Imperialist Globalization with three new articles discussing three different topics. In the first article, the importance of the theoretical effort in the revolutionary struggle is explained through examples both from the history of the vanguard of the Turkey/Kurdistan revolution and from leaders of Marxism-Leninism. There is also a fruitful discussion comparing the theoretical positions of the revolutionary parties in Turkey. Other two articles are concentrating on the different faces of the political positions in the stage of Imperialist Globalization. The subjects of the revolutionary struggle and the developments, as well as changes of their composition are analyzed detailedly. The article is evidently putting forth the answer to the question of how the national questions can still be part of the world revolution. The third one is demonstrating that the working class and the oppressed have never been closer to each other and have never been widespread. All it takes is to organize them.

The article 'The Women's Revolution' is a summarize of the theory of the women's revolution as half of the social revolution. It basically puts the foundation premises of the theory of women's revolution. Various issues of the women's struggle has found their revolutionary answers in this article.

The final article is an interview made in 2017. Now that the Rojava revolution has exceeded its borders and expanded even further, the political position of the MLKP in the region is even more important for the future developments. Politic-islamist, fascist, colonialist Turkish state's invading war of aggression to Afrin has been still continuing as we are preparing this issue and so is the great resistance of the people against it. Communists from MLKP also took their places in the war trenches to defend the revolution. First interview focuses more on the ideological and organizational side of the topic and the 2<sup>nd</sup> interview has just been made during the battle in Afrin. Together, they now become more meaningful and actual to understand the reality of the vanguard there.

Have a good reading and a revolutionary period full of hope and resistance!

We look forward to meet again in the next issue.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the revolutionary struggle of the workers and the oppressed!

March forward along the path of the Worldwide Democratic & Socialist Revolution!

*(Some of the articles in this issue of Red Dawn were adapted from the publications “Marksist Teori”, issue 17<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> and “Sosyalist Kadın”, issue 20<sup>th</sup>.)*

# Imperialist Globalization and The Seeking of a Revolutionary Road

The writing task on Imperialist Globalization in the context of the development of Marxist theory took us to "history". In the first half of 1995, when the Unity Revolution became a tangible reality in the days of fighting under fire, its notion had not yet been arisen. But the Marxist-Leninist Communists at that time had not scrutinized the relationship of the revolutionary movement with the theory in a critical and revolutionary way, when they had already developed their own position. In the fall of 1995, the first issue of Proletarian Direction (*Proleter Doğrultu, theoretical organ*) appeared, defining the relationship between revolutionary communists and theory as follows:

*"Communists must continue to defend 'dogmatically' the main principles of Marxism-Leninism. There must be no doubt or restraint. However, they must not be dogmatic in their defense of the main principles when it comes to the theoretical work-up and the theoretical construction with regard to the given conditions and the world. What is to be done on this basis is the masterful application of the Marxist method and dialectical materialism, creative, evolving, and responsive to the needs of political struggles."* (PD, Issue 1, p.5)

This foresight and definition guides the communist vanguard in its relationship with theory, as well as its theoretical evolution. The most important tasks of the last twenty years of the class struggle have raised theoretical questions that have found an echo in the intellectual work of the communist vanguard. These include various topics ranging from the tasks related to Kurdish question to similar questions and issues of struggle and organization forms, the women's liberation struggle, internationalism, the question of building fronts, the regional revolution and the organizational structure of the party, etc. With the perspective to tie the theoretical work to the needs of the political struggle, of course, the "Imperialist Globalization" is discussed within the theoretical work. It is problematized to draw revolutionary conclusions from it. In summary, the history of the communist vanguard has determined its extraordinary position on the issue of Imperialist Globalization.

From a theoretically perspective, the new stage of monopoly capital today exists under the conditions of Imperialist Globalization, so there is an existential need for the structures of the laboring left movement to analyze the reality of Imperialist Globalization that they

want to destroy or change, to derive their theory, and to draw conclusions for program and strategy, whether revolutionary or reformist, or oscillating between reformism and revolutionariness, because of the reality "without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary movement".

Within the laboring left movement, imperialism has already been talked much about. But still you will hardly witness any significant discussions and polemics about the "Imperialist Globalization", which we call "imperialism of our time." It would also be surprising to find complete and comprehensive analyzes of Imperialist Globalization. Structures that place the fight against imperialism and the "question" of independence at the center of their strategy, speak more than anyone else about the fight against imperialism, but because they do not interpret the reality of Imperialist Globalization and close their eyes to the level and stage of the Imperialist Globalization of monopoly capitalism, they are always at risk of slipping into nationalism.

It can not be said that the entire laboring left movement is indifferent to the reality of Imperialist Globalization. In very different parts of the laboring left movement, some peculiarities of Imperialist Globalization are expressed separately and in an isolated way, and even emphasized in some situations. For example, many structures and circles accept the reality that world monopolies are the foundation of today's imperialism. There are also structures in the laboring left movement, which differentiate that the production is organized internationally and that the labor force has socialized on an international level. There are different circles which see that nowadays finance capital is superior to industrial capital, just as speculative capital movement has become a characteristic feature of finance capital, or that all the contradictions of capitalist modes of production have become internationalized and turned to global problems etc.

Yes, you can see trees, the qualities characterizing Imperialist Globalization can be named as individual facts, but nevertheless it is not understood that these facts, as a whole, make up Imperialist Globalization. They are structural components of it, and in any case do not exist outside of this whole isolated and separately, this whole is the stage of the Imperialist Globalization of monopoly capitalism.

The situation can be described more or less this way, so trees are seen! But how about the forest, why can't the forest be seen, where the trees are the forming components of it? Why is the forest not mentioned? How can it be more difficult to see the forest than to see the trees? We will return to this, but first explain the position of the Marxist-Leninist Communists about the "forest". One of the important additions to the program of the MLKP after its 5th Congress defines Imperialist Globalization as follows:

*"Today is a time characterized by the total control in production, trade and capital export, of the international monopolies and world monopolies, which are the biggest ones of those, over the integrated world market; a time in which the production process itself has also globalized, in which speculative capital has gained a significant position within the total capital movement, in which international monopolies and imperialist states enter into a violent competition with each other and struggle for redivision of the world on the basis of this competition, in which neocolonialism was transformed into a heavier form of yoke, financial-economic colonialism. Today, with all these distinctive features, world capitalism has reached another stage of imperialism: the stage of Imperialist Globalization."* (from the central organ of the MLKP, Voice of the Party, 83<sup>rd</sup> issue)

This definition includes the specificities of the stage of Imperialist Globalization of monopoly capitalism, which is why it offers us something holistic. Because the "forest", that is, the level of the new quality, has become clear, it has become possible to understand the trees and to explain their nature accordingly. In her 5<sup>th</sup> congress, the MLKP has ended the state of "not seeing the forest" for herself and, in respect to reality, made Imperialist Globalization a question of revolutionary theory, of program and of strategy, proving a great theoretical energy. On the other hand, we have to say that this is still a belated revolutionary push. Those who follow the development of the Marxist-Leninist Communists know that the reality of Imperialist Globalization is not new to their agenda. Even the term "Imperialist Globalization" has been used much earlier, and moreover, they have unintentionally lost a great period of time due to heavy state attacks to the party after officially taking this issue into their own agenda until the time the analysis finally came to an end. It is also noteworthy that the decisions of the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress on Imperialist Globalization, as noted in the Voice of the Party (*Partinin Sesi, PS*), are the result of collective discussions.

The answers of the questions above lead us to the analysis of the problem of the relationship that builds the laboring left movement with theory and the state of theoretical tasks. One of the most outstanding qualities of revolutionary history between 1965-1970 and 1975-

1980 is the vibrant, dynamic climate in both periods, during which countless analyzes, written or other forms of discussions and direct mass meetings on theoretical, political (program, strategy and tactics) and organizational issues that have led to polemics. That was a "revolutionary atmosphere". No matter what other weaknesses the laboring left movement had at that time in its approach to theory, it was the expression of the intellectual and practical seeking for a revolutionary road of the subjects and subject candidates born into this ongoing historical time (Here we add in parenthesis immediately that "in this case, the opposite is true." Disinterest in the theory, namely, reflects the loss of the revolutionary claim, and above all, an erosion of the 'revolutionary pathsearch' and the 'leadership claim').

In relation to the fundamental questions of the revolution, the present state of the laboring left movement is quite different from the examples above. Analyzes and polemics about the fundamental questions and the efforts of revolutionary theory are barely developed and very pale. This state is not a reality that can easily be overlooked and neglected by the laboring left movement. We are certainly facing with a very significant problem here.

Why is the theoretical dynamic and the seeking of a revolutionary road of the laboring left movement so weak? In the parenthesis the first answer was given. The answer lies in the reality of the "loss of revolutionary commitment". Let's take a closer look at the situation of the laboring left movement. In the turn of 1989-90, the moment had arrived when the defeat of 20<sup>th</sup>-century's socialism was established with its previous capitalist restoration, dissolution and collapse. On the other hand, new order of monopoly capitalism, transition to the stage of Imperialist Globalization, has matured. The vital issues of revolutionary programs and class struggles have been redrawn worldwide. Above all, these gigantic developments have provoked shocks that erode the Marxist, socialist or other ideological claiming structures (*TDKP -Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey-, TKEP -Communist Laborers' Party of Turkey-, etc.*). In the wake of the events of 1989/90, claims were replaced in an ideological state of shock, resulting in ideological confusion, destruction and liquidation. As a result, large sections of the laboring left movement have repeated their previous positions, leading to a new "conservatism and dogmatism". In this transitional period, -that is, the early period in which ideological decay was decisive, but also only in the early days- this new "conservatism and dogmatism" played a moral and political role, partially, a revolutionary role. But in hindsight, they have led to or caused disinterest in the basic dialectical-materialistic explanation of our world today and in the conclusions for program and strategy. By insisting on the previous theory, program and strategy or not being able to develop theory, program

and strategy in such a way that they could provide answers to the new economic, social and political conditions, one was theoretically stuck, just as one was politically pinned and repeated.

"Why you can not see the forest" is answered by the truth that 'the theory has become a blindfold based on theoretical blindness'. Deeper historical reasons can be found in the structuring of the international communist movement of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the examination of the relationship to them.

Almost all of the structures that make up the laboring left movement express their goal of socialism and revolution. They see themselves as responsible for the social classes they want to represent. The structures that more or less follow their goals cannot restrain themselves, or be afraid to analyze the reality of Imperialist Globalization, to create their theory, and to take the responsibility to change on program and strategy.

After the fascist military coup of September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1980, in the late 80's and early 90's, there was partly a liveliness and new search in the laboring left movement for analysis, discussions, etc. basic problems. But there has been developed no analysis and discussion dynamics and search, no revolutionary atmosphere that was similar or comparable to the periods between '65-'70 and '75-'80. Immediately after the events of 1989 (the dissolution and collapse of the USSR, the abolition of the Warsaw Pact, etc.), the discussions which were heated more within the revolutionary wing of the laboring left movement and in which everyone expressed their opinion within the framework of previously established ideological positions, some have shown a talent for development, but they were not productive and evolving and not long termed anyway. The struggle for socialism has passed into a new age, but the structures with a socialist claim have failed to understand or interpret that a new historical period has come. In other words, they have resisted to stay in the past, with little or no effort at all, in understanding and interpreting the new period, and demonstrated rather little dynamic.

Every revolutionary party is itself undoubtedly a search for a revolutionary path. This essential, existential reality manifests itself in its theoretical and practical efforts. As the mental-intellectual effort and production, and the physical-concrete action weaken in this seeking of revolutionary road, the "claims", "ideals" and "commitment" to their own goals also weaken. This reality means that the mentioned parties are getting to become less and less "significant" and "necessary", and history is questioning their right to exist. It is inevitable that those structures having little ability to adapt to the new historical period and restructure, have to deal with matter of life and death. Likewise, it has become more

apparent that some parts of the laboring left movement have suffered a process of dying peculiar to the political currents in the last 10-15 years. But on the other hand, also tendencies and structures that had a great talent to understand the new historical conditions have come to the fore. The formation of an opportunism corresponding to the structure of this period (two wings of the current TKP -Communist Party of Turkey- comes to mind!) can also be included.

### ***How is the revolutionary theory developing?***

Since the foundation of Marxist theory by Marx and Engels to the present day, the basic driving force of the development of revolutionary theory, has been the effort of the parties of all countries, which are entitled to socialism and revolution (currents, groups and organizations included), the will to answer the revolutionary questions of the economic and social conditions of their present time as well as the class struggle in a conceptual and practical way. For this, we must also count the efforts of Marxist academicians.

Lenin has often and for various reasons approached to the question of the renewal of Marxist theory and Marxist movement. He emphasized the revolutionary feature of Marxist doctrine: *"Doctrine—said Engels, referring to himself and his famous friend—is not a dogma, but a guide to action. This classical statement stresses with remarkable force and expressiveness that aspect of Marxism which is very often lost sight of. And by losing sight of it, we turn Marxism into something one-sided, distorted and lifeless; we deprive it of its life blood; we undermine its basic theoretical foundations—dialectics, the doctrine of historical development, all-embracing and full of contradictions; we undermine its connection with the definite practical tasks of the epoch, which may change with every new turn of history."* (Vladimir I. Lenin, Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism)

Structures which speak and act in the name of Marxism, socialism, and revolution are, in a way, breaking off the relationship of Marxism with the practical questions of our epoch by ignoring the realities of "Imperialist Globalization" which define the economical, social and political situation of our time. Or they stay behind the "time". Speaking a lot about "imperialism", but disregarding and ignoring the Imperialist Globalization, is nothing else than the mummification of Marxism anyway. It is not surprising that this also takes the revolutionary content away of the anti-imperialist struggle, and causes degeneration in form of nationalism and so on.

The question here is to know and understand how to adapt Marxist theory to changing economic and social conditions, this is how the theory develops anyway. Lenin does not hold back when it comes to fighting firmly with the comrades who did not understand this.

This example is more than instructive for us: under the new conditions after the February Revolution of 1917, which had overthrown the Tsarist order, Lenin criticized the "Old Bolsheviks" and defined the task of Marxist theory perfectly:

*"For the present, it is essential to grasp the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognizance of real life, of the true facts of and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only embracing life in all its complexity. 'Theory, my friend, is gray, but green is the eternal tree of life.'"* (Vladimir I. Lenin, Letters on tactics)

Well, "Which revolution are you talking about?" can be asked. Of course, here we are discussing the state of the laboring left movement in regard of the theoretical tasks and production of the theory. But this discussion also has a "connection with the revolution". The criticism of the Marxist-Leninist Communists against the laboring left movement on the issue of Kurdish national revolution in the 1990's still holds its actuality as it describes a "revolutionariness which does not understand the revolution". The revolutionariness which does not understand the revolution sustains itself today by updating through the rejection of the Rojava revolution. While some parts of the laboring left movement may find anti-imperialism when they look at the despotic collaborative Assad regime, but they somehow can't see the Rojava revolution!

As students of Lenin, we need to hold Imperialist Globalization into account, the "living reality, definite and concrete facts".

Let's move on. Later in the same work by Lenin, we find the following lines:

*"Marxism demands of us the most accurate, objectively verifiable analysis of the interrelationship of classes and the specific features of each historical moment. We Bolsheviks have always endeavored to live up to this demand, which is entirely indispensable from the point of view of any scientific justification of politics. 'Our doctrine is not a dogma, but a guide to action.'"*

*Marx and Engels emphasized, rightfully mocking memorizing and simply repeating "formulas" that are at best suited to just outlining the general tasks that must be done the concrete economic and political situation in every particular section of the historical process will inevitably be modified."* (Vladimir I. Lenin: Letters on Tactics)

It is evident, that there is a lack of interest in the theory and a lack of self-confidence in certain theoretical questions. Yes, on the one hand, there is a liberal, liquidating case, spinning away from Marxism and a reality of escaping from it; but on the other hand, the tendency of freezing the theory, in a way, theoretical conservatism and cutting the connections of Marxism from daily

questions, mummifying it, still strongly continue to exist. This situation of the laboring left movement is not only evident in avoiding the analysis of Imperialist Globalization and being unable to bring this as an issue of revolutionary theory, program and strategy. From the Kurdish national question to the formation of fronts, from the women's liberation struggle to the organizational structure of the Marxist party, from internationalism to regional revolution included, we can see the same reality in these and in other questions, too. But we must emphasize the importance of the special peculiarity of the holistic and periodical scope and the dominant feature of the Imperialist Globalization question which reshaped the face of earth.

Throughout the transitional period, which was at the same time the beginning of a new historical period in the struggle for socialism, the Kurdish national democratic struggle against colonialism, the national revolutionary uprising has always been the main and decisive problem of the class struggle. Political freedom is not only a vital need and demand of the Kurdish nation, but also of the working class and all the oppressed. But especially after the fascist military coup on September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1980, there was a break in the consciousness of the working class and the terror of disorganization, following the restoration of the experience of socialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The heavy ideological burden of defeat based on dissolution and decay and many other causes have ultimately led to the fact that the working class couldn't lead the struggle for political freedoms and couldn't play its role as the leading and vanguard class. It can be said that since the 'Spring-movement' of 1989 and the resistance of the miners in Zonguldak, the Kurdish national uprising has been taking place at the center of the political freedom struggle. Because the primary theme of the struggle between oppressors and the oppressed has been, above all, the "Kurdish national question" and the "Kurdish national liberation struggle", this issue must have been the first theoretical agenda of discussion for all the structures, which claim socialism and revolution.\*

There is no doubt about it, however the opposite seems to be a very clear truth.

We must emphasize that, in fact, there is a strikingly curious situation within various structures of the laboring left in regard of their theoretical activity in the context of national question. When it comes to the Kurdish national question and the national democratic movement, the TKP is first to come to mind as it holds a special position within the laboring left movement. The patented TKP, which has split theatrically, loves to speak in the mood as if they are the only one who understands Marxism in Turkey. Their relationship to the Kurdish national democratic movement and the Kurdish national question is based on telling and explaining that Lenin was wrong about the "self-determination right of

nations" and self-determination is not really important, it can be neglected etc. Here, the function of producing "new theory" means the realization of a social-chauvinist line and legitimizing this line through a Marxist and socialist perspective. Of course, when the function of the "Marxist theory" regarding the Kurdish national question becomes running away from national issues and the Kurdish national liberation struggle, the aim of political strategy and tactics becomes undertaking the duty of keeping the working class away from the national democratic movement and creating disinterest towards it. The effort to "develop" theory is realized here as the revision of the theory. According to them, it is inappropriate to speak of the liberation struggle of the oppressed nation. Because that would mean to rise to the bait of the imperialists. The oppressed Kurdish nation must wait to be freed by socialism. Otherwise they would become a play-ball of the imperialists, etc. This social-chauvinistic alienation of the Kurdish nation's struggle against Turkish colonialism produces nothing else, but a closeness to colonialism and the bourgeoisie of the oppressive nation. These are nothing else but efforts and tendencies to convince the working class to disinterest and give up the vanguard and leadership mission in the struggle of oppressed nations, and to renounce the Marxist theory in the eyes of oppressed nations. The most important demand of all the oppressed social parts including the working class is the free propaganda, agitation and organization, that means political freedom. Does a working class, which can not fight for political freedom and political democracy, become a class of its own?

The DHKP-C (*People's Revolutionary Liberation Party-Front*) is another example of the relationship with theory. They have the view and belief that the theory about the national question and the Kurdish national question is completed through the repetition of the formulation of "self-determination right of nations". According to them, the revolution will guarantee the self-determination of the Kurdish nation anyway. Therefore, the determined struggle of the Kurdish nation for its own self-determination, couldn't be a lever for the political struggle for democracy, but would be "Kurdish nationalism"! The Kurdish people under a colonial yoke have to wait until they are freed by the revolution of the oppressive nation, everything else would be "nationalism", "Kurdish nationalism"! This is the result of mummification and emptying the revolutionary content of the theory without the need for the revisionism of theory.

Despite the difference of their theoretical reference points, the political attitudes of the TKP and the DHKP-C are similar to each other. For us, it is a striking reality that revisionism and dogmatism (doctrinairism) unite in the same political conclusion! What must be emphasized is undoubtedly the social-chauvinism of the

two tendencies and structures of the oppressor nation's laboring left movement, one of which is reformist and the other one is revolutionary, whose theory and practice are based on condemning the uprising of the oppressed nation against the colonialism as "Kurdish nationalism".

It is also striking that these two currents, which present themselves as the most susceptible defenders of the struggle against imperialism, share the similar attitudes that do not take Imperialist Globalization seriously. This is also valid on their transition and conversion of anti-imperialism to nationalism. It is a talky talk which calls the Kurdish nation, who already struggles against one of the strongest supports of imperialism in the region, namely Turkish colonialism, to struggle against the common enemy imperialism.

Not willing to accept the reality of Imperialist Globalization is an anachronistic situation, in which these circles lose their relation to the practical issues of today due to their past mode of thinking and speaking. To become a vanguard, it is required to have the ability to understand and respond to the new situations. Theoretical wardship is not compatible with the vanguard. The conclusions of the Marxist analysis of Imperialist Globalization show the way of revolutionary development:

*"In the stage of Imperialist Globalization, the ranks of the proletariat have widened. The material basis of international identities has strengthened. The differences in the social positions between the mental and manual labor have decreased. The proletarian and non-proletarian oppressed and exploited working classes have come closer to each other. The possibilities of the working class uniting the other oppressed under their own program have strengthened."*

The importance of all these with respect to revolutionary programs and strategies is beyond discussion. But if they do not claim the opposite, it is crystal clear to the structures that these realities are undeniable. We do not know if they reject these realities. But that the situation requires them to take an attitude is clear. Let us continue:

*"Just as the revolution can emerge in the weakest link or in the weakest links in the imperialist chain, the level of today's imperialist capitalism has created the possibility of regional revolutions. The same situation has ripened the objective conditions for the development of revolutions of individual countries towards regional revolutions and a wave of world revolutions. It strengthens the possibility of revolutions mutually triggering each other in many countries."* (PS, 83)

At the beginning of the 2000's, the Marxist-Leninist Communists included the possibility of regional revolutions in their program. The revolutionary foresight and orientation of regional revolutions became verified within barely 10 years, when the Middle East created a

regional revolutionary situation, that shattered the despotic rules and created a revolutionary opportunity for the peoples of the region in which the Rojava Revolution appeared as the most advanced gains of political revolutions and regional revolutions. Revolutionary practice has made the revolutionary theory solid. Many other conclusions of the Marxist analysis of Imperialist Globalization are listed here:

*"Under the conditions of Imperialist Globalization, the anti-imperialist struggle and the anti-capitalist struggle are still interlocked with the democratic and socialist tasks of the proletariat. The material conditions for the rapid transition of democratic revolutions to socialist revolutions have matured.*

*The worldwide organization of production and the socialization of the productive forces on a globalized scale, the concentration of private property over the means of production in the hands of some world monopolies deepen inequality between classes and exacerbate the contradiction between labor and capital, between people and state worldwide. The same conditions create the worldwide conditions for the material, technical basis of socialism, in other words, the conditions for a social revolution."*

You can not close your eyes to all this! No structure of the working class can disregard the reality of Imperialist Globalization. They can not remain disinterested in the conclusions of the Marxist analysis of Imperialist Globalization and turn their backs from it. The reality of Imperialist Globalization and the conclusions of its Marxist analysis are linked to the historical right of existence of the structures in the ranks of the laboring left. Not only the reality of Imperialist Globalization, but also its Marxist analysis challenges the structures within the laboring left:

*"The economic crisis burst out in 2007-2008, is a violent expression of the existential crisis of capitalism. Capital's losing its ability to develop the productive forces, therefore the situation corresponding to the dissolution of its historical existence basis, signifies the economical, political and ideological crisis of the bourgeois relations of production. The existential crisis of capitalism demonstrates that the form of society based on capital production has reached to a point that it can no longer be sustained. It means that capitalism has expired its historical due and this hunch standing on the back of the proletariat must be overthrown immediately. It also point out that unless this is succeeded, bourgeoisie will pull down the working class and the oppressed to much more barbaric and dishonoring conditions."* (a.g.e.)

By avoiding the analysis of the reality of Imperialist Globalization, you are not only cutting the connection

between theory and living life, but your right to exist is being questioned by the history in which you are moving. The theory, which loses the connection to vital life, freezes and loses its light.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the III. International, in line with the Marxist analysis of imperialism, emphasized the slogan "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" Leaning on the Marxist analysis of the current Imperialist Globalization under today's conditions the communist vanguard now raises the slogan 'workers of all countries and all oppressed, unite!' . The seeking of a revolutionary road develops in the unity of theory with practice. Just as the revolutionary theory has periods of upsurges which open new horizons and perspectives, the revolutionary praxis also has moments and processes which open new paths. What is essential is that the seeking of a revolutionary path proceeds through the application of revolutionary theory on revolutionary action as a unity of theory and practice. The claim for an evolving, growing revolutionary leadership has to be reflected in certain theoretical issues of the time. The Kurdish national question, internationalism, the organizational structure of the party, the women's liberation struggle, the formation of fronts, Imperialist Globalization, the regional revolution, and others belong to the vital theoretical questions of our time. Without these and the effort to clarify other theoretical questions, without a continuous theoretical work, you can not be a vanguard. The vanguard seeking of revolutionary road is not only theoretical, but also practical, actioning, holistic and continuous.

#### **\*Footnote:**

*The Marxist Leninist Communists lean their political strategy on the fact, that the unified revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan has already begun in the form of uprising of the Kurdish people against Turkish colonialism and that the victory of the revolution depends on the development of the second revolutionary front in Western Turkey. Their theoretical attitude and efforts carry a great significance. From the beginning of the 90's until today, no other organization from the laboring left has shown a similar meticulous theoretical and practical effort. The programmatic stance of united sovietic republics has led the theoretical and practical efforts. Just to name some of these theoretical and practical efforts: the Marxist analysis of the ongoing war in Kurdistan, the right of unification of the Kurdish nation and Kurdistan, handling the peace demand of Kurdish people as an issue of revolutionary politics, taking care of the autonomy issue, struggling against chauvinism and social-chauvinism, organizing communists in Kurdistan and socialist patriotism, the tendency and definition of "solution from the laboring perspective" which means the democratic-based revolutionary reconstruction of "national unity" through a free and voluntary unification in a federation of equal nations... To these, we should add the criticism of "revolutionariness which does not understand the revolution", directed to the laboring left. A serious and conclusive theoretical struggle has been waged in this field throughout the last quarter century. This had a profound impact. Seeking for revolutionary path has been uninterruptedly carried on theoretically and practically.*

# National Question

## in the Stage of Imperialist Globalization

### ***The Extent of National Question Has Narrowed***

As the capitalism of free competition was switching to a monopolistic stage at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, it caused imperialism to merge. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, was not only monopolist capitalism. One of the five features of the imperialist system was the completion of the division of the world regarding land among a handful of developed capitalist state and colonialism's becoming a worldwide phenomenon as well.

When looking at the world at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, what is seen is a handful of capitalist countries having turned the large proportion of the world regarding lands and the nations constituting the majority of the population into their colonies.

*“This domination by a handful of capitalists achieved full development when the whole world had been partitioned, not only in the sense that the various sources of raw materials and means of production had been seized by the biggest capitals, but also in the sense that the preliminary partition of the colonies had been completed. Some forty years ago, the population of the colonies stood at somewhat over 250 million, who were subordinated to six capitalist powers. Before the war of 1914, the population of the colonies was estimated at about 600 million, and if we add countries like Persia, Turkey and China, which were already semi-colonies, we shall get, in round figures, a population of a thousand million people oppressed through colonial dependence by the richest, most civilized and freest countries.”* (Lenin, Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International, July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1920)

Fewer numbers of semi-colonies, on the other hand, were colonies on the half way.

However the stage of imperialism was also the stage of proletarian revolutions. October Revolution opened the path of national liberations of colonies.

Afterwards the revolutions of nations, which were invaded and colonized by the fascist imperialism, created a jumping development in overthrowing the imperialist colonialism.

Great victories of the antifascist revolutions dealt the widest ranged and irreversible blow to colonialism

during the imperialism period. Yet, it didn't settle with this. It aggravated the liberation struggles of other colony nations against the imperialist colony system.

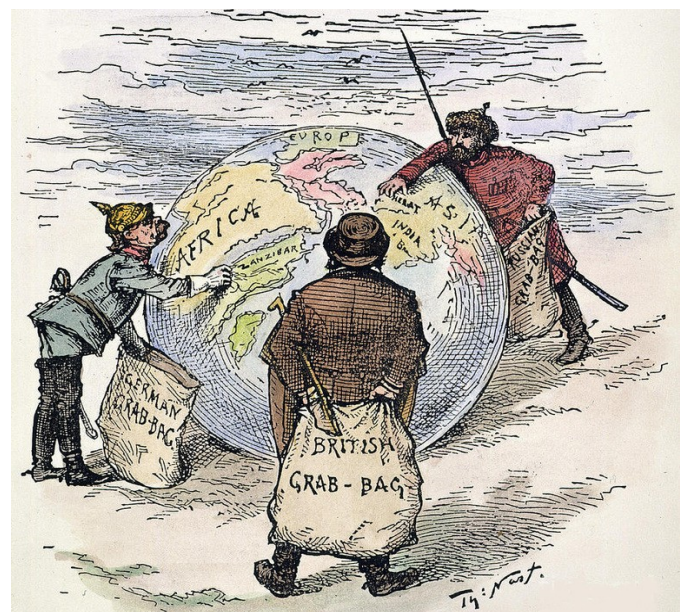
Liberation revolutions of the colony nations which sped up during the following process which ended the imperialist colonialism. The liberation of the last colonies of Portugal in Africa in 1975 and the victory of Vietnam revolution became the death notice of the imperialist colonialism.

Imperialists' very few number of remaining small sized colonies and oppressed/colonized nations in considerably widespread multinational neocolonies are now defining the extent of national question.

### ***Question of Nations Which Are Under the Yoke of Annexationist/Colonialist Neocolony States***

From Spain to Iran, from Indonesia to Sudan, liberations of oppressed and colonized nations in some considerably widespread multinational developed capitalist countries from this yoke are constituting the main part of the national question in the world.

These are the multinational states formed during the historical process in various forms and due to various reasons. Whichever the reason or the form they were founded with, one nation dominates the state in these multinational countries, rules the other nations and keep them under the annexationist and colonialist yoke by

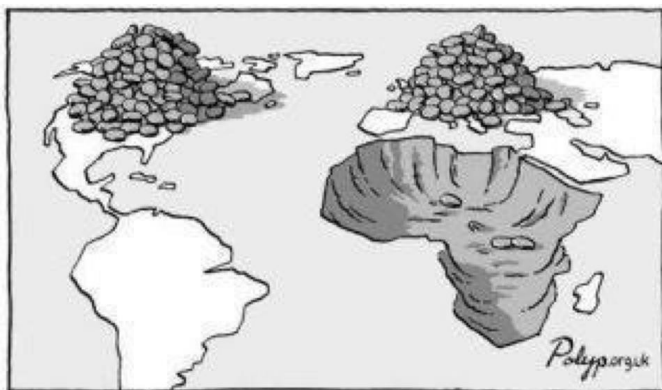


force. These multinational neocolony states had been turned into colonies and semi-colonies of the imperialist states during the stage of imperialism. Some had gained independence after the 2<sup>nd</sup> imperialist redivision war and become neocolonies of the imperialism. Philippines and Indonesia are two typical examples of this.

In the end, since then until today, the state belongs to the dominant nation in these multinational neocolonies. Dominant nation keeps others under annexationist and colonialist yoke.

For example, in Iran, the dominant Persian nation sustains its annexationist sovereignty concession, which it took over from the former central feudal empire period, over other more than one nation – Azeri, Kurdish, Baluji, Turkmen, Arabic- and national communities. This annexationist heritage is, of course, sustained as an extension of the relations of capitalist imperialist system. Former Shah dictatorships were the social-political-military shores of imperialism in the region. For this reason, Persian bourgeois-feudal sovereigns got support from the imperialists when they maintained the annexationist yoke. Although this support weakened in the period of Mullah dictatorship, Persian Mullahs and bourgeoisie can sustain the annexationist and colonialist yoke through social-economic, political, and religious supports among Azeri, Kurdish, Baluji, Arabic and Turkmen sovereigns, but of course mostly through military force. National movements which were materialized in the foundation of Azeri and Kurdish autonomous republics in the past are known. It is also known that the Kurdish national movement specifically with IKDP (Iran Kurdistan Democratic Party) and Komala grew too much. And for today, in the name of PJAK and IKDP, the grown power of Kurdish national movement is known. The Colonialist Mullah regime does not content itself with only executing tens of Kurdish militants and attacking PJAK and HPG forces. It blocks the raising of national movement by giving death penalty decisions for thousands of Kurdish patriots.

The national movement of Balujis, is being upheld by the leadership of an Islamic tendenced organization. It is



a struggle in which executions and heavy armed actions are carried out reciprocally.

Hundreds of thousands of Azeri joined the protests against the racist publication of a chauvinist newspaper. The massiveness of these protests showed the democratic and large potential of national movement.

For example, the Turkish nation was dominant in the bourgeois-feudal empire until recently and Turkey was a multinational state where Turkish nation was sustaining its annexationist concession and sovereignty over other -Balkan nations, Kurdish, Circassian, Laz, Georgian, Arabic, etc.- nations and national communities. After the 1<sup>st</sup> imperialist redivision war, it lost its sovereignty over the Balkan and Arabic geography. However, it kept this as an extension of relations of capitalist imperialism over Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, etc. nations and national communities. Parallel to its capitalist development, it transformed this into colonialist yoke.

Or South Africa Republic was a state which was colonized by the Boer colonization, which experienced a process of a war-concession dilemma during the imperialist English colonialism period. Afterwards, it lived through racist Apartheid colonialism which Boer white minority applied over black people.

Philippines, is a multinational state which switched from Spanish colonialism to some sort of colonialist yoke of USA at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century and which became a neocolony of USA after the 2<sup>nd</sup> imperialist redivision war. It is a neocolonized country where Muslims and other nations are waging a liberation struggle in the island of Mindanao under the leadership of the Moro National Liberation Front.

Indonesia was a multinational neocolony state which was freed from colonialism at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> imperialist redivision war. It was a state where the dominant Malay nation oppress many other nations and religions. During the period of military fascist dictatorship, this was not enough for them. They invaded and annexed East Timor with the support of the USA in 1975 and applied a genocide there.

It is known that the people of Ache are carrying on an independence struggle under the leadership of GAM and in the end, this struggle resulted with autonomy. Free Papua Movement Liberation Army (TPN/OPM) is again, even though it got defeated many times, waging an armed struggle. There is also a national struggle in Maluku region.

India is a continent country and kind of a federation of states. Like in all bourgeois federations, the states of India also do not have the right of secession and do not have republics. Although the federation prevents national separations, there are movements waging armed struggle in Kashmir, Assam and Manipur. Islamists became dominant in the national movement in Muslim

Kashmir. However, the organizations of other two nations, Manipur Revolutionary People's Front (PLA is the armed wing of this organization) and ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam), are carrying out an armed struggle.

There is also a national movement of Gorkha's in North India which isn't an armed one yet, but whose social bases are expanding and again without a right to have a state or federation.

Ethiopia was a multinational state which switched from semi-colony to neocolony and annexed Eritrea for a while. National liberation revolutions were forming a main dimension of the revolutionary struggle in Ethiopia. This feature of the revolution was apparent in Eritrea, Tigray and Ogaden. Shortly after its victory the revolution in the 1990's was turned into another bourgeois backward regime through being bought by the imperialists. After Eritrea determined its own fate as in favor of independence, national suppression continues on a lowered level although other nations gained autonomy. There is a movement in Ogaden waging a national struggle.

Examples can be extended. But as a result, the hegemonic nation in these and more multinational neocolony countries holds others under annexationist/colonialist yoke.

After imperialists were forced to switch to neocolonialism or to liberate the colonies, if we leave countries like England, Spain and Canada beside, the national question mainly occurs as national question in neocolonies. Today, this concrete situation continues. Oppressed and colonized national movements in

multinational states as a question whose solution is well delayed are growing fast and spreading out.

First diagnosis: the national question was mainly a question of colonized nations against imperialist colonialism between 1900-1975. It was actually the liberation struggle of colonized nations from the yoke of imperialist colonialism.

Before that, the question of oppressed and colonized nations had become a question bounded to the hegemony relations of imperialism (inside the Russian Tsardom, Austria-Hungarian and Ottoman Empire).

Today this situation has changed. The national question is no longer a worldwide question, it has become a question with narrower boundaries. It turned out on big proportion to be the question of the liberations of oppressed and colonized nations inside the multinational neocolony countries from the annexationist/colonialist yoke of bourgeoisies of hegemonic nations.

Secondly; the struggle against the annexationist/colonialist yoke of bourgeoisie of multinational neocolony countries is a struggle with democratic content. Because if there is annexationist/colonialist suppression of dominant classes in these countries, this situation conditions regimes which are more antidemocratic, chauvinist, fascist and more militarist. This struggle against annexationist/colonialist yoke becomes a main component of the struggle for democratic freedoms.

Thirdly; struggles of colonized and oppressed nations against this yoke deal a blow to imperialism and progress towards a struggle against imperialism since the bourgeoisies of the multinational neocolony



countries are parts of capitalist imperialist system relations.

### ***Question of Indigenous People***

Indigenous people, who suffered from genocides during the colonialism period in the continent of America, are living without their rights as minorities except for Bolivia. They are lack of their rights under the racist yoke of white and mixed race new nations. These nations, who had previously expressed their angers by widely joining the revolutionary struggles, have created direct indigenous organizations in the last decades and waged struggles by putting forth their national demands.

Although the question of American indigenous peoples from various national communities under racist suppression is not conditioning a complete national liberation revolution today, restitution of traditional fertile lands, political autonomy and ending of national-cultural assimilation come to the fore as primary demands.

Liberation of indigenous peoples from racist suppression is a question that can be solved on the basis of equality of national rights. Struggle of indigenous people against the racism of hegemonic bourgeoisie, liquidation of race inequality and struggle for gaining all of their rights are parts of struggle of gaining democratic freedom and have a democratic content.

### ***National Question and Question of Race As Exceptions in the Imperialist Countries***

Countries like England, Canada, Russia and China also have this question.

Scotland, Wales, North Ireland could only gain autonomy from England in the 1990's as a result of IRA's struggle. The assembly of Scotland goes for independence referendum from time to time.

The Federal Quebec state in Canada is also brought to independence referendum by its first party in the assembly, PQ.

Chechnya, Dagestan, Tatarstan, North Ossetia, Ingush, Yakutia and other regions have autonomy. Some of them are autonomous republics. But none of them has secession rights.

It is known that Russia responded to the separation struggle of Chechnya with genocide. Russian bourgeoisie is limiting the authority of other autonomous republics which previously they had.

There are autonomous regions in China as acquisitions of revolution; there carried out actions from time to time with the goal of equality of national rights in regions like Tibet, Xinjiang-Uighur and Inner Mongolia where different nations live.

Imperialist countries, in spite of being federal, do not give the right of being an independent republic to their oppressed nations. For this reason, struggles of

federations for the equality of national rights have a democratic content.

Racist suppression and lack of rights reflecting as inequality against the immigrant workers in Europe, USA and other imperialist countries also condition the democratic struggle of immigrant workers.

Struggles in imperialist countries objectively have democratic content. But, each concrete situation must be evaluated according to its own peculiarity. As much as they attach to an alliance with socialist revolution or become a direct part of it, the possibility of becoming reactionary through falling as substitutes to the opponent imperialists (especially, it is noticeable for the national movements in Russia and China which are seen opponents by USA and Europe) can be removed.

### ***Question Created by the New Imperialist occupations***

Starting from the '90's, under the conditions of a reactionary period and regression of world revolution, an increase was observed in the imperialist occupations. The occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, imperialist air war on Libya and the war towards Syria launched directly by the hands of imperialists or collaborators of the region states. War interventions to Mali and some West Africa countries. Saudi's Yemen war. occupations of Lebanon by Israel. Some struggles can emerge during the resistances which also have a national character against these occupations. However, ISIS in Syria and Iraq or various groups in Libya are not carrying out a national liberation struggle.

Apart from the struggle of Palestine against the Zionist occupation, there is happening also a civil war beside the occupations and military attacks from outside in others. It is completely like this in Afghanistan. Collaboration of nations and beliefs, who suffered heavy oppression and genocide of Saddam, with USA caused a conflict between these forces and Sunni Arabs.

This, at the same time, is a new property which probable has to be seen in other imperialist occupations in the stage of Imperialist Globalization.

Imperialist monopolies became an inner phenomenon with the financial-economic colonialism which is created by Imperialist Globalization. They attach local capital oligarchy and big bourgeoisie to themselves and other exploiting bourgeoisie sections are depended upon the capital oligarchy. These facts objectively remove the material basis of resistances against the occupations to be 'national' wide and based. Therefore, positions of some interest groups and religious sects become decisive rather than being national.

### ***Democratic Content Remains***

With these conditions, objective democratic content of national question remains. We have already said that

national question has predominantly become the question of liberation of oppressed/colonized nations in multinational neocolony states. Liberation of these nations from the annexationist/colonialist yoke, national freedom of them through struggling against the deprivation of national right and being governed by the sovereigns of other nations without their consent, struggling for equality of national rights and their self-determination for their own fate are carrying democratic content. These cause democratic movement to develop. The opposite is also correct. This annexationist and colonialist yoke generates reactionism, racism and fascism. It sustains the mistrust of peoples to each other. It prevents the formation of a trustworthy unity of workers and laborers in the class struggle. It causes workers and laborers from sovereign nations to follow the bourgeoisie of their nation especially by creating chauvinist poisoning.

The national question in the imperialist countries also carries an objective democratic content. Right of self-determination of colonized and dependent nations in these countries plays a democratic role.

Struggles of indigenous peoples and oppressed races for equal rights are also democratic featured. They create and grow democratic forces.

In the stage of Imperialist Globalization, the tendency which bears reactionary reflexes against the financial-economic colonization of imperialist states is spreading in neocolony countries. And this is happening under the conditions in which socialism hopes are weakening. It brings this misconception: 'imperialism uses national movements for its own interest, so these movements are separatists'. With this logic, those having this reactionary tendency support the dirty colonialist wars and massacres against these movements. They fall exactly into the same line with racist fascist movements.

In fact, imperialists take advantage of national movements against opponent imperialists and against the governments they want to overthrow. Just like in often given examples of Yugoslavia and Iraq. However, rejecting the right of self-determination in these places because this is like that and evaluating the dirty war of sovereign bourgeoisie as righteous is just wrong. This is a social chauvinist viewpoint and attitude.

Imperialists, except for these exceptions, support or directly launch any kind of suppression and dirty war to oppress other national movements.

### ***Under the Conditions of Imperialist Globalization***

World capitalism has integrated in the stage of Imperialist Globalization. This concrete base requires more than yesterday, not separate political units of different nations, but the formation of voluntary unifications on various levels, yet with keeping their

national freedoms. Economic development within larger unities on the basis of voluntariness by keeping their freedom is much more possible today as it is also in favor of proletariat.

The material basis to found regional democratic and socialist federations has strengthened today more under the economic integration conditions created by Imperialist Globalization.

Proletariat, both fights for the achievement of oppressed/colonized nations to their liberation and offers, today more than yesterday, the formation of larger unities of free nations on the basis of voluntariness with equal rights by keeping their national freedom, and it struggle to actualize it. It does this to achieve the tight unity of workers from every nation in the struggle for socialism through trusting each other more. Moreover, this prevents the hostility, friction, conflict and necking created by bourgeoisie among neighboring nations through regional democratic and socialist federations with the victories of revolutions.

Reactionary nationalism also shows itself in the opposite direction of this socialist and consistent democratic tendency against the results of Imperialist Globalization.

The development of neo-nazi movements and parties in imperialist countries reflects this tendency. Multiple fascist parties in European Union, which are hostile to immigrants, but at the same time, strengthened by the unemployment and poverty created by imperialist unity and globalization, are based on this tendency. The desire to protect the old days and old life standards plays role in this. National Front of Le Pen, fascist parties opposed to EU in England and Scandinavian countries, development of neo-nazi Pegida movement and AfD in Germany and Tea movement in USA are based on this tendency.

Again, the development of nationalist reactionary movements in neocolony countries and of conservative, sometimes fascist politic-islamist movements in Muslim countries are based on this reactionary reflex. Many reformist and progressive movements', democratic mass organizations' which are supporters of dirty wars against oppressed national movements are based on this reflex against the results of Imperialist Globalization.

This tendency, which took laboring masses relatively widespread under its influence during the process of transformation of neocolonies into financial-economic colonies, is especially an expression of the reaction against financial-economic colonization under the conditions of Imperialist Globalization. Protection of peculiar reactionary interests of bourgeoisies of financial-economic colonies also means binding behind the nationalist tendency. In Turkey MHP (*Nationalist Movement Party*), Ergenekonist generals (*convicted then released putschist old generals of army*) and Perinçek followers who are tied to them (*Doğu Perinçek, a fascist*

*politician who once was in the ranks of revolutionary organizations in the '70's), nationalist mass organizations and intellectuals are the representatives of this tendency and they are inside this tendency. AKP and Erdoğan's neo-ottomanist expansion policy in the region, and support to these are also expressions of this tendency.*

The development of radical Islamic movements in the struggle against imperialist occupations, especially the ones in the line of Al-Qaeda, is another expression of this reactionary tendency. Despite the fact that these movements did actually join the struggle against the imperialist occupations most of the time, like in the example of Iraq, they grow a savage hostility towards people, communities from oppressed beliefs and nations. They apply exactly theocratic despotism and fascism in the example of ISIS. It is observable that the tendency to go back to "nice old days" or the period of century-of-joy generates not only ideological regressiveness, but also political one.

Here, it is once more needed to mention the criteria of how much democratic or revolutionary the movements are in the struggle against imperialism and whether they

should be supported by communists or not. It is not enough that these movements deal a blow to imperialist occupations. They must also be in a position with laboring classes and the oppressed, and in a manner of giving space to communists and revolutionaries to organize laboring masses. Only then, these movements can play a democratic and revolutionary role. Only then, they are supported by the communists -without looking at what they think philosophically.

Communists will continue supporting the democratic content of national movements of oppressed and colonized nations, and their right of self-determination unconditionally.

They will determinedly continue struggling against the wrecking consequences of Imperialist Globalization, against financial-economic colonialism and against new imperialist occupations. They will not settle with this, and also position against the reactionary tendency. And they will continue putting forth regional democratic and socialist federations based on the revolutionary unity of free nations as a revolutionary alternative program to imperialist financial-economic colonialism and occupations.



# Working Class and the Oppressed

## Under the Conditions of Imperialist Globalization

### *Expropriation and Quantitative Expansion of Proletariat*

From the point of view of the working class and the laborers, Imperialist Globalization means the following: taking working class under encirclement of chronic mass unemployment, worsening their work and life conditions through usurping their gainings, weakening their organization capability, developing the culture of bourgeois competition among the workers, mass expropriation of petty and middle peasantry, declination of rural population with a high speed against the urban population, devastation of city petty bourgeoisie, widening of the working classes ranks, expansion and exacerbation of the antagonism of rich-poor in the cities.

Expropriation in the rural is one of the main sources of the quantitative growth of the proletariat. Capitalist transformation of the agriculture accelerated in the era of Imperialist Globalization. The population of the world was almost doubled since 1970 until 2010 by increasing from 3 billion 685 million to 6 billion 924 million. In the same period, while the rural population increased approximately 1,5 times by rising from 2 billion 329 million up to 3 billion 347 million; the urban population grew more than 2,5 times by rising from 1 billion 340 million to 3 billion 522 million. In another words, the rural population which was constituting 63.47 percent of the world population in 1970, receded to 48.52 percent in 2010. And the urban population increased from 36.53 percent to 51.48 percent respectively.

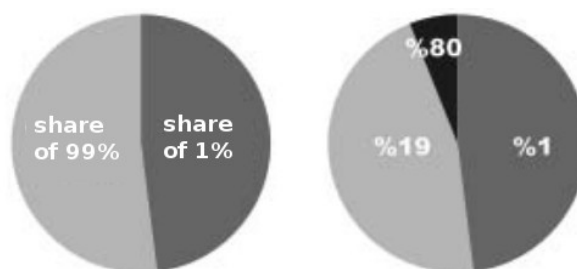
Again, the total number of working in the agriculture declined from 37.9 percent to 30.6 percent between the years of 2000 and 2010. This rates even fell down to 5.2 percent for OECD countries, 1.6 percent for USA and Germany and 1.2 percent for England.

Capitalist transformation of the rural and the devastation process of the laboring peasantry cause its wide masses to throng to the cities due to expropriation. At the same time, these bring the laboring peasants to confront directly with the imperialist capitalist world order, big capitalist companies and in most cases with the world monopolies. The fact that all of the required products to sustain the agricultural production from seeds to manure are included in the relation of dependence on the monopolies, is one side of it. Another problem is the ravaging of nature and life areas through countless forms like energy supplying, naturally harmful mining

and processing, spoiling the agricultural fields with bio-fuel etc. production and making them unusable for the production of other crops. Almost all the peasant riots in the last decades unfolded in these two axes.

These phenomena, unequivocally canalize the rural poor to the ranks of proletariat by melting them and also strengthen the basis of other stratas' tying their interests with the interest of proletariat through confronting them with the capital order. Rural petty bourgeoisie and rural poor weakened quantitatively and the objective conditions for them to wage a struggle with an independent program also politically weakened as a result of the rural social life's binding to the imperialist capitalist order. They have become more inclined than in any other period to be an ally of the struggle led by the proletariat.

An expropriation process with a similar scale is also experienced in the cities. It happens through the centralization of the capital and its accumulation in fewer and fewer hands, and even through the wrecking of the middle sized enterprises. Mass bankruptcies are especially denser in the periods of crisis. Countless small business become the attachments of the big monopolies, their production is dependent on it.



*The share of the richest 1% in the world wealth increased to 48%. Other 46% of it goes to the richest 20%. The rest 80% only takes the 5.5%. (Oxfam, 2014)*

The result is individual laborers' and small business owners' closing up to the working class in the cities, whose life conditions are no longer different than workers due to the devastation and proletarianization of small property owners.

### **Industrial Proletariat**

As the productivity of the labor progresses, the number of industrial workers has the tendency to decrease. New production technologies and tools, advanced machines provide the conditions which the work done by twenty workers in the past can be done now by one worker. Correspondingly, as the manual labor is losing its

importance, the importance of mental labor increases. It has always been like that throughout the whole history of society, but it has become more distinctive in the capitalist society in which the escalation speed of labor productivity has gained a great acceleration. The weakening of the return of the accumulated capital to the expanded reproduction also strengthens the tendency of decrease in the number of industrial workers.

Along with that, despite the decrease in the escalation rate, industrial proletariat has grown in number and in quantitative rate.

The tendency of increasing the volume of production for higher profit mass in order to guarantee the maximum profit which is the basic purpose of the capitalist production, cause the diversifying of the production of the material commodities and the increase of the number of industry workers.

Yesterday, under the circumstances in which the world market was constituted of the sum of the single capitalist markets, the data from Europe and North America which were leading the imperialist world order was carrying the feature of crystallized examples of the general one. However, their evaluation must be based on the wholeness and multi-directionality of the international conditions under the circumstances in which the world market has integrated, all the processes of realization of capital, commodity and production (contribution of labor power) have internationalized, the international division of labor has been shaped in the form of enabling the swift shifting of the capital towards the appropriate fields, especially for the labor power. Yesterday, imperialist countries were like the industrial centers of the world and the neo colonies were like the rural of the world. Today, as financial-economic colonies are gradually turning into industrial bases, imperialist countries are growing into the financial centers.

While there is a declination of the number of industrial workers either absolutely or in ratio in almost all of the developed capitalist countries, the number of working in

industry all around the world is increasing both absolutely and in ratio.

For example, in USA, the ratio of the workers in industry to the all workers decreased from 23.2 percent in 2000 to 16.7 percent in 2010. This ratio changed from 26.9 percent to 22.4 in total of OECD in the same period. On the other hand, in the same years, it increased from 22.5 percent to 28.7 in China, and from 16 percent to 22.4 in India. It rose from 21.9 percent to 26.3 in East Asia and Pacific countries, and from 21.6 percent to 24.2 all over the world.

According to ILO data, the number of people working in industry in the whole world increased from 490 million 343 thousand in 1991 to 714 million 704 thousand in 2013. The working population on the other hand rose up from 2 billion 258 million 247 thousand to 3 billion 102 million 558 thousand. (The data covers only a section of working and non-registered ones.)

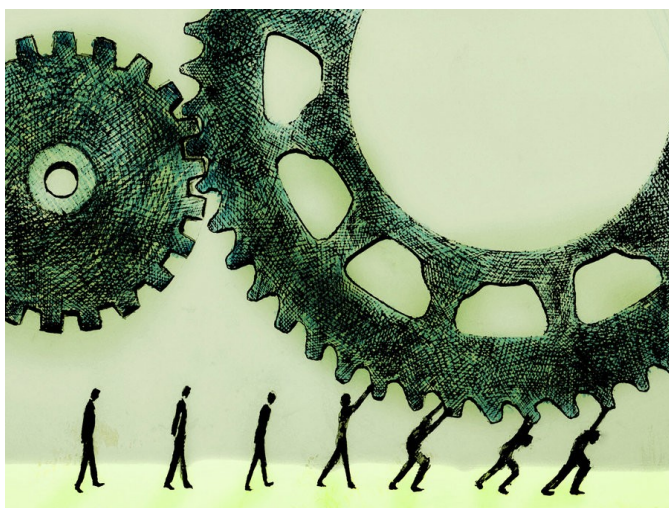
Moreover, if one way to secure the maximized profit is to expand the volume of production for higher masses of profit, the other one is the tendency of raising the absolute and relative surplus value for higher rate of profit. This is a tendency which slows down the development of technology. Today mankind reached the scientific-technological expertness level which can provide the same amount of production of the needed material commodities with much less time of working for everyone. However, the capital tends towards the mode of production by which it can exploit the labor power in the wildest way in order to keep its rate of profit high. The gravity of the industrial production slides from the technology condensed imperialist centers to the labor condensed regions which have extremely long working hours and extremely cheap labor conditions. And this affects the declination trend of the industry proletariat adversely.

The transformation process of neo colonies into financial-economic colonies is the primary assurance of this flow. Thus, while science, technology and mental laboring oriented production fields are augmenting in the imperialist centers, this development is relatively slow in the financial-economic colonies.

### ***Expansion of Extent of Proletariat***

The proletariat is also expanding regarding the extent of wage laborers it includes.

In the stage of Imperialist Globalization, countless fields from education, to health, from cleaning to various branches of art which are integrated with the entertainment sector, have turned into fields of capital investment. The production of surplus value has expanded well beyond the production of material commodity. Many works, which had been previously handled by spending from the state income in order to supply the ideological or political needs of the bourgeois



state, are now being carried out by the capitalist businesses which contribute the production of surplus value directly or indirectly. Likewise, miscellaneous services used for personal consumption which are provided either on the basis of domestic individual labor-domestic consumption or through personal income by paying others to do them are handled in the same way. Lots of laborers working in these fields are also in position of mediating the capitalist boss to take share from the surplus value. The use value of labor power is not the production of the service, but it is giving the service to the shareholders in order to grab them more value than they pay for providing this labor power. Regarding this, many work fields, such as doctors, educators, dancers, lawyers and so on, have now changed feature.

As the productivity level of the society develops, the relative status of the production of material commodities and their significance in sustaining the social life gets weaker. The needs for spiritual-mental development come to the fore. As the productivity regarding the production of the commodities increases, mental labor gets dominant and the gravity of manual labor gets weakened. The elements of consumption which the society requires, "the use values", get diversified and enriched together with both material and spiritual-mental components. One factor why lines of business defined as the service sector have gained weight is this natural result of the progress of the society and this tendency has accelerated in the stage of Imperialist Globalization. (For instance, while the poor in the developing countries share 60-80 percent of their income for food, the people from USA share less than 10 percent.)

Besides, the condensation and centralization of capital means higher level of socialization of the production and higher level of accumulation of the private property in the hands of even lesser property owners. Higher level of socialization means higher collectivization of the production, higher complexity and diversification of division of labor, distribution/division of production of a single commodity to much more stages/work fields, emergence of countless new production branches, higher binding of production branches to each other (such as mining, digital technology, mechanical engineering, transportation, agricultural product processing, computer programming) integration of them even during the production cycle of a single commodity. This division of labor is also diversified and deepened at an international level due to gaining of international feature of the realization of production process in the stage of Imperialist Globalization.

Workers gain a social character in capitalism, too. At this advancement level of today's capitalist production on the other hand, collective feature of worker has

gained an international quality by exceeding the borders of factories. For this reason, in many lines of businesses, the class position of the working is not defined by checking the situations of each worker, rather it is defined regarding the production cycle as a whole and gradually their holding positions in the capitalist world economy through the contribution of their labor power. On this basis, today, it is even more important than yesterday to set out from the "collective worker" for the definition of class position of the wage laborers.

While many researchers, focus on trying to technically lay down let's say how many percent of the teachers are proletariat, how many of them are in position of petty bourgeois officers; how many wage laborers working in the field of transportation can be defined as workers, how many of them can be in other strata or which section of sector of services can be included to which classes. They are losing sight of the essence of the matter. On contrary, the thesis claiming all the wage laborers working in these sectors constitute the working class does not represent a correct picture of the social alignment axis and the social dynamics. It prevents us from answering the strategic question of "who will win the substitutes?". These are the signs of approaching the situation of the working class with an academic interest, but not with the aim of revolution.

What is essential here, is the status of teachers as collective workers in the capital order. Throughout his/her life, a teacher's becoming a petty bourgeois officer while working at a state institute for some time and becoming a worker while working at a private institute for another period, his/her wondering from class to class, changing from one color to another is not a conclusion that a serious social analysis reaches. What is significant is not the genuine or singular things in the education field, it is the general thing which is the transformation of any kind of "education" into a service commodity, its being a subject of capital investment. And it is that the main body of the teachers are in position of workers who have to sell their labor power to live by and who take a share from the surplus value of the capitalist through this way which causes the raising of capital of the capitalists. Once it gains a general character, the price of the commodity of a teacher who gives a private education service at the capitalist's home in return of the income spent for private consumption is determined in the capitalist market. Thus, once the teachers left being a part of the state bureaucracy, the general character becomes decisive, not the positions of single workers; education is a commodity and a teacher who has nothing but his/her labor power to sell belongs to the working class, he/she works here today, and there tomorrow.

Engineers, lawyers, nurses, doctors, literature authors who are being absorbed by the entertainment sector

turning into a great investment-profitability field, artists, scientists and researchers, mental laborers from different professions have been included in the labor-capital relation through leaving being individual laborers.

A class decomposition has taken place among the working as this kind; while a small section who are binding their class interests and fates to the fate of world monopolist bourgeoisie in the form of representatives of state bureaucracy, company managers and etc., wage laborers in general are filling the ranks of working class and expanding its social base.

Hence, as the wide segments of wage laborers are getting proletarian, transitivity between the other oppressed-laboring stratas and the working class has increased including the segments of wage laborers who can not be defined in the proletariat. And the interests of these segments are also tied to the proletariat. Even though the transformation in the consciousness follows the transformation of the life conditions and the social relations from behind, the trend of narrowing-closing of the differences has escalated.

For the student youth, paid education, unemployment after graduation, internship exploitation, being a cheap educated labor power after school, severe anxiety for the future have become generalized. Education has no longer been an opportunity of separating one's fate from working class, from the poor and approaching the upper classes. The student youth has objectively got closer to the working class because of both prevalence of directly taking place in the work/production and narrowing of possibilities and dreams of a different future.

All of these are also feeding the intellectual accumulation, the development of political and social struggle and the leadership skill.

### ***Chronic Mass Unemployment***

In spite of great amount of accumulation of capital, constant declination of average profit rates causes increasing detachment of financial capital from the production and flow to the speculative field in the era of Imperialist Globalization. World monopolies and international monopolies tend much more to the speculative field than flowing to the expanded reproduction and the constant capital investments.

Because of this, even though the dissolving of the small property owners of the rural and urban has been accelerating, ever widening segments of the society have nothing left but their labor power to sell for living by, the speed of employment does not gear up with the same rate. The increase in the labor productivity also feeds this.

This situation causes the unemployment and poverty to be chronic, it causes the emergence of the phenomenon of chronic-mass unemployment. Thus, firstly, there occur the mass of long-term, short-term unemployed as a fixed component of the working class and the ranks of proletariat.

### ***Regression in the Class Gains and in the Organization Capability of the Class***

The stage of Imperialist Globalization means the conditions of frantic attacks to all the gained rights of the working class.



Depending on the raising of the organic composition of capital, due to the decreasing of profitability in the process of expanded reproduction of capital, big capital entered into the path of balancing the decrease of profits by intensifying the exploitation of the absolute surplus value, instead of balancing it by developing technological investments. As a result of this, the general level of the wages was pulled down, social rights were scythed down, worker aristocracy started to lose its former privileges. Extension of work day, decrease in real wages, deletion of insurance and any kinds of employment guarantee, flexible working, subcontracting, weakening of the trade union organizations and usurpation of the union rights are spread on a worldwide scale.

New type of organization of capitalist production at the international level is one of the factors of this situation.

Chronic mass unemployment is among the main factors conditioning the fear of unemployment and acceding of the workers with this fear, even competing with each other for being exploited under the heaviest circumstances.

The economic and political barriers in front of the international circulation of labor power give rise to the conditions of accumulation of drastically cheap labor power in specific countries or specific industry regions, in competition for working under the severest exploitation circumstances, without any kind of social or union rights and in a reachable position by the world monopolies and the international monopolies whenever they need this cheap labor power.

Liquidation and transfer of the old factories, reactionary political conditions and the problems about politic

subject accompanying the stage of Imperialist Globalization have weakened the possibilities of delivering the experiences of the working class struggle from generation to generation. Very wide, young masses of workers lack of experiences of organizing, trade union and political struggle of the former generation have opened to the exploitation of world monopolies in different countries with totally different conditions from yesterday, either as subcontracted or without any employment guarantee. This situation also conditions a spontaneous development of a working youth struggle detached from the previous generation in regard of their demands and qualities.

Quality circles, conditions like gathering of workers assigned by many subcontractor bosses with different contracts in the same production band are provoking the competition within the working class and tearing the class consciousness and identity apart. They are creating alienation and objectively preventing the solidarity and the common struggle.

Traditional trade unions can not be a reply to new conditions due to both the incompatibility of their current organizational structures with the formation of today's production and labor power, and their political/class related stances. The European and North American trade unions became a part of ideological, social, military and economical organization of the cold war after the 2. Re-division War. They became carriers of the ideological discourses like "anti-totalitarianism" and the "Hitler-Stalin theory". They behaved like a council of settlement between the bourgeoisie and worker's aristocracy. They were in a position of a direct tool of bourgeois politics and were shaped according to



the limited role undertaken in order to take part in distributing the social investments of social state, as if they were a kind of “trade union for services”. These were the main problems of these trade unions on the basis of the gainings of working class. Liquidation of the social state and the economic, political, social arrangements after the cold war just removed the basis under the feet of these kind of trade unions. Collaborative trade union organizations which functioned as means of class reconciliation did not have a different situation in other countries. Collaborative trade unions are desiring to overcome the congestion they went into and generate tons of words about the new kinds of trade union models. However, they want to do that by keeping their current positions, even for actually keeping this positions. For example, they act to sustain their status under conditions of subcontracting instead of struggling for pushing it back, they tend to organize on a limited scale among the unemployed and preserve their conditions and privileges instead of organizing struggles against dismissals.

Since 1970 until 2003, the rate of workers organized in trade unions decreased from 23,5 percent to 12,4 in USA, from 31,6 percent to 28,4 in Canada, from 35,1 percent to 19,7 in Japan and from 32 percent to 22.6 in Germany.

Fragmentation of work processes, subcontracting, employing conditions in tens of different statuses and with different contracts are liquidating the basis for physical gathering like the kinds of gathering used to be. While the workers, each one of whom are working for a different subcontractor, are gathering with a deeper alienation around the same machine in big factories, factories, too, are fragmenting to countless countries and countless establishments. On the other hand, workplaces are composing on a new level and taking the form of organized industrial sites or worker's basins. Organizing

based on the current sectoral orders and current workplace rules, and getting legal authorization, in other words a trade union grow framed by the current laws becomes impossible under these conditions. The usurpation of current union rights, the frameworks of today's legal trade unions as their non-usurped state, are also inappropriate for union struggle.

Practical legitimate militant struggle is taking place as the main axis of the economical union struggles of the working class which have the tendency to politicize more quickly or develop directly as political struggles today. Base initiatives, strikes in basins and organized sites, searches for organizing shaped on this axis, neighborhood assemblies, base trade unions organized on basis of common employees and practical legitimate resistances for getting legal status for new kinds of organizations of these are representing the progressing new tendency.

### ***Labor of Women***

While the joining of women labor to the social production in the imperialist centers has increased linearly from the inequality conditions and got close to the line of equality quantitatively, the labor of women and children in the financial-economic colonies is attending to the capitalist production as the cheapest labor power with slavery conditions. Such that, there returned to the conditions of cruel exploitation like before the protection laws had been passed.

The bodies of women have turned into a field of capital investment, trade of children started to be monopolized and reached large scales.

Feminist reform programs within the framework of bourgeois order have reached their logical boundaries. The boundaries of women liberation have become apparent within the order of capital.



Imperialist Globalization also means limitless authorization right on the labor and body of women and children. The liberation struggle of the oppressed women masses under these circumstances tends to be more inclined to integrate with the struggle of working class against the exploitive capitalist order and to sharpen this struggle.

### ***Strengthening of the International Character of the Proletariat***

Production processes have gained an international feature with all of its phases in the stage of Imperialist Globalization. There is no way of limiting the struggles and organizations of proletariat within the national borders under these circumstances. The basis of an international identity of the proletariat has strengthened.

The activities of world monopolies and international monopolies are gathering the workers from different countries together under the production chain of same commodity. The production of Honda or Nokia branded products is being carried out in a world factory whose single cells are spread to countless countries. This situation is weakening the physical conditions of class identity, consciousness and common struggle, but on the other hand, it is empowering the interaction conditions of international struggle and organizing.

Moreover, the development level of communication technologies are strengthening the possibilities of interaction of the working class and the oppressed all over the world. "Consciousness" and "experiment" are no longer matters of local conditions and become extremely more open to the effects and shaping of

international base. This puts itself forward for all the confrontations of boss-worker, oppressor-oppressed and rich-poor.

Today's internationalization level of production, circulation of capital and commodity, wide scale opening of rural from financial-economic colonies to monopolies, thickening of national borders in order to keep the cheap labor power in specific pools are increasing the trend of labor migration. This results in acquiring of working class in the migrated centers to be multinational and have multi-identity. This transition conditions that migrant workers are getting more direct and closer relations with the class struggles in the imperialist metropolises and vice-versa the class struggles of the imperialist countries with the political and social struggles of the countries where they migrated from. Besides, it also strengthens the objective basis of binding of oppressed migrant workers and laborers to the fate of working class.

Capital's waging its attacks to the working class and other oppressed through regional unions and integrations is empowering the conditions of regional struggles.

"Centralization of capital on an international scale, raising of organization of production process to an international level inevitably matures the conditions of turning revolutions of single countries into regional revolutions and waves of world revolution. These strengthen the possibility of simultaneous revolutions in couple of countries or revolutions as triggering each other."

### ***Proletariat and Its Allies***

There are multiple reasons why the democratic tasks of proletariat have been more entangled with its socialist tasks or why the anti-capitalist struggle has been more integrated with the anti-imperialist struggle. There is no economical and political conditions left for a relatively stable independent capitalist development. Bourgeoisie has lost its tactical flexibility against the working class and other oppressed. Conditions for social settlement have gone weaker and even the most regressive political programs of bourgeois reformism can not find any applying field. As it can be seen in the example of Syriza, even the tiniest reforms are kept under attack of imperialist bourgeoisie and under the threats of harshest embargo and wildest aggression. The margin of bourgeoisie about even the most limited concessions has extremely narrowed.

Ravaging of nature and life areas has grown threatening for the existence of humanity in both cities and rural. The contradiction of capitalism with the nature has turned into one of the main axes of the social and political struggle.

The quantitative and qualitative development level of working class does not mean the extinction of other



laboring classes and the whole laboring population has proletarianized. Yet, while the social basis of working class is expanding, the social basis of bourgeoisie is narrowing. Laborers of services, self-employed professionals are aligning at the pole of proletariat, not as “new or old middle classes”. With all these developments, the ability of liability of proletariat, whose position as the decisive force producing material commodities has become more apparent, gains a much clearer appearance as the most consistent defender of all oppressed sections against all kinds of political-economical suppression, exploitation and plundering of capitalism.

Since other laboring classes and stratas have lost their decisive roles in capitalist economy, conditions for applying bourgeois reformist projects and their raising of an independent revolutionary program have weakened. They have narrowed in number and teemed with the working class in terms of life conditions, thus their transitivity to working class has increased. Power of proletariat for managing and unifying them under its own political program against capitalism has improved. That means non-proletarian oppressed and exploited laboring stratas have got closer to each other, the proletarian and toiling character of the struggle has become more distinctive.

Hopelessness for the future is growing enormously among the ranks of all exploited and oppressed classes and stratas except for the ruling class. Students' hope for building a different life through education falls away, women's liberation struggle standing up to the limits of reforms, peasants resisting against expropriation and threatening of their life conditions due to the devastation of natural environment, people of dependent small countries whose poverty and misery are multiplied by the oppression of Imperialist Globalization, colonized people whose regional seeking is developed depending on the narrowing of the basis of national independence program, immigrants uprising against outsiderdom and poverty, oppressed religious sects and national communities which are blamed for the reason of impoverishment and unemployment in order to weaken the tendency of common struggle of the oppressed, lgbtis who are at the bottom of the gender oppression pyramid, intellectuals, artists, scientists whose creative labor is stuck in between the economical pressure of monopolies and the political pressure of states, self-employed professionals who lose their opportunity to obtain better life conditions by leaning on their own individual labor are all coming together in countless riots and resistances.



# The Women's Revolution

## *The Patriarchal Order of Capital*

We will not go into the historical background of this topic. The story is already known. Through the emergence of private property, women's slavery has begun, and in every form of class society, it has merged with the respective social form, materializing itself in the institutions of the respective ruling class and thus continued ...

In capitalism, unlike the previous class societies, the following conditions finally arose in connection with social gender, patriarchy and women's liberation:

1) In capitalism, production has become socialized, and without exception, all social relations between the various classes and strata have been built up according to a socialized scale. This also means that the male power of disposition in the capitalist order socializes over the work and body of the woman, no matter what class and social strata she belongs to.

Besides the rule of man, which is institutionalized on the basis of the bourgeois family, in capitalism women are both a 'worker' commodity, as well as sexual object. Just as the woman is suppressed as a laboring housewife, the woman's body became a commodity and a general

capital investment area. Not only the body of this particular woman of that particular class is commercialized, the female body became a common capital investment area as a whole.

The male sex suppresses the female sex on a social scale. In other words, all men oppress all women. That this ratio of oppression and being oppressed between the sexes is fully realized in a socialized way does not mean that the oppressed men, who are exploited by the capitalist order, are not or can not be part of the patriarchal order, and that women who belong to the ruling class in the capitalist order, are not sexually repressed.

2) Just as in the previous class societies, patriarchy in capitalism was taken over by the previous social order and merged with the capitalist order and its institutions. But unlike the previous forms, this unity is contradictory from the beginning.

Like the previous class societies, the economic, political and military institutions (family, school, judiciary, bureaucracy, military, monopoly, corporation, etc.) are at the same time the institutions of patriarchy. Patriarchy is maintained with the help of these institutions. On the



other hand, the fundamental contradiction of capitalism also continues with the social gender division.

This fundamental contradiction is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of property, and while the one end of this contradiction constantly pushes the woman as producer, consumer, and commodity into social life, the other end pulls her constantly out of the social life, into the house. While bourgeoisie, on the one hand, maintains domestic dependence and even refrains from strengthening it, on the other hand, it pulls the woman out of the house as a worker or as a result of physical exploitation. Overall, this situation leads to strengthening the objective and subjective conditions for the abolition of patriarchy.

3) In contrast to the previous class societies, it happened that women, not all at once, but in the course of capitalism and because of the great pressure of women's struggle for freedom, no longer "belong" to a class, they became "members" of it. Even the wives of kings and sultans in slavery and feudal society, like the women of the ruling class as a whole, were not class members; they belonged to the class. They did not enjoy the privileges of the ruling class as part of the ruling class, but as the goods belonging to them.

So they could not lead independent existence for themselves. The participation in the production of the proletarian woman, who sells her labor as an individual, the changes in hereditary and property laws for the bourgeois woman and the totality of the conditions for all women have meant that they no longer belong to a class but became members of a class. This basis has turned women into female individuals and created the conditions for gaining a collective existence based on gender consciousness.

4) This direct form of class differences within the female gender leads to the emergence of new alliances and alliance possibilities, new antagonisms and non-antagonistic contradictions between the oppressive and oppressed sex, as well as the exploitative and exploited class.

This special form of class division in the oppressed gender and gender division in the class on the one hand divides the female and male gender like the bourgeoisie and proletariat politically, but on another hand it forces them to political unification.

The parts of the women's gender who acquire private property and become part of the bourgeois class behave no differently than the bourgeois man. The woman has no "natural spirit," no barrier, or anything else that could stop her from that. Finally, the woman who owns private property alienates from her own gender and becomes part of the patriarchal, capitalist order.

Also the male gender is not homogeneous. The fate of a part of men unites with the freedom struggle of the women, who are sexually suppressed by him, on the basis of class brotherliness or as an alliance force (and because the oppressed man alienates and antagonizes on a class basis to the rulers with his same sex).

### ***Patriarchy As the Material Power of Men***

The patriarchy is not only a mentality that opposes the political struggles of women and the individual liberation actions of women. It opposes them as a concrete material power. It is not devoid of a body, a form, an institution, an organization or any material existence. It is material, it has a form, like in any system of rule, the first thing to destroy is that element.

Bourgeois rule is a patriarchal rule and today's patriarchal rule is a bourgeois rule. Since the freedom of women is not a formless substance in the universe, it will destroy patriarchy in its present form and that will inevitably lead to the destruction of bourgeois rule. All forms of sexual oppression and exploitation of women in capitalist society are embodied in the following material social existence: in the waged slavery of the woman outside and inside the house, in unpaid slavery inside and outside of the house, or in the fact that she becomes property and is turned into a commodity.

Both her work and all other forms of man's power over her body, all her manifestations, are embodied in the material existence of patriarchy, the men's economy, political rule, and bourgeois institutions, which are realized with the help of them. These appearances also include the exploitation of the housework of women by patriarchy, whether by man or bourgeoisie, as well as the appropriation of the female body by individual men or capital, or the exploitation of women as cheap labor in social production and the force which is used (violence, enslavement through sexual and physical attacks, the suppression of individual and organized/social liberation struggles).

Of course, the individual reactionary actions of men and the oppression and domination over the woman belong to the material existence of patriarchy. Also the relations of domination which the men of the oppressed class build with the woman, the violence and the reactionary compulsion they inflict on them as soon as this rule is threatened, belong to the patriarchal order and are just as material. To put it briefly, the bourgeois family, the husband and father's institutions are among the institutional structures of patriarchy. If the individual actions of men were not part of the total rule of man and also not supported by their power institutions; if the state apparatus were not institutionalized as police, army, justice system and even ideological apparatus; if military apparatuses and justice system as protector of reactionary male violence were not stood up against all the individual or organized resistances of women, then

the material basis of individual men's actions to maintain this rule would be absent, and we would only need to fight for the mentality. As long as these institutional foundations are in place, they support the individual male actions and male domination with marriage, divorce, violence and sexual assault.

As long as the material foundations of patriarchy have not been abolished, no sexless society can arise (let us speak of sexless in a biological or political sense).

For this reason, the women's struggle for freedom must plunge itself onto the social material foundations of patriarchy. The struggle for the destruction of a material power has to be also equally material with its organization, its politics, the mass force and the mass line. The weakening of the patriarchal mentality, the change of social norms and similar goals can only be realized with such a material struggle. Unless it is combined with such a material struggle, nothing is achieved but empty phrases.

Now that the material rule of patriarchy has merged with bourgeois rule, even the struggle, which itself is only in search for a genderless society without gender discrimination and only in search of women's liberation (and LGBTI liberation), overlaps with the revolutionary path of the proletariat.

### ***The Extent of Social Gender Politics***

The extent of a policy of social gender contradiction thematically influences (by altering, deepening or weakening, reversing it etc.) on the relationship between the oppressed-directed woman and the oppressor-director man.

The program of patriarchy searches naturally a most profitable and painless way to maintain this relationship between oppressing and being oppressed. In the various nuanced programs of patriarchy (Imperialist Globalization, various nationalist-anti-globalist programs, political-Islamic or fascist programs, etc.), its relation to social gender contradiction comes up with this content. The place the woman takes in the laws, marriage, divorce and population policy, housework, exploitation of women in various fields, the power of disposition over the woman's body, and other issues are based on this foundation.

The women's liberation programs can basically be divided into two.

Evolutionary programs seek to facilitate this relationship, to gain positions for women, to create various living spaces and political spaces for women. With these acquired positions they try to dampen the patriarchy in different variations strike by strike. The main representatives of this policy, with all their currents are the feminists.



A revolutionary program pursues to abolish the relation of repressing and being suppressed, ruling and being ruled between women and men, on the shortest path. The representatives of this program are the communists.

The gender struggles are conducted individually, locally, generally, consciously, spontaneously etc. in countless forms and locations around these programs.

### ***The Patriarchal Critique of Feminism***

A lot has been said about the differences in women's liberation of feminists and communists, from both sides and also from uninvolved third parties.

For dozens of years the working left parties worldwide, especially those who have a Marxist claim, have said on average, or rather memorized the following about the fundamental differences between feminists and communists: *"Feminists do not see the problem in the classes, they see the problem in the man"*.

So if the feminists already see the problem in the man, then you have to accept that they have recognized the problem correctly. If the feminists see the problem in the man, but the communists can not recognize this, that means that the communists do not see the problem.

There is an exploitative and repressive mechanism you call patriarchy, but the problem shall not be the man!? This theory is like a bad film that just stops at the most exciting point, without clearing up the matter! According to this thesis, the problem in theory is the man, but in practice it should be a "capital order" "out-of-genders", which is not embodied in the sexes. So, according to your idea, there should be a social order in which men are not men, but the capital order is. But the women should remain women, moreover they are obliged to organize their gender to fight. The concrete women are, according to this definition, women and are problems, but concrete men are neither men nor problems!

This idealistic definition of maleness, according to which the man is "another spirit than his matter," is still presented as the most materialistic of all theories.

It is just as if you tell the proletariat that "the problem is not the bourgeoisie, the bosses in particular, the problem is class society and private property." It is also like preventing the proletariat from fighting against individual bosses, against the economic and political institutional structures of the bourgeoisie and thereby separating them from daily political and economic struggles, leaving them without tactics and politics, without action, and like to mobilize for a revolution, which should be realized sometime in the future unclear in any form.

Here the "social" definition of the problem, instead of the biological, is not given the women as a weapon but the man as a defense shield. As a result, the woman faces the patriarchy in a hostile and unarmed manner.

Instead she is de-facto invited to fight the enemy of men with the weapons of men.

What convinced the communist women about that? What has brought the communists as a whole, dozens of years, to repeat this empty phrase by heart? Of course, this is a patriarchal definition of feminism and the revelation of a patriarchal understanding in the communist ranks. But in addition to the male communists who claim this, one must also target the communist women who "manage" to be convinced and reproduce this. The subjects should understand their subjectivity. In short, the communists have to make a revolutionary criticism of the theory and practice of their own attitude.

Of course the man is the problem! The problem of patriarchal order is manhood. When the abolition of social gender equality was formulated as a "women's issue" at that time, it has been a progressive policy and has served to see the unseen. To apply this formulation today and to stick it for 150 years after it has already fulfilled its revolutionary function is torture! After 150 years, still not reaching the point to say "the problem of patriarchy is manhood" is nothing else than the courageous resistance (!) of men in the revolutionary ranks for every patch of ground under their feet, isn't it? Is it anything else than the consequence of women's indecision to go their own way?

There can not be a women's liberation program without problematizing men. This eclectic approach makes communist women embarrassed and uncertain about feminism and communism.

Yes, this is nothing but an eclectic approach and empty chatter. Politically, it leads to nothing else than that the communist women remain disorganized and that women's liberation program remains without politics.

The communist women's freedom program and its perspective problematizes individual men, group by group, strata by strata, class by class, including the male gender, as well as manhood, and the material social existence of patriarchy, as well as its institutional structure (on what basis with which of these problematized material forces to relate is discussed below). In theory and in the accumulated practical experiences, there is countless evidence and presuppositions of this very revolutionary reality of communism concerning women's liberation, but this heritage was not valued productively. These were not used but instead framed and hung on the wall. Therefore, the communists couldn't deepen and evaluate their own revolutionary potential.

The fact that feminists do not look at the problem from the class perspective is equally empty chatter. Many feminist currents that look at the problem from the class perspective have not gone beyond the practice of those parts that are not class based, and that's not really what

matters. What matters is what expectation in the name of the class on what basis is imposed on the feminists. Feminists see their own reason of existence in women's liberation and accusing them that they are not going beyond it, is to fool around. Just as one can not base revolutionary criticism on national liberation organizations on whether they are Marxists or not. As well as the futile efforts to claim to have a more advanced program for the class without developing an even more advanced practice and an even more advanced revolutionary program for the nation. Especially because the gender issue is much older than the national question. On top of that, since the gender issue is both older and longer living, it is more comparable to the class struggle rather than the national struggle. From that perspective, using this method is all the more ridiculous and meaningless for the gender issue.

If we compare these two women's liberation programs and from this comparison hope for meaningful political outcomes, the question is which of these two programs is capable and appropriate for the goal of women's liberation. It is pointless to condemn the women's liberation program of feminists for its ability of class liberation. Putting the communist women's liberation program ahead of it regarding their class struggle abilities is equally pointless.

Otherwise, the consciousness of the communist women and all communists, just like the content of what the communists tell the masses, turns in practice to this absurd crooked result (or the perspective summarized above would leave the following traces in the consciousness of the vanguard and the masses):

Actually, feminism is capable of women's liberation. But for the class, for the liberation of the class, we will renounce the benefits of feminism.

Communism would be a minus quality from the point of view of the women's liberation struggle with this equation. But that's not right. A woman who is not at least as angry with the innumerable manifestations of patriarchy as feminists must question her gender consciousness as well as her communism. The criticism of communism in feminism must not focus on the fact that it brings no liberation of the class, but not achieve the liberation of women and in the alliance policy with feminist currents, the ideological struggle must be based on this.

If feminism problematizes men, but communism does not, if gender in feminism were the two poles that the class represents in communism, then to be honest, one would have to ask communist women what exactly they are looking for in the ranks of communists. If you're already suppressed with your two identities, why are you preferring one of the others!? If communism is not a more advanced (and realistic!) women's liberation

program than feminism and can not present it, and, moreover, if communism wouldn't be the only revolutionary program for the liberation of women, why should women join the ranks of communism? Why should she prefer oppression as a class of sexual oppression? And why should daily rape be less important than daily poverty?

Such a comparison between communism and feminism does not go beyond the horizon of the "sad marriage between Marxism and feminism" appropriately described by Hartmann. This wrong and eclectic definition of patriarchy, in which communist women fall between two stools, will not clear the way for communist women but will blur it. In the first place, it will not even produce a continuous, political struggle, or political tactics to a minimum. Because of this expression of the bourgeois understanding that tears women apart between social production and domestic slavery, women are forced to an artificial choice in the conflict between class and gender, that is to say, the pressure of representing a schizophrenic ideological position and damages political productivity as well as the legitimacy consciousness.

The obvious reason why the arguments of women's liberation in theory, in which men and patriarchal understanding dominate, remain so withered and limited to feminism, is the right and revolutionary effort to convince women, rather than feminism, of communism, but to call them at the same time under the guidance of the men, which thereby becomes blurry and out of focus. If you can not build up the resources of women's leaderization, this meeting will be realized in practiced, with all its retrogressive manifestations, understanding problems, and weaknesses in action under the leadership of men.

### ***Revolutionary Critique of Feminism(s)***

Innumerable currents of feminism have various social analyzes and statements regarding the "root cause of the problem". Of course, these analyzes produce various political programs, current struggles, tactics, and forms of organization. To take each one individually would not fulfill the purpose of this text. That is why we will be content with a rough summary.

We can divide feminist programs into three groups: reformist programs, utopian programs, and program criticism / programlessness.

Feminism, which has developed as a political women's mass movement (in the first wave predominantly demands in the fight for the right to vote, in the second wave to the policy of abortion and the body) has fulfilled part of these reform struggles. The women of the expropriated class were not able to benefit from one part of this successes, but some part of it were. But the totality of these struggles meant important political and

ideological positions for the female sex and for all women.

The problem is that feminism couldn't connect all these successful or unsuccessful reform battles to a revolutionary program that ends patriarchy. In times in which it develops as a political mass movement, it can not build any relationship to simultaneously occurring revolutionary struggles. As a result, feminism has become more and more detached from politics and developed from reformist programs (and non-revolutionary politics) to utopian programs (and non-political revolutions).

This slippage and utopia was inevitable, because with the new gains in the bourgeois order, liberation of the women within the bourgeois order comes to its limits and the bourgeois program for the liberation of women ended, so did the women's policy that did not want to destroy the bourgeois order. Utopias have taken the place of current politics.

The utopian feminism has emerged with some tendencies (in many situations it has included them all). The anarchist versions of feminism (or the feminist versions of anarchy) have the perspective of communities without society in form of ideological-intellectual working groups that have broken away from the political mass movement of women. Within utopian orientations, the most likely program to consider are programs that seek to neutralize or annihilate the biological sex. This program was the logical conclusion of feminism and the closest to a revolutionary feminist program, as well as to a realistic feminist program. But this perspective does not manage to clarify how the rule of science and technology can be taken away from men or socialized in such a way that not only a privileged section of women, but all women can benefit from it. It does not find no echo in the form of a current political movement. Not even intellectually could it free itself from being evolutionary.

While utopian programs correspond to being without politics all by itself, postmodern feminists have emerged

in many forms that have fallen even deeper than the utopia of the program, standing for complete programlessness, denying the need for the program, and praising programlessness in overwhelming numbers. These currents do not have the claim of a material revolution anyway, but they have found a basis of politicization as a new intellectual and activist dynamic of gender struggle, with the LGBTI movement as their means, which emerged as a fresh social force. With this it can play a concrete practical, progressive role.

The most progressive programmatic formulation of feminism is the women's revolution that emerged in the period when feminism was the most politicized and reached its own masses the most. But the material way, against whom, with whom and with what means this women's revolution can be realized, was not cleared up and that was not seen as a problem either. For this reason, both women's revolution and patriarchy were again used only in an idealistic way and in abstract expressions as a "spirit out of matter".

Just as the patriarchal line of criticism described above separates patriarchy from men and "men's matter", feminism equally separates patriarchy from its structural-institutional existence, its "ruling-matter", abstracts and spiritualizes it. The lack of politics in the women's question of freedom becomes the common base that brings the two opposing approaches together in the final analysis.

If it does not merge with the "criticism of weapons", if it loses the will to join the masses of women which are the social basis of the patriarchal attacks, if an abstract "opposition of power" is developed instead of a power-destroying struggle, if it falls in the state of becoming reserve for the continuation of the men's rule through identifying power with "manhood" and theorizing powerlessness of the woman; in short, if the women liberation is getting detached from its own mass basis which has a concrete existence, from the goal of destroying the material existence of male rule, and from their alliance potentials which are also material existences, if it is degraded to a war of mentality without having neither determined forces nor determined goals, even the most destructive criticisms of manhood and patriarchy will lose its ability to even bleed the patriarchy's nose. The entire destructive accumulation of feminist criticism of men can only turn to a weapon without blanks in the hands of the communists.

For this reason, communists have some differences in the definition of the "problem" with each of these feminist currents. With some, on the other hand, there is no very essential distinction from this point of view. The most fundamental difference between communists and feminists does not lay in the definition of the "problem" but in the definition of the "solution".



The essential difference between the communist and feminist programs does not lie in the problematization of the man, not even in the struggle against men and patriarchy, but in the quality of the struggle against men and patriarchy.

The women's freedom program of the feminists is evolutionary with all its currents (from socialist feminists to political lesbians) and with all its political orientations. It does not seek a struggle that attacks the material rule of patriarchy. Any fight experience of the feminists, including the struggles in which individual men were targeted, can be appropriated and practiced by the communists. Almost every attack against this or that institution of patriarchy can be appropriated. Any change they demand in the patriarchal laws can play a progressive role. The main frame of what they have stated in the critique of manhood, the ideological arguments they are leading in the struggle against manhood and men, can be shared by the communists. But none of the feminist currents and feminism as a whole will lead all these actions to the goal of a social revolution that overrides the material rule of patriarchy.

Feminism does not take women as social revolutionary dynamics, not as a social subject, but ultimately as an object of society. The woman is not the subject of active action, struggle and destruction (since it does not destroy, it does not build), but the opposition (in return for the action of the active subject of domination) and the protection.

### ***The Women's Revolution***

The women's revolution as half of the social revolution, is the revolutionary program of women's freedom.

As we have already explained, the abolition of patriarchy, first of all includes the destruction, dismemberment, and abolition of its fundamental material and social supports. These are the private ownership of the means of production and the political-economic structure that is based on it.

For this reason, the liquidation of the material foundation of patriarchy and the abolition of its institutional structure inevitably means the dismemberment of the bourgeois state and the liquidation of private ownership over the means of production. The women's revolution inevitably overlaps with a social revolution for the construction of socialism and socialism itself. This adventure ends only in communism. It forms itself as its fundamental element.

In other words, even if we have only the perspective of the liberation of the female sex in mind, even if all our happiness depends on the liberation of the female sex, this path leads to a social revolution, which will destroy the capitalist order and all societies with private property.

The oppressed women's gender prepares and realizes its own revolution within the social revolution of the oppressed class. In that case, this means for the social revolution of the oppressed class, that it must deliberately contain the women's revolution in order to gain power and dynamics in the fight against all remnants of private property.

But such a social revolution and the accompanying socialism do not remove the objective basis for gender differences. A new society must reach such a level of productivity that it all socializes both the functions of human reproduction (housework, childcare and care of the elderly, etc.), as well as the private property over the personal consumption products that form the basis of the accumulation of personal property within the family. Until this level is reached with the conquest of all means, the society in which the woman is the second sex continues. After women profoundly change their own situation by breaking the patriarchal capitalist order, they are in the position to continue this revolutionary attack for bringing a new society forward.

Therefore, during, before, and after the social revolution, which combines the fate of the oppressed sex with the oppressed class, the need for a concrete sexual policy and organizational line emerges, which leads to completely different socio-political tasks and organizational forms.

Compared to today, the social revolution that leads to socialism will undoubtedly have an incomparably more progressive level, even with all its first gains. It will not bring about absolute liberation, but it will pave the way to it. Therefore it is important in the flattening of this path, how much proportion women have in the power within the new social order, in which sovereignty of human over human is not yet abolished. This means that the women's own autonomous organization on the basis of their gender consciousness is a necessity (or, when we speak of a huge new social order, it is more appropriate to speak of innumerable types of autonomous organizations) so that women take part in the party, in the state, in the military and in the law and so on, both with the requisite level of quantity, and participate with her own sexual quality as a collective, social force. How much proportion one will have in the established power depends on the participation in each area of revolution as it depends on the organized production of one's material existence (that is, whether one meets the requirements for development into a leading force).

Moreover, women must take their place in this social order not only for the material guarantee of their own freedom in an organized manner, but also for the guarantee of the existence of the whole order, because women are one of the most progressive dynamics of this order, perhaps even the most progressive dynamic. For this reason, it is not sufficient for the termination of

sexual exploitation that private ownership of the means of production with the capitalist exploitation conditions is abolished. For women's freedom, they must also lift private property over consumer goods. Women are one of the dynamics that has the greatest interest in the progression of the revolution, even in socialism, and, as part of its gender identity, is most likely to become conscious of this interest on its own obtained. In other words, women are one of the most advanced revolutionary dynamics that lead socialism to communism, and the women's revolution is conducted on that basis.

### ***Allies of the Women's Revolution***

The basic strategic issue of political programs comes up. To simplify the topic, we again pose the question with the perspective of the freedom of the female sex: with which social forces women have to unite, which one do they have to back up?

In the center of the alliance question lays this question of comparing evolutionary and revolutionary programs: "Is it a revolutionary strategy that seeks to destroy, dismember, and liquidate the material foundations of patriarchy, or an evolutionary strategy that does not touch those foundations?"

In politics, one must answer force with/by force. As you seek to destroy the material rule of patriarchy, the size and quality of the forces you need and target is different. Conversely, the question of forces will be different again if you oppose patriarchy, object, change, and defend your opposition.

If your answer is the former, then the question that answers the social forces of this revolution is not "who is sexually repressed?". The question is, "Who else has an interest in liquidating the material foundations of patriarchy (these and those concrete pillars)?" If so, the revolutionary path of women's freedom will invite a part

of the men, which are in an antagonistic opposition to private property and the bourgeois political structure that protects and maintains private property, into an alliance.

If your answer is the second, following an evolutionary strategy, then the question "who is sexually repressed?" is asked. In the former case, the fundamental question will be "how to liberate", in the second case, "how to defend".

This is how women position themselves in the social revolution as the half of the revolution, according to the revolutionary strategy both as part of class and strata, and also as a gender, which has an interest in this revolution, as its own social dynamics, in the name of gender.

From the point of view of the proletarian class, the situation is as follows: the proletarian woman is part of the revolution both as part of the proletariat itself in the struggle for the liberation of its class and as its representative, but also as a gender it is an ally of the proletarian man.

This policy does not foresee social peace or sexual reconciliation between women and men, between the proletarian woman and the proletarian man, but a fighting community and a revolutionary alliance. For that reason, this does not mean that the communist woman doesn't make man a problem, just as the sexual struggle within that alliance leads from time to time to ideological struggles and from time to time to political struggles.

Even only from the perspective of the liberation of the women gender, bourgeois women are not part of the social base of the female subject, just as they are not fundamental allies, although they are also affected by sexual oppression. The basic allies are the proletarian men. But this preference does not mean that they turn their backs on their sisters, their gender sisters. In reality, this attitude means that feminism does not embark on a destructive sacrifice demanding struggle for its own sisters. Thus it prefers to stay within the limits of the bourgeois order and reconciles itself for this reason with the bourgeois man and bears thereby not even a trace of their guilt.

The other strategic allies of the women's revolution are the classes and strata allied to the social revolution.

Undoubtedly, the struggle connects to this revolutionary strategy can enter into tactical alliances with bourgeois women and political subjects represented by them in various periods, agendas and themes. If the woman represents those parts of society that have an interest in the social revolution or those, who are a potential reserve, countless tactical alliances can be entered into with political subjects representing feminist programs of evolutionary or reformist quality if we take the level of political forces (communists, feminists, different



reformist structures) from the level of social forces (social classes and strata, genders and other parts) into account. In concrete terms, feminist political subjects can become main partners of tactical alliances, even for a longer term. Moreover, some of the feminist political subjects can take a revolutionary stance within the evolving social revolutionary process, maintaining their own political existence and embarking on strategic alliances. But in the end, nothing changes in the social forces of the social revolution to which the women's revolution actually belongs.

When the social revolution has fulfilled its first and fundamental tasks, thus erects socialism, the order of social forces and the roles will change again. When the exploiting classes are liquidated and the class divisions within the female sex change, including the women alienated from their gender, the participants of these covenants and also the content of the covenants have to be rearranged.

The dual nature of the relationship between the oppressed gender and the oppressed class, as well as the being-allied and simultaneously being-part-of-it relationship, being part of a precursory social dynamic and, as a social dynamic, interacting with this dynamic, first of all expresses itself in the communist party. Of course, this dual character will not be outweighed by the scattered women individuals participating in the revolutionary ranks. This would correspond to the line

of "programlessness" within the working left in relation to the women's liberation issue. In order to produce the true revolutionary potential of the women's own political demands and her battle line, she must organizationally assure her own collective existence between being an alliance and being itself part of the class, in the organization of political subjects, in the party organizations within the communist party, in her own organization as half of the communist party and the autonomous organization. Just as other means of political struggle (clubs, trade unions, fronts, action alignments, etc.) must be disseminated, a similar answer must be given to the revolution which will be found after the social revolution. In addition, the recent struggles for women's own gender-specific demands have created and will continue to create a number of women's independent mass organizations.

### **The Role of Violence in the Women's Revolution**

In the previous forms of society or in its form within the capitalist order, the patriarchal order is an order of oppression and, like all orders of suppression, it can only survive by force of arms. Only a social revolution that destroys this order of oppression will pave the way for this armed violence by force and will answer the violence of the rulers by means of force. It is equally necessary to crush the ruling class until the material foundations of this relationship are completely removed, so that new counterrevolutionary attacks are repulsed.



The women's revolution must lead to a struggle that takes on armed forms against the patriarchal order.

The reality that the women's revolution evolves as a founder of a social revolution that shatters the capitalist order and class order can not lead to the generalization that women's participation in the mechanisms of social revolution would be sufficient.

If women relate with the means of violence in a way, that her own sexual liberation will become possible, first and foremost they have to become an active subject to ensure the overall success of the social revolution. This relationship, as well as explained above, as an involvement as a single woman, will facilitate the social revolution and objectively bring the liberation of women closer. But that's not enough. For the social revolution, in all struggles, woman must build relationship with the means of violence, an action that we call self-subjectification, with her collective identity. So she has to participate in armed struggles with her gender organization, politics and perspective. That means not to remain in the battles as a quantity of isolated women, but to contribute quality as a social force and, as a gender, sharing the obtainments of the gains of those struggles. Secondly, and perhaps until today the part where women were the most inadequate in armed forms of struggle are those actions concerned with their own organized appropriation and use of violent means in direct, woman-specific, political issues. In other words, sexual rights, violence against women, sexual assaults, and various forms of rape must become the subject of the armed forms of the women's freedom struggle, regardless of whether they are supported by patriarchal

social institutions (the patriarchal, bourgeois state and the apparatus around it), or extended arms of these patriarchal apparatuses, or civil-armed guards and reproducers of the patriarchal order.

### ***Women's Leaderization***

The double revolution against double exploitation naturally requires a double organization and a dual development as a leader.

The question of women's leaderization is in its essence and summarized means also the question of the emergence of a leadership of the women's revolution. In the wake of the social revolution, and because of the dual role of women in this revolution, one can discuss the question of women's leaderization and the emergence of leadership in the women's revolution in two interconnected levels: the question of women gender's leaderization in the social revolution and the emergence of a leadership of women's struggle. The dual character of this development as a leadership can be formulated as the "leadership of women's struggles" and "the women's leadership of social struggles". Women's leaderization must take shape in the vanguard / leading organizations and in the vanguard / leading women in the union of these two lines.

The extent of the women's leaderization requires that the emergence of the organizational and political leadership of the women's revolution, the emergence of revolutionary analysis and of such a program, as well as the ideological framework of all, at least among the main forces of the women's revolution and its most important alliance partners.





This leads to the conclusion that the woman gender must become the leader in the freedom struggle of all humanity and that means that the forces of the women's freedom struggle represent the demands and aspirations of the oppressed and exploited class and strata in the most advanced way and that she develops lively political relationships with all the issues of the social struggle.

The historical accumulations of a political - organizational - ideological leadership and its means, include various forms of organizations, various means from the quota system to equal representation, as well as the life practice and contributions of individual women leaders. The current formation of the women's leaderization will also move forward with these gains.

Women's leaderization can only be realized as a collective act of self-subjectification and on the basis of a collective gender consciousness. Of course, this practice of leadership will also concretize with individuals. The female sex has already produced leaders and will continue to produce them.

But that will not cast a shadow over the collective quality of leadership. If the woman does not become a leader as a female gender, then as an individual she does not become a leader on the basis of her own identity and, on top of that, a leadership practice which does not rely on one's own social basis can not spread. Of course, although the leadership practice of individual women, while developing as isolated actions of individuals, is undoubtedly an achievement on behalf of all women, developing a woman into a leader in this way is in reality similar to "the effort to change the system by keeping a good position in the system". There will be a lack of continuity and system.

Women's leaderization, like every leadership practice, develops the struggle they want to lead. Individual leaders, as well as organized leaders, must focus on the development of women's organization, the women's liberation struggle and their policies, and not on their own development, including the leading of her own revolutionary development.

Women's leaderization involves the appreciation and defense of the positions gained on behalf of the women. For this reason, participation in the practice of women's leadership must also be concretized in the appreciation of one's own leadership practices (the practice as an individual, organization, or as a specific group) and in their political defense action.

### ***Struggle For Reforms and Political Mass Movement***

The women's revolution is half of the social revolution. As such, it must identify itself within the current struggles as a political mass movement and achieve the completeness and continuity of the unity of organization and politics.

This political continuity includes the mobilization of women on various issues of social struggles, the mobilization of women for the struggle of their own gender demands and issues, as well as the social confrontation and mobilization of the dynamics of a social revolution, as well as the progressive forces of society for gender topics and political struggles.

If the fight against patriarchy is postponed to the revolution or into an indefinite future, and a woman has a sense of freedom that is detached from daily politics, neither the gender consciousness of individual women

nor the collective identity of women and their social action can develop.

Because of the dual character of the revolution, the political mass movement of women must necessarily develop bilaterally. That means the collective participation of women (and not the mass participation of individual women) in the entire social struggles as a social force, as a gender. Then there is the struggle of women against the various excesses of oppression and humiliation suffered by their gender. It is important to spread this struggle within all social and militant dynamics.

The various issues and questions of women's freedom must become the daily theme of all struggles. The struggles of women for various economic, political and social reforms must be tied to a revolutionary program, but this revolutionary program, including the struggles

for reform, has to be concretized into daily political struggles and political tactics. The very different topics and problems of women's freedom must become a daily struggle issue.

These struggles for reform, above all else, allow women to form a collective consciousness in these struggles and the ability to take action together and gain political struggle experience. Gained reforms provide more suitable political conditions for the organization and politicization of women and their participation in social life and struggles. In fact, patriarchy is beaten back, patriarchy loses its legal, political and ideological status and space through lost reforms. In the end, the self-subjectification of women in social struggles becomes possible. The masses of women can only come together with their own vanguard within these struggles, and the liberation struggle thus brings forth its own leadership.



# Interview on Rojava Revolution

**Baran Serhad:**

***"We are the communist component of the Rojava revolution"***

*Here, we present an interview with Baran Serhad, a representative of MLKP Rojava, in which we talk about many topics such as the purpose of MLKP's presence in Rojava, her programmatic and strategic perspectives in regard of the Rojava revolution, her position within Rojava's military front, contributions that the MLKP brings to the women's liberation struggle, and MLKP's political and organizational work within the revolution.*

***Would you briefly summarize for us again how the MLKP sees the Rojava revolution with respect to her programmatic and strategic understanding and what are the aims of her participation to the revolution?***

In summary, I can say that since the beginning of her foundation, the MLKP stands as a party which embraces the Bakur (North) Kurdistan revolution, takes it as a crucial place in her strategy. It is a party which states that the country of Kurdistan has been colonized by imperialists and regional reactionary states; by defending this righteous cause and demands, she struggles for them. From this angle, the MLKP is from Kurdistan. Thus, our Kurdish people's liberation struggle based on "the right of self-determination and founding an own state" is one of the priorities of the MLKP. In our 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress held in Spring 2002, in the political atmosphere of that period, our party re-emphasized the rightfulness of the liberation struggles going on within the four parts of colonized Kurdistan. Correspondingly, our party included "the unification right of parts of Kurdistan" in her program. In the same congress, "the understanding of creating democratic or socialist federations of Balkan, Caucasian and Middle Eastern people" was also added to the program. The party emphasized the necessity of regional revolutions, and for this, the necessity of having regional alliances, coordinations, and united forces.

This is an important decision since it indicates a widening in the horizon and the opportunities of revolution. With this in mind, we started to consider many areas, from Balkans to the Caucuses and Middle East, more differently than before, tried to build connections with their existing struggles and considered the revolutionary potential of those lands on a different basis. Our 4<sup>th</sup> Congress consolidated the party's will to apply these perspectives in a practical way and took various steps towards it.

When the Rojava revolution broke out, our party succeeded in adapting herself quickly with both as a force from Kurdistan and the perspective of regional revolutions. Our initial forces reached to the area by August 2012, only days after the 19<sup>th</sup> of July, the date recorded as the beginning of the Rojava revolution. This was no coincidence; it reflects the commitment that we have to the region, especially to Kurdistan and every issue of the region is also in the agenda of our party.

***What are the unique contributions that your party brought to the Rojava revolution, according to you? In other words, to which problems of the development of the revolution has the MLKP brought solutions, thereby gained her right to exist in Rojava?***

Our party gained her right to exist in Rojava of course by joining the revolution, by defending and struggling to ensure its victory, by giving martyrs for this cause. She gained it not by cheering from a distance or standing in a supportive position; even though with limited numbers, by taking parts in the ranks of struggle with her militants. Our very precious comrades wounded or became martyrs in the fronts to defend and develop the revolution. With a series of martyrs starting with Serkan Tosun and growing with Sevda Çağdaş (Raperîn Dîcle); with the flag they raised and blood they shed, the comrades Coşkun İnce (Tekoşer Kurdistan) and Sinan Sağır (Suphî Garzan) whose body we still can't find; and with our wounded comrades, whose numbers are 3 times more than those martyred so far, we gained our right to exist. What makes our presence belongs to here is the martyrs whose bloods mixed together and the struggle comradeship of our fighters, who have been fighting day and night at the fronts of Serêkaniyê, Kobanê, Til Temir, Alya, Siluk, Minbic and Raqqa. With this opportunity, I would like to commemorate all of our fallen comrades with respect, loyalty and promise to make their dreams come true. They continue to be our reason for fighting and lead the way in our struggle.

In regard to the other aspect of your question, I can point these out: in the early days of the revolution, we led our forces here with the idea of "every long march starts with a single step". During the process, a certain level of quality and quantity came along after these first steps.

When our forces reached to the area, the revolution had already begun, but still was in its very early stages.

There was neither the YPG/YPGJ nor the Asayiş (the popular police of Rojava). Common works upheld in strong comradeship spirit side by side with Kurdish liberation movement which is the vanguard of the revolution, were carried out clandestinely except for limited fields. By quickly taking on revolutionary duties, our forces had a role in solving the problems of their fields of duty. They put effort to gather the daughters and sons of our people, who had not yet been involved in the revolution, to join it. These recruits were organized in the newly established brigades and other civil institutions afterwards.

Social duties in the fields of health and public security accompanied our military work. And shortly after, the women's liberation struggle, media and commune building were added on these.

Our presence here led both the entire forces of our party and the other revolutionary organizations from Turkey to focus their attention on Rojava. Through the efforts and the actual presence of our party, various Marxist and progressive forces from the world started to embrace Rojava revolution more than ever.

Without a doubt, it was the Kobanê resistance that planted the Rojava revolution into the heart of the whole world, and turned it into a beacon of solidarity and hope. Just like the slogan, "from Arin to Sibel, we march to victory!" which our comrades chant proudly, the barbarian ISIS gangs were defeated in Kobanê owing to the martyrs and the massive valors. Kobanê was already marching its own victory when some of the imperialist states brought military aid so as to share the victory. Despite all his prayers, that who knows how many times a day he is busy with, the conspiratorial attacks organized by the fascist Tayyip Erdoğan were fought off and Kobanê didn't fall. His hysterical dream of "Kobanê is about to fall!" didn't come true. This victory declared to the peoples of the world both the level of motivation of people from Kurdistan and the ideological victory of honor and freedom struggle with the power of solidarity. ISIS and the Turkish state, Erdoğan's AKP in particular, along with the other regional reactionary states who were supporting him were defeated. This is also the name of the process which ISIS began to retreat.

What I mean is along with defending, advancing and expanding the revolution on the ground, our party's presence here made an important contribution to Rojava's visibility and popularity on the world stage. It helped to attract the attention of laboring left,

progressives and internationalists. Of course, because Rojava stands like a green oasis inside the realm of petro-dollar brutality and a political wasteland, the revolution was already showing itself off. The shine of YPG/YPJ against the darkness of ISIS is what we are talking about. Ours is a modest contribution, we would say. It is bringing the smiling faces of our comrades Sibel and Sevda next to Arin's, or the ones of Sinan and Mazlum alongside Diyar Bagok's. It is precious, historical and one of the most important values that makes us who we are.

Hereby, I would like to mention Şehid Ivana, our Avaşin, since she became one of the symbols of the revolution internationally. She made a significant contribution to the revolution with regard to attracting the attention of everyone; international comrades in particular, but also the mainstream media as well, and thus made it seen in the world press. As a warm-hearted guerrilla, she drew the attention of many socialists and progressive peoples from Europe and around world, to come and join to the struggle. Again in the same period, we developed our relations with many European progressive organizations, such as groups from Switzerland, Germany, Greece, Spain etc. and they played their role within their countries by being the friends and comrades of our revolution. As last words on this issue, I can add: due to the fact that the revolution had considerably succeeded in Rojava, our forces also increased their focus on the social organization apart from just the field of defense. On this basis, we have been giving support and working to expand the campaigns of "Ez Naçim" ("I don't leave") and "Komünlerde Örgütlen, Federasyona Sahip Çık" ("Organize in Communes, Embrace the Federation"). Likewise, against the ENKS-like (the organization in Barzani line in Rojava) reactionary forces, which aim to hit the revolution from inside, we carry out ideological and political works by enlightening our peoples and organizing them in the revolutionary institutions.



***How do you evaluate recent operations that your party were involved in? In which attacks, with what kind of approaches have you participated so far? What are the purposes of those attacks with respect to the development of Rojava revolution? Do you participate in all attacks or do you have particular priorities?***

In the beginning stages of the revolution, our forces belonged to different battalions and quarters in which they were participating in both the attacks and the establishment processes of revolution. In that sense, we had been in the attacks and operations of Til Hemis, Cez'a, Sere-kani, Til Koçer, Girê Ziro, Tirbespiyê, Hasekê, Til Temir, Amûdê, Ebu Rasin, Mebruka. Likewise, we played a part in the first supporting squads that reached to Şengal right after ISIS had invaded and carried out a massacre there. Later on, we announced the foundation of our Şehit Serkan Battalion, having the name of our first martyred comrade in Rojava. Since then, we have been participating in attacks as a part of this battalion. A short time after Şehit Serkan Battalion, we established the International Freedom Battalion (IFB) with the participations of organizations from Turkey and Europe, such as TKP-ML, BÖG, and MLSPB-DC from Turkey, RC\* from Spain, and revolutionaries from Greece. Right after its establishment, IFB participated to Siluk-Girê Sipî attack. There, our comrade Halil Aksakal (Mazlum Aktaş) was martyred. In that attack, our trench comrades from BÖG and MLSPB-DC fell martyrs, joined to our immortals. I would like to commemorate them with respect, in the names of comrades Alper, Cemre and Doğan.

As the Şehid Serkan Battalion and the IFB, we participated in almost all the operations in the cantons of Cizîrê and Kobanê. The IFB is a mobile battalion, so apart from some short periods, it is always at the fronts. Şehid Serkan Battalion, on the other hand, takes part in the attacks sometimes as teams, other times as squads, rather than as a full battalion.

What concerns the Rojava revolution, also concerns us. Therefore, we have been and continue to be in the attacks and operations of Hol, Minbic or Raqqa. Our perspective is this: With our communist and Kurdish identity, we count the Rojava revolution as our revolution. For this reason, we care about all attacks with the purpose of securing the revolution. In that sense, when we joined to the fight for Minbic, where we lost our comrade Raperîn to immortality, we were doing it for the sake of securing the revolution through uniting our cantons. In that attack, four of our comrades -two of them seriously- were wounded. But with the liberation of Minbic, a strategically important foothold was gained.

If we speak about the occupation of Cerablus by the fascist Turkish state today, the main reason behind this is quite obvious: to block the way of our revolution moving from Minbic towards Afrin, to stop the progress

of our revolution. They don't want us to unite our cantons and end the division of Rojava that was splintered through the politics of colonialists under the name of the Arabic Belt. They seemed to succeed in this for now in the exchange of tens of Turkish soldiers' life, but this is only temporary. Tayyip Erdoğan has already started to prepare for running away from Al Bab. From Cerablus to Bab, the Turkish state is at standstill and this situation points out the way for new developments.

Because of our regional revolution perspective, we are also taking our part in the attack liberating Raqqa, which was captured by ISIS and transformed into its main base. Those are Arabic lands and yes, there are range of duties that falls to Rojava revolution for building a more democratic and libertarian life in Syria together with Arabic workers. As one of the components of the revolution, we act in accordance to this role.

We can say that, as the attacks continue to secure, improve and expand the revolution, the liberated regions, on the other hand, are becoming stronger both in ideological and military sense. These attacks are also an opportunity to acquire significant experience and trench comradeship.

In these lands, where historical prejudices and bigotry continue to exist, they develop the fraternity, and the consciousness of living together of peoples like Kurdish, Arabic and Suryani. They help to clean off the dirt and the rust of colonialism, feudalism and capitalism. Likewise, in this patriarchal Middle Eastern land, via the YPJ's woman warriors and commanders, they stage a new kind of will which one by one, breaks up the ingrained ideas claiming that war, braveness, arms, etc. are particular to men alone. They bring an ideologically fresh breath to these lands and with the wind siding along women, the dirty and dark atmosphere of this period of history is being swept away. This is a new and very precious situation for the Arabic lands.

***Although your military presence is more visible, we see that you carry out political works and campaigns amongst the masses in Rojava. What are your aims in your political mass work? And in addition to this, as communists from Kurdistan, what are your organizational perspectives within Rojava Kurdistan?***

Our party has a Rojava organization. This Rojava organization results from our being a Kurdistan party and depends directly to our MLKP/Kurdistan organization but is structured on the ground of Rojava. Getting organized within all four parts of Kurdistan which was colonized and splintered by imperialists and colonialists, and strengthening the liberation struggle in these parts with a socialist-patriotic perspective simply mean following our party line for us as our right and also our duty.

(\*TKP-ML: Communist Party of Turkey-Marxist- Leninist, BÖG: United Freedom Forces, MLSPB-DC: Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Units-Revolution Front, RC: Reconstruccion Comunista)

Considering the developments in Rojava, our 5<sup>th</sup> Congress took various decisions regarding expanding our organizing efforts in Kurdistan. By considering the needs and opportunities of the revolution happening in Rojava, the Congress determined some political and organizational duties.

Most of our work here covers the defensive duties, however we politically organize both within the revolution's institutions and masses. One of our primary goals is defending the revolution, deepening the revolutionary process and elevating the revolutionary consciousness of the masses here. It is true, what is happening in Rojava is a revolution, but it is not completed in all senses. Rojava is surrounded by imperialists, regional reactionary states, as well as the parties and organizations following KDP's bourgeois and collaborative political line. The masses are bound to be wary and their confidence is suppressed by poverty, explosions and embargoes. The need to ensure people to embrace the revolution further and to improve their sense of belonging are the duties of our party.

Sometimes it is not understood well enough but Rojava is under a total siege. One side is besieged by Turkish state with walls, barbed wire, soldiers and tanks. On the other sides, there are ISIS and the other collaborator of Turkey, the Barzani forces, who are trying to 'discipline' us with hunger and poverty by closing Sêmelka, the only border gate to Iraq. Apart from Afrin, no border relation is left with the Syrian regime. Up to now the regime couldn't manage to restrain the revolution, yet as they are historically colonialists with their mentality shaped by Arab nationalism, we can assume that they will try to strangle the revolution at the first opportunity they have.

Under such a siege, it is crucial for the revolution to gain people politically and ideologically. Thus, we give priority and support to the campaigns of "Ez Naçim" and "Di Komînan de xwe Rêxistin Bike, Ji Fîderasyonê Xwedî Derkeve" ("Organize in Communes, Embrace the Federation"). Through those campaigns, we develop an attitude against the migration politics to Europe, branded as "journey to hope" for totally ideological purposes, and instead we state that 'in Rojava there is hope'. Moreover, together with our friends coming to join the revolution from Europe, we reveal the imperialist lies to our peoples.

The socialist patriotic manner is a very genuine characteristic of our party. That is to say, we see ourselves as the communist component of this revolution, as the vanguards of the socialist struggle. We are trying to integrate our national democratic liberation struggle with a socialist perspective. According to our viewpoint, the Rojava revolution needs to be integrated with socialism and we make propaganda of this thought while embracing the existing revolution together. Because we think that liberation of the whole region can

only be possible through socialism. In every field that we carry out our struggle, we try to lay a foundation for this perspective to be actualized. Socialism or socialist patriotism is not a self-evident character. It requires a position with a socialist patriotic perspective on the side of laborers, workers, women and the oppressed and poor people. It requires building up alliances to realize your perspective as well as organizing the basic forces of the revolution along the way to achieve the consciousness of this perspective. This is what we're trying to do, as much as we can.

The political and organizational ways of these lands just don't fit with the ones of Turkey, not even with North Kurdistan. Therefore, the norms for here need to be different than the ones for those. Here in Rojava, we can talk about quite distinctive aspects. Before anything else, we are organizing within the revolution; as we are part of it, we are trying to make the movement more socialist. But before all this, this revolution needs to be secured, that is, all those risks that I have just mentioned have to be eliminated. This cannot be done by ranting from outside, well, more specifically, from computer screens, but instead by actually joining the revolution, through shedding blood for the cause. This is the only way for your words and commitment to be seen and to carry a weight with our peoples. What lays behind the respectability of our party in these lands is our effort to have this commitment.

***It is known that you have set up your second battalion in Rojava. What is the mission of the Şehit Sarya Battalion?***

Actually the Şehit Sarya Battalion has already been functioning but was only publicly announced on 12<sup>th</sup> of December, the date our comrade Sibel Bulut (Sarya Özgür) immortalized. It is an academy for women soldiers. In this battalion, new warriors come from both outside and from different parts of Rojava to receive military and ideological education. With this battalion, we also aim to provide a mean for young Kurdish, Arabic, Suryani women from Rojava to join and defend the revolution. Within the YPG system, but uniquely organized, the battalion has trained so far the youth who wants to defend the revolution, to improve themselves militarily and ideologically, the internationalist fighters and young women from Rojava as our party relations. From now on, we aim to continue this work with new local and general attendances.

***What about the International Freedom Battalion? What are your expectations from it for the future?***

The International Freedom Battalion is an important part of this revolution. During early 2017, it has been attacked by ISIS three times, but just as they had written in huge letters on the ramparts of the school they used as a base: "NO PASARAN", these gangs could not pass. I mentioned the founding components before; right now,

the battalion consists of the forces from BÖG, TIKKO and MLKP, together with the international soldiers from different countries. With the revolutionary practice put forth in several attacks, with its martyrs and wounded comrades, the battalion gained a respected place in the area. During an attack which happened on the 9<sup>th</sup> of January, the battalion inflicted a heavy blow to ISIS gangs. Sixteen bodies of the gangs were counted after a fight inside the same building. Comrade Doğan Kirefe from BÖG was martyred and two of our party's soldiers were wounded. The gangs received the severest blow in that area and therefore now, with new ambushes, they are trying to invigorate their forces. However, we keep on saying "no pasaran"!

We want the IFB to be a window of the Rojava revolution opening to the whole world. Such a battalion, which consists of women and men from various nations, would definitely give strong messages to the people of the world. Until now, the participation to the battalion in terms of quantity, has not met our expectations. I regret to say, but in this aspect, the world's leftist and socialist movements fell well behind the ISIS gangs, despite the fact that this is a revolution which aims to develop an egalitarian and libertarian relationship among peoples without being stuck in narrow-minded nationalism, and above all, it represents the light against the reactionary barbarianism symbolized under the name of ISIS.

The fact that the USA, France or any other imperialist powers have been forced, for the sake of their own interests, to begin military operations against ISIS, even though ISIS is the proxy of their NATO ally Turkish state, doesn't extinguish the features of the revolution. Whether there is USA or other coalition forces or not, Minbic would still have been entered, or Raqqa would still have been marched at some point, they would have been retaken anyway. Because ISIS is the biggest threat to Rojava, so far, thousands of our martyrs and wounded comrades were not lost during a war against the Syrian government or with other regional reactionary states. It was against ISIS, so yes, while we are fighting with them, it's not an issue for the jets or drones of the imperialists, for their own interests, to carry out strikes. We consider this mandatory and temporary tactical military relation while both knowing and preparing ourselves for one day those jets might come to hit us too.

It is understandable that some of our friends, whose words and actions stand by the revolution, have some worries concerning the possible intentions of the imperialists. Yes, we are talking about imperialists here and indeed they do not 'help' because of their sympathy for Kurds or Arabs. They have their own interests, which just happened to match with those of the Kurds for a short time now. The imperialists have both ideological and political problems with the existing revolutionary

leadership and the will that leads it; and these are not that kind of problems which can be overcome by a bunch of tactical military collaboration or jet sorties. Weakening the revolution, making it dependent on their economic aid, making it follow their line; these are their objectives. But they have not met their objectives: if this revolution were led by Barzani and his capitalist, collaborator 'answer' for the Kurds, then Rojava would have already been recognized internationally. We believe that one should talk in the light of these truths and carry the responsibility of words. What is expected from progressive and revolutionary forces is this.

And besides, so far I've not heard of any "leftist" jet that has been stopped from striking ISIS. No one should have any doubt that we would never prevent any of those from hitting ISIS and its follower Turkish State with bullets or rockets, or forget those, even with a stone. There is no one standing in the way of those willing to fight, to struggle, to raise the anti-imperialism flag; either here or wherever they are!

For us, internationalist comrades coming here with their individual initiative in order to do something for the revolution are a thousand fold more precious than the chatterers talking big. With this chance, I would like to greet and commemorate all those international warriors that evaluated the revolution and the process correctly and turned their faces towards Rojava, came and fought, were martyred, wounded, or arrested. We salute them.

***To what extent do you participate in the management of the economical and political life in the assemblies or other sorts of political structures? What is the mission that you have undertaken in these areas? To which problems have you brought solutions or are aiming to do so?***

In Rojava, there is an organized life in regard to economy and politics. There are various organizations established in every field of life; autonomous canton administration, Tev-Dem, Kongra-Star, assemblies, communes, workers' unions, etc. Within all these organizations and parallel to them, there are women organizations as equals. We cannot say that all of these are playing their optimum roles or working perfectly but it's certain that there are lots of organizations through which people, and women especially, are able to defend their rights or express themselves in many ways. As a component and cadre of the revolution, even though our forces are limited, we carry out different works to make these organizations functional, to play their roles and be embraced by the masses.

There are communist representatives within some decision-making institutions at cantonal level, as well as in cantonal assemblies and units dealing with the organizational works. Likewise in the other various platforms, we, as communists, discuss our opinions and make proposals.

What is important, bringing up views and suggestions about the processes and submit these to the masses in a socialist perspective. It is somewhat what we are trying to achieve. Communist cadres working in various institutions carry their suggestions to the agenda of the institutions which they are one of the components and lift these suggestions to decision level. Again, some campaigns and ideas become topics there and they are put as duties for the institutions to make them embraced by the masses. The campaigns I've just mentioned are like that for example.

While these are mainly organized by communists, they are also supported and practiced by the parties and organizations gathered there. Distributing communiques together, organizing panels, institutional visits, mass meetings, graffiti and poster hanging are all being carried out collectively, with as many groups and parties as we can include. Meetings are held in the communes. We propose daily life issues of laborers and also political issues of revolution for the agenda. We are struggling against some cases of ideological degeneration, we are making suggestions to expand women's revolution. For example, recently, a campaign for the masses to understand the federal system had been adopted at the level of the cantonal decision making bodies and the need for an overall campaign was accepted. So now, a campaign about this issue is going on across all cantons. Furthermore, while we have been developing different suggestions to reduce the discontent caused by the crisis of sugar and gas shortages, we kept on distributing communiques revealing ENKS and KDP reactionaries, which contribute to some of those crises, and through this, we played an important role in reaching to a general decision on organizing mass demonstrations. While we do carry out discussions about fighting off bureaucratization, we also try to increase steps for institutional opportunities which will play a bridging role between the peoples, at least, as much as our current capacity reaches for.

Being in a position that evaluates issues with a socialist patriotic perspective allows us to make objective considerations about the vanguard forces of the revolution. Although we try to defend a position for ourselves as "the conscience of revolution" somehow, unfortunately we haven't achieved an acceptable quantity of forces yet. Still, our efforts continue.

Even though it is possible to consider and discuss several issues concerning the progress of the revolution such as economic problems, peoples' requirements, women's rights and their freedom or the rights of children, nature and animals etc., some issues become a sort of a luxury under this political climate. Under conditions in which both war and embargo continue, as well as ISIS and its governmental friend in Turkey

carrying out every kind of attack to attempt to strangle the revolution, we prioritize our attentions on securing and advancing the revolution, along with what we gained so far.

In respect to easing the embargo's weight, there is no need to make an extra emphasis how fertile Rojava lands are. So, as well as giving practical suggestions, we discuss and make efforts to increase the possibilities of striving collectively for issues like increasing the agricultural productivity, making a point of the duty of enlightening the masses, making the revolution internationally known and increasing solidarity, fighting ideologically and legally against war opportunists and so on.

***Rising also as a "women's revolution", how does Rojava revolution improve women's liberation struggle at this level? Which social and political perspectives, what kind of means does the women's revolution advance with? What kind of role does the Party's KKÖ (Communist Women's Organization) put herself in to play?***

Above all, in this patriarchal Middle Eastern land, it is just an honor for everyone to be part of a revolution which argues issues like a women's army, women's will, equal representation, co-chairmanship, women's police force, women's communes, women's courts and hundreds of articles of law siding with women. These alone enough to express what is happening here in Rojava as a revolution! The primary field that gives both democratic and libertarian character to our revolution is the field of women liberation. It is true that there are still some serious problems existing in practical terms. Women still have to fight and be on the alert within areas like culture, daily life and politics due to five thousand years of male supremacy. However the existing rights and freedoms, and how they are embraced by women here cannot even be compared with those in any other country. We cannot use the patriarchal capitalist countries as a criterion for here, as in many ways we have already surpassed them. The bar cannot drop down below the main acquisitions of women's liberation struggle and socialism. Of course, including the communist women, woman constructors of Rojava revolution won't let it happen.

The communist women, with their limited forces, are trying to extend our KKÖ's perspectives among women. Our woman comrades are quite active with their analysis and proposals about campaigns or planning of terms, as well as the organization of some special days like 8<sup>th</sup> of March or 25<sup>th</sup> of November. Before, we had carried on duties in Mala-Jin (Women's House, women-only places in each neighborhood), founding a women's press, and now we carry out works in women's communes and umbrella organizations.. This foundation of female solidarity set us in good stead to do organizational and

educational work among younger women and domestic laborers. Then we could advance the women's revolution together with them.

I can state the recent developments in this regard as such: in the social contract of the Democratic Federal System of Northern Syria, which has been subjected to significant debates, the voice of women is reflected on a large scale. During both the preparation process and the negotiation phase, the women were the most active. "Co-chairmanship practice" was brought to the federal system. Likewise egalitarian laws siding with women were secured by the federation.

All these are the expressions of which the gains of Rojava women revolution are directly reflected on the federal system and extended towards the region.

Our duties therefore include making proposals and bringing a mass basis for these proposals concerning issues like the education of whole society, of men in particular, deepening the legal level of the revolution which has gained so far, and spreading this to whole world by developing women's alliances both regionally and internationally.

***In what aspects has the experience of Rojava revolution improved and enriched your party's theoretical and political understanding? What kind of effects and contributions has this experience brought to the communists of Kurdistan, the ones of Turkey, international warriors and organizations that supports the revolution?***

Well, I'm not sure if I would be able to answer them all. But first of all, Rojava revolution allowed us to widen our revolutionary horizon and to gain some concrete experiences arising from being inside an actualized revolution. We have experienced all the developments which were encountered in every country that made their revolution, such as the masses' filling streets, seizing the government agencies, dual power situations, people's taking up arms, women's becoming half of the revolution, militarization, being besieged, embargo etc.. And we have been equipped with those experiences in a particular manner of Rojava Kurdistan.

Here, under the conditions in which masses of workers and working class movement are absent in a classical term, there is the leadership of guerrilla instead, the liberation of an historically colonized country of Rojava Kurdistan by seizing upon an emerged opportunity with a choice of the "third way" which is a quite instructive experience. In the case of reading certain historical developments correctly and developing correct tactics, you can create a big leap with a limited force and turn this situation into a revolution, it all depends on the existence of prepared organized forces. This is one of the significant points that the revolution taught us.

It is also meaningful to emphasize one of the issues of the strategy, the phenomenon of "indirect reserves" in the context of what Rojava practice had taught us. It becomes quite concrete here in Rojava to make use of the objective opportunities arising from governing crisis of imperialist and reactionary states correctly. Utilizing the conflicts and contradictions among sovereigns for revolutionary purposes has showed not only the possibility of a revolutionary subject's growing by leaps and bounds but also doing politics without being in a reserve force position for the imperialists. By benefiting from these conflicts and contradictions and making tactical maneuvers, the revolution has both gained strength and also been emancipated from the besieged conditions.

Claims about the inevitableness of religious and national wars which the imperialist and capitalist barbarism theorizes under the name of "civilization wars", are replied by the practice of federation and cantons that raises the unity and solidarity of peoples in Rojava. What is trying to be achieved here in Rojava, where the people get organized in assemblies, united in communes and thus create the conditions of direct democracy through their grassroots organizations, is bringing theory in practice, putting flesh on the bones of it by action.

***Lastly, what kind of a call regarding Rojava revolution would you like to make to our peoples?***

Rojava is a revolution of a rising hope against the despair of colonialism, racism and sectarian politics. In this smothered blood and cruelty, Rojava is where our peoples can get a breath of fresh air. It is egalitarian and libertarian. Although it is far from completed yet, what it has accomplished so far has already taken its part in this stage of history.

Let yourself come here, embrace and join the revolution. Let yourself struggle with us to turn this revolution into the socialist front of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This revolution belongs to the peoples. It belongs to those of oppressed and yes, most of all it belongs to women. Do something for it. Give political, material and moral support to this revolution!

Rojava is a beautiful place for those who are willing to be purified from the rust and dirt of the imperialist capitalist world. It is a humble spring of joy for humanity.

Here we have a revolution for all those willing to be emancipated from the wage slavery, which they can call as their own. No matter how much we tell, how much we are proud of, it won't be enough. Let's finish the interview by saying come and reach the honor of being a part of revolution or we better say the last words in our own language: Bijî têkoşîna rûmet û azadîyê! Bijî Şoreşa Rojava! (Long live the struggle of freedom and honor! Long live the Rojava Revolution!)

## Baran Serhad Interview on Afrin

*40 days have already passed since the beginning of the war of aggression against Afrin and the glorious resistance against it. Baran Serhad from the MLKP/Rojava Organization evaluated the situation there and answered some crucial questions.*

***It was 40 days left behind since the start of invading attacks against Afrin. At what stage is the war now, how far have Turkish Armed Forces (Turkish Army, TAF) and Free Syrian Army (FSA) advanced so far?***

We are in a war under very unequal conditions. On the one hand, there are the NATO's second biggest army with its military technique equivalent to billions of dollars and its flock of fighting gangs; on the other hand, there are the defense forces of the revolution and the oppressed fighting for honor and freedom. They are attacking to the resistance forces of Afrin and to our peoples with tens of war planes, Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (SIHA), the cannons attacking day and night both from the border and inside, latest model tanks bought from Germany and an unlimited ammunition.

With those bombs both from air and land, they are trying to destroy hundreds of years of people's heritage, their poor houses, historical olive trees and the beautiful geography of Afrin. With blood and destruction, they are trying to unmannerize Afrin and its surrounding. The revolutionary forces of Rojava and North Syria are fighting against a rat army which throws 600 howitzer balls to a village with 100 houses or more than 25 barrel bombs to a modest foothold in the Qestel hill. The invading fascist Erdoğan and his gangs have only entered in some parts of the border villages of Afrin, which they claimed "to destroy in one week" by relying on their enormous power. And actually, those villages were already evacuated by the Afrin resistance forces before in order to protect civilians from getting damage. Currently there is a concentration of invading forces at the border. They can carry on their existence here only by jets and howitzers. On the days when the airplanes can not move, they get heavy blows from the resistance forces.

***What would you say about Syrian Democratic Forces' (SDF) level of resistance?***

SDF and its components are waging a fight for a legitimate resistance and protection of freedom. Therefore, they can exhibit a strong moral resistance. Until now, SDF has fought against the bloody barbarism of ISIS and still does as in the Deyr-ez-Zor case. It has gained also a significant experience from these wars. But for the first time, there is a zonal defense being given against a regular army. The conditions are not equal at all, but with tactical mastery and maneuvers, with a strong consciousness of resistance, the invading forces are getting heavy losses. The SDF's does not only take

place as a military force in these resistance emplacements. The whole population is resisting against this fascist barbarism and invasion. Afrin is resisting village by village, house by house. Behind each olive tree and each piece of rock, there lays a great battle of resistance. Along with cracking the foundations of



Turkish colonialism, this war is getting to be an inspiration for millions of oppressed people. There is a reason why Erdoğan suits up a camouflage jacket and gives marching orders to the army. They are in trouble and will face more difficulties. And our resistance in Afrin has already gained the victory. Even if they loot the villages, burn down all the houses, we can say that they did lose and the resistance won.

***What does the people Afrin think? how is their motivation, how do they join the resistance?***

The people of Afrin give a tremendous lesson to the peoples of the world and also to the fascist Erdoğan and his gangs. They show that it is possible to resist by defying the destructive massacre attacks of the tanks, planes, and howitzers without hesitation despite the bombs falling on them. The practice of the peoples of Afrin and their leaders are not like those of Binali Yıldırım (Turkish prime minister) who ran away after seeing couple of tanks approaching, and hid inside a construction tunnel

(his reaction on the day of coup attempt on July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016), or like Erdoğan who keeps secret from even his closest ones where he goes. The peoples of Afrin are positioned in various emplacements of the resistance all together; warriors in the frontiers, transporters on the roads, commune labourers in the cities. Those who cannot go the frontiers organize the logistics and even children, with their own life meaning nothing than a resistance itself, dare to the enemy. Here, what we saw the other day: thousands of people heading towards Mabata, tens of thousands lined up behind the funeral of martyrs. They are all putting their bodies as a shield against those tanks, aircrafts and howitzers. Peoples of Afrin are resisting and this is such a heroic resistance to be a subject for poems, movies.

***Do only Kurdish people join the resistance? How are the approach and participation of other peoples?***

Of course, the Afrin resistance is not just the resistance of the Kurdish people. Within the frontiers, mobilization and solidarity actions, all the peoples of Afrin and religious communities take their parts. Arabs, Turkmens, Assyrians, Alevis, Ezidis and people from other nations and beliefs came together from both inside and outside the other cantons and integrated with the resistance. Despite being exposed to massacres, the people do not leave their land.

***What is the situation in terms of internationalists, revolutionists and communists in the Afrin resistance?***

There is now happening the world's most legitimate and honorable act in Afrin. A great resistance is being shown against the fascist occupation attacks, against the enemies of freedom, honor, women and revolution. It is a resistance that anyone who claims to be a revolutionary, democratic, internationalist or communist should take place in. So, everyone is doing their job. What could be more natural than internationalists, revolutionaries and communists, who take place in both Afrin and all the solidarity actions outside? Internationalists, revolutionaries, and communists from all folks and communities are taking their place in the Afrin resistance fronts against this invasion attack. In this struggle, they pay a heavy cost with martyrs and wounded people, of course, they also make the invaders pay heavy costs. Everyone, who is a member of the Rojava revolution or a friend of it, takes place in this resistance and is a part of "the Resistance of the Age" as we say it with the

words it deserves. Fighters from France to Spain, from Greece to Iceland, meet on the same front with the ones who come from Istanbul, Ankara or other parts of Anatolia and Kurdistan, and against the invasion attack, together with the people of Afrin, they advocate the revolution. The Internationalist Freedom Battalion has now taken its place in the Afrin fronts after the Cizre-Kobanê-Rakka moves. It is fighting here as well as trying to develop solidarity with the Afrin resistance on the international platform. Communists continue to be a part of this process with both local and internationalist forces. And not just in Afrin. Communist fighters are also deployed in Deyr-ez-Zor, protecting their lands against the fascist ISIS gangs. They take place in the organization of solidarity actions and they work in the mobilization of the people through the communes and institutions they work.

***What is the most needed for the people/resistance of Afrin today?***

What the people of Afrin and its resistance need most is all kinds of actions and solidarities that will weaken the occupiers. There are different forms of this, of course. But it is for sure, even when there is so much silence inside, Erdoğan and the gangs are afraid. Because they hear the humming coming from underground. They keep the threshold as high as possible by arresting even those who tweet or share in the social media. They are trying to hide their unjust, dirty and bloody occupation war with intense chauvinism and fascist oppression. Because they know they will be condemned a million times in conscience, they do things depraving conscience, throw up poisonous words from the school, television, social media. They are pumping lies. They are trying to disprove an entire society. With this intensive terror, they seem to have managed to prevent the peoples of Turkey and North Kurdistan to take to the streets as in the days



of Kobanê for now. However, this situation is temporary. The honorable Kurdish and Turkish peoples know that it means collaboration to remain silent in this bloody occupation battle and they are accumulating. However, it should not be forgotten that accumulation that does not flow in the right time can also be corrupting.

In this context, the revolutionaries and the communists have very special duties. It is important to play a leading role in the mobilization of society and to develop ideological-political criticisms that will shake some reformist circles. In fact, pretending to be dead, hiding behind the demagogy of “but Kurds are negotiating with USA”, sheltering to theories of “another situation, another condition” are not the things put forth by let alone big organizations, even honorable individuals. See, everything is developing as the priest Niemöller said during Hitler fascism. It is turning against the ones remaining silent against the attacks since they are not Kurdish, communist, radical revolutionaries or militants and there is no one left for them to make noise.

Now is the time for pioneering attitudes. If invaders can carry out a move to Afrin so comfortably waving their arms, we must work harder than ever, communists in Turkey, patriotic and revolutionary forces should do more advanced things, primarily Peoples’ United Revolutionary Movement (HBDH) components. We are aware of that those who arrested even the ones who tweet want to prevent bursting situations like people sitting in front of the war-torn convoy to stop them. Or we are aware of those who detain irrelevant people for the reason that they have a potential for action, and those who have desire to prevent bombs falling on Afrin and the destruction from coming to their homes. It is very clear that we are going through times necessary to become an icebreaker. Breaking the ice is hard and challenging, but only through that opened road, freedom can be reached.

***There were intense meetings in the last few days. Talks with US Minister of Foreign Affairs Tillerson and German Prime Minister Merkel were held by Turkey. How do you evaluate all these negotiations with the imperialists? Did the Erdoğan’s palace accept the demands of the imperialists?***

Both themselves and their crooks are confessing that the Erdoğan-Palace dictatorship couldn’t make the USA accept their demands. America seems to have drawn a Minbic line. They maintain unconventional, interest-based relations with Merkel’s Germany. Relations with Russia are complicated. However, the relations of Tayyip Erdoğan’s dictatorship with Putin’s Russia seems to be one of the most concrete relations giving him chance to maneuver, but it is a relationship just like a fish on the bait. Erdoğan thinks he is swimming on his own, but the hand at the end of the bait is Russia. I think we will see more concrete results in the future.

The Invasion attack to Afrin is not something that Turkey can decide on its own. All the powers that have influence and power in the region, especially Russia, and including the United States, do not want the democratic federal system of Rojava and North Syria to develop and strengthen. Each one has different accounts, but all of them have a common stake, it is the continuation of existing system of capitalist exploitation and leaving no space for an alternative. Rojava and those living in northern Syria are pointing to an alternative revolutionary development. It is precisely because of this that they try every way and every form to weaken the revolution and its vanguards in terms of military, economic, political, organizational and ideological. The Afrin War is also one of the attacks that distorts the system, delays construction, imposes compulsory alliances or back up. Russia was the one who opened the way for Turkey, but some of the EU states and the United States were in harmony with them by distracting their own people with the tale of “Turkey has a legitimate right to defend”. They just did not agree on issues of borders which Turkey will remain within. Which, in the beginning, did not make much difference. Russia, wanted to expand the contradictions between US and Turkey. Those who supported this occupation directly or indirectly thought that the Turkish bourgeois state would take what they wanted in a short time. Maybe they wanted to test SDF’s resistance capacity. They had tried this before against ISIS, both in Kobanê and in Minbic, but this time, the situation was different. There is the second largest army of NATO in front of revolutionary forces and they have no air support.

The Afrin resistance surprised everyone. It broke all the plans and those plans will get worse. Moreover, in this process, in return of Afrin, move opportunities came into view which would strengthen the regime and therefore the hand of Russia and Iran. From Guta to Aleppo, from Homs to İdlib, they opened the way of retreating the attacks of the gangs supported by the Turkish government and Turkey were forced to give approval to it.

Therefore, everyone faced with the obligation to set their position again. Of course, Tayyip Erdoğan’s dictatorship also played a role with its limitless ambition and unbalanced politics. For the fascist Turkish bourgeois dictatorship, which gets out of control and tries to become an actor again in the region with the politics of “all done and gone” style, these negotiations have been used to restrain Erdoğan a bit and to persuade the revolutionary and resistance forces to sickness by threatening them with death and sanitize. And Erdoğan is not very aware yet that he made a historical mistake for himself. Erdoğan went into such a hole that he will have to tie his neck to get out, but he is not aware. Even if Afrin is shattered into pieces, we can say that this process will be the beginning of the end of Erdoğan’s clic. Now, the

wick of a process is burning, hard, bloody but full of possibilities.

***What do you think about calling the Syrian army to Afrin?***

Negotiations with the Assad regime, with Russia or Iran have always been done at different times and will be done from now on too. The current regime does not have a will of its own. Therefore, every negotiation with the regime means it is also done with Russia and Iran at the same time. Before and after the attack to Afrin, negotiations were held with both the regime and its protectors. They believed that, in the face of gigantic military power the Turkish state had built up, the revolutionary forces of Rojava and North Syria would be afraid, will step back, and accept almost all the demands of the Russian-Syrian regime-Iranian coalition. The declaration of the Tev-Dem administration about these negotiations has already been known. As mentioned there, the demands of Russia and Assad regime were not accepted in the talks. On top of that, Russia opened the road, the airspace. Then a war of aggression and massacre began.

The people of Afrin and those who resisted against the occupation did not submit to the Turkish state and their gangs. But the unequal war continued with all its destructiveness. The main advantage of the Turkish state in this war comes from air, from the jets and explorer planes. Blocking this advantage could determine the fate of the war, but this imposed another mandatory tactic. It was said to the Assad regime that it could place its troops on the borders in the frame of "federative understanding". They put forth other obligations, but their obligations were not accepted. Eventually, the ongoing resistance increasingly awakes sympathy in the Syrian people's hearts, which obliges the Assad regime to

approve that some forces connected with the army could pass to Afrin.

It is not a usual preference for the Rojava revolution that the regime troops have come to Afrin, which were freed from the Assad regime, even though only on the borders. The level of war mandates such a tactical maneuver. It is very important for the Afrin resistance to block the invading fascist Turkish army, especially the attacks made from the air. To deepen contradictions between the sovereign states, to benefit from here to protect and develop the revolution, in some cases, also bring tactical maneuvers together. With the latest tactical alliance made, if the Turkish army's air attacks can be prevented, the course of the war may change. The possibilities of striking the Turkish state and its gangs can be attained and, more importantly, the Turkish gangs can be cleared from the free Afrin mountains and their hills. This maneuver has not yet produced a result on this basis, but this process will continue and the correct tactics will remain decisive in the course of the war.

***Do you have a call to the peoples of the world?***

We are calling the peoples of the world to escalate the struggle shoulder to shoulder with the people of Afrin, who are fighting for honor and freedom, to come out to the streets to say "No Pasaran" once more and to come to the war trenches. We also greet the laborers of Kurdish, Turkish and other peoples in Europe who have filled the streets from the first day of the occupation attacks and supported the Afrin resistance, and the patriots, revolutionists and communists who have worked hard in these works. We would like to note that their manner has powered the Afrin resistance fronts.

Lastly, as the Afrinian insurgents quoted Yilmaz Güney's saying: We will win, we will definitely win!





**YPJ Martyr Avesta Xabur**

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***“After women profoundly change their own situation  
by breaking the patriarchal capitalist order,  
they are in the position to continue this revolutionary attack  
for bringing a new society forward.”  
(from the article The Women's Revolution)***

