



**Marxist Leninist Communist Party / Turkey & Kurdistan**

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**MLKP-KKÖ commander  
Hivron Razmuhi**

## **We sprout our wings to be free!**

The 6th Congress of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party (MLKP) and its 2nd Communist Women's Conference were held. Hivron Razmuhi, representative of the Communist Women's Organization (KKÖ) and member of the General Council of Women's United Revolution Movement (KBDH), conducted an interview after the 2nd Women's Conference. She explained the conditions under which the con-

ference was gathered, what kind of changes were made programmatically and her opinions about the struggle priorities of women. Hivron Razmuhi answered the questions as follows:

**You have realized your 2nd Conference while women's struggle for freedom is going through an intensive process. Can you evaluate the process leading to the 2nd Conference of the KKÖ and the state of the**

### **liberation of women?**

During this period, women became the main subjects of social struggles and at the same time they came forward with their own demands. The developing women's movement is growing as a riot movement. The women's movement against the sexist policies of the patriarchal, homophobic capitalist system was on the streets in a vast geography ranging from Iran to America since the period in which we convened our 1st conference. At the same time, they became the signal rockets, determined pioneers, braveness symbols playing the role of icebreakers for the working class and oppressed in their revolts, uprisings, revolutions, against patriarchal capitalism, poverty, hunger, racism, militarism, fascist regimes and colonialism. While witnessing the systematic increase in the social and male violence towards women, we have seen that women use their self-defense rights parallel to the development of gender consciousness. From Turkey to India, from Italy to Germany, examples thereof revealed. While the war of defense of the Rojava revolution was continuing against the political and military siege and invasion attacks, the misogynist fascist ISIS gangs were defeated. On the other hand, the process of building the revolution continued. Our Rojava revolution continues to be a source of inspiration for the women's movement and as a lighthouse in the struggle for equality and freedom.

In this period, the fascist AKP under Erdogan was reorganized in the form of a fascist chief-regime. He turned to the restoration of society around a political-islamist ideology. Gender contradictions have been deepened. The family institution was strengthened in order to consolidate women's sexual domestic slavery with the elimination of the rights gained. Women took the brunt of these attacks in the street in Turkey and Kurdistan. As the fascist chief regime was increasing the persecution and state terror on women getting to be subjects in politics, they were pushed out of politics. During this period, the sexist attacks against women guerrilla bodies did not lose pace. In the face of all these attacks, the women continued to exist in the political struggle both as armed and in other areas without stepping back one step.

While patriarchal oppression and exploitation on the female labor and body in the world has increased, the impoverishment of women has deepened and the sex industry has been developed through female sexuality in the world. The world women's movement spent 2019 with preparations for a women's strike on 8 March. The political calendar days of the struggle for freedom of women, 8 March and 25 November, each year, unlike the previous one, has developed remarkably in terms of extensiveness, massiveness and militancy. We, as communist women, as subjects of hot days of re-

sistance, from Turkey to North Kurdistan, from Rojava to the guerrilla areas and to Europe, organized this conference.

We conducted our discussions with the necessity of translating these topics, which our conference has handled as the political agendas of women revolution, into the possibilities of organizing women masses against homophobic, patriarchal capitalism and the fascist AKP regime. While discussing our problems in organizing the oppressed women as the subject of the women revolution and as a destructive force against the sexist capitalist system, we have developed perspectives on the solutions of these. In this direction, we get to work on tasks.

**With your conference and your party's congress, there are a number of changes reflected in your program. How did the idea of women revolution take place in your program?**

We have conducted discussions on the theoretical, ideological, political agendas of women revolution, and have made courageous decisions depending on our definition of the 21st century as the century of women revolutions. We have come to the conclusion that the democratic, popular and socialist revolutions against the imperialist capitalist order, the reactionary fascist regimes and bourgeois powers in the 21st century will develop as women revolutions at the same time. These findings were reflected in our revolution program.

The definition of women revolution, for the first time, takes part in the revolution program of a communist party under the leadership of communist women, although the definition itself does not belong to us. It has a strategic importance in our program and is distinctive as it gives direction to our political and ideological struggle. Thus, we are handling women revolution more than only being a theoretical discourse. Therefore, together with its goals and duties covering the present and the future, we take our women revolution in a vivid and dynamic way, shaping our struggle for social and gender freedom. At the 6th congress of our party, with our discussions and perspectives from our 2nd conference; the women revolution was recognized as the revolutionary program of women's liberation. The congress determined that the alliance of the oppressed class and the oppressed gender would gain character in the united revolution.

In line with these findings, with the discussions conducted in our conference and in our party congress, in our anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, gender emancipatory, democratic revolution program, it has been stated that: "Women will be equal and independent partner of power in the Union of People's Republics of Turkey and the Kurdistan". This decision has further secured with the article "all institutions of the Union of People's Republics will be established



and operated according to the principles of gender equality and co-representation”. We drew the conclusion that this case, which we formulated as a dual power, a form of dual governance, must also take place as a necessity in the political organization of the revolution. The congress that sees “the construction of the new society as a guarantee of the realization of women’s liberation” explained this in the program as “women will organize their social structure independently, in addition to the co-representation in all institutions, the union of women worker’s-laborer’s councils will be established, women’s army and militia will be formed, and special courts for sexual crimes constituted of women and LGBTIQ+’s will be established.”

Our findings that the enslavement of the female sex has developed with private property has shaped our theoretical and political remarks since the establishment of our party. Our findings that sexist exploitation gained a heterosexist character at a certain stage of the development of history also took part in our program as a result of our 2nd conference discussions.

### **Can you evaluate the decisions and new approaches about LGBTIQ+?**

One of the formulations in our revolution program is as follows: „LGBTIQ+’s will be assured of the rights of speech, action, organization; a systematic ideological and political struggle against hate speech, homophobia, transphobia and heterosexism will be given; penalty increase will be applied for the heterosexist crimes.”

We have reached a level of understanding that sees LGBTIQ+ movement not as a substitute of our women revolution, but as a direct force according to the results of discussions that we conducted about this movement on the theoretical, political basis. This also represents the threshold at which the communist movement has come in terms of both theoretical and programmatic levels up to date. Our conference also discussed the problems of representation of women in political structures. In this axis, it examined the practices of the quota and co-representation for women’s subjectivation and becoming a will. In the history of communist parties, it is the first time, that the institution of secretariat has

been replaced by a co-chairpresidentship. The representation of communist women within the communist party has reached such a central, strategic level of representation. These reflect the level of liberation of communist women, their determination to fight, their level of theoretical development. This has been the result of the achievements by the communist women and the communist party in the struggle to build the women's revolution along with what we have accumulated in the women's liberation struggle.

**In the last period, especially in the Middle East, there is an acceleration for the united women's freedom struggle. As the KKÖ, what kind of work will you do in the next period against both the patriarchal mentality and the capitalist system?**

The task and possibility of growing women's revolts, improving women's self-defense, raising the united women's movement are developed more than before. Looking at this period, KBDH was established as something unique in the political-military alliance of women. The problems of organizing, creating and establishing various forms of organization within the women's masses are waiting to be solved. The structural means developed on the basis of the practical legitimate struggle of women such as the initiative, platform, committee etc. constitute the ground for enlarging the common struggle against the sexist policies of fascist regime. We need to transform



this ground into a political organizational force. This requires pioneering steps. There is a growing awareness of the legitimacy of self-defense against patriarchal violence, which has been revealed in the practice of individual women and includes a large part of women. The duty of vanguard women, the communist women, is to turn this consciousness into an organized ground. On this basis, women's self-defense committees, women's antifascist committees, rebellion committees against male violence, committees against poverty, etc. whatever we name them, whether the creation of semi-military or flexible organizations, should be among our priorities. Schools, neighborhoods, factories, streets, which mean all living spaces of women should be the places to build and organize these organizations. Under imperialist conditions, women learn from each other's experience. It should be one of the agendas of the women's movement to promote resistance against capitalism, patriarchy, and to foster resistance around common agendas with united struggle, such as women's strike experiences. Besides, like Sudan, like Algeria, it should be

among our agenda to evaluate wherever there are women's gains in terms of the basis of the global women's movement and to increase the solidarity movements.

It should be the duty of communist women to bring the experiences of Rojava revolution to the world women's movement, as well as the task of creating and enlarging the internationalist women's solidarity that will be formed around the Rojava revolution.

**The Rojava Women Revolution continues its struggle against all occupations and threats in its 8th year. What are the problems of the Rojava Women Revolution and what are your solutions to these problems?**

Afrin, which we defend with great heroism, is under the occupation of the colonial forces. There are the same threats to other parts of Rojava. Afrin's cleansing from the gangs holds an important place in the protection of the achievements of our revolution which is developed on the basis of women liberty and equality. In line with this basic need, it is within the scope of our duties to raise the awareness of self-defense of the Rojava peoples, especially women, to make self-defense practical. As well as the solidarity practices to be developed around the Rojava revolution, it is as actual as necessary to develop the struggle for the spread of the revolution to a regional revolution. On the other hand, our revolution is experiencing the problems of a revolution which is becoming. It is in the



process of building the new social structure. In terms of the tasks of the construction of our revolution; we can define them as the change of the social structure with the female libertarian and egalitarian approach, the demolition of old understanding and approaches and the construction on the egalitarian-libertarian basis. This construction struggle is important to ensure the security of the Rojava revolution. The struggle against gender roles will continue to be a topic of both political and ideological struggle. In the words of the comrade Baran Serhat, who we bid farewell to immortality on 23 March, the Rojava revolution must enter the houses, and must ensure that the roles and the sexist division of work within the family institution are overthrown.

**The hunger strikes and death fasts initiated by Leyla Guven, resulted in victory. This process led to a new acceleration of women's resistance under the leadership of headscarf-wearing mothers. Where should this acceleration evolve in the next period?**

First of all, I would like to salute our

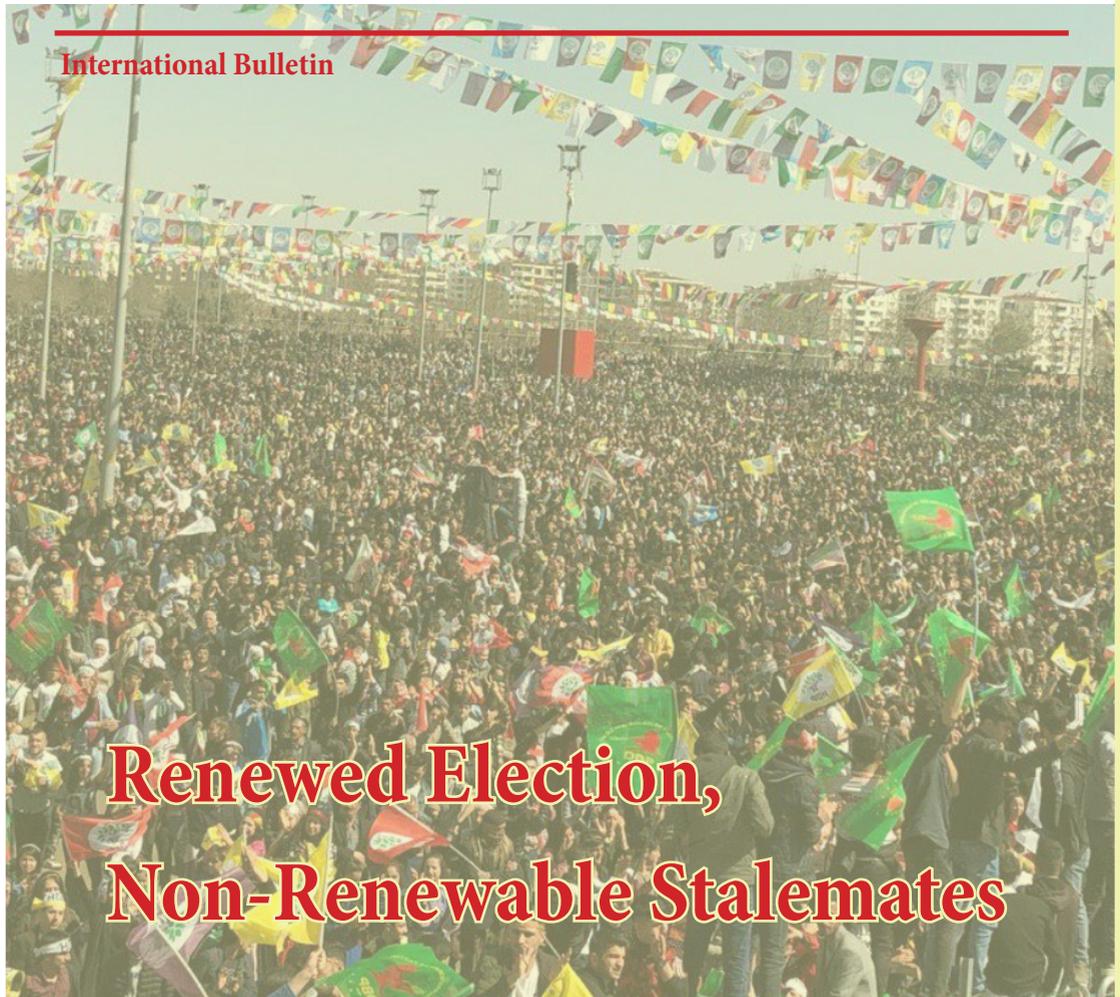
mothers who have become symbols of resistance, and especially those who are involved in the resistance, starting from Leyla Guven.

In the process of resistance of indefinite hunger strike and death fast, it will be appropriate to draw attention to the women's will. An elected representative, Leyla Guven, has taken a pioneering step to become a barricade against the isolation attack as a political woman and mother. The banner of resistance in this action grew in the hands of the revolutionary prisoners, along with thousands of PKK-PAJK prisoners and our comrades of MLKP/KKÖ who had been raising their comradeship with them. The resistance that has developed under the leadership of a political woman has been recorded in history with this side. Although the resistance of indefinite hunger strike and death fast have been completed, the fight against isolation will continue with new tools and forms. This resistance was not only against the isolation, as was said at the beginning. This action meant to become a barricade against the attacks of the fascist palace regime, but it as well meant to remind the political vanguards outside of the necessity to pass through "the gates of sacrifice of struggle". The success of this resistance was ensured by the united struggle. We must transform this resistance into the possibility of a quake in the regime.

**What is your message to the women?**

We must take root in the masses of

oppressed women. We should increase our resistance by developing our organization. In particular, it should be our priority to organize the anger of young women against the sexist fascist AKP regime. The fascist regime is right to be in fear of these new uprisings. The new 'Gezi's will also be embodied as women's uprising and revolts. We cannot wait for this to happen spontaneously. Current developments and the flow of history require that communist women be more organized and prepared. And again, the history of revolutions has shown us that women are squeezed into their traditional roles rather than being the subject of their own organization. In order to do this, the communist women must spread roots deep into the oppressed laboring women and among the young women. Women's self-defense forces must be maintained as militia, self-defense committees, united women's militia groups and so on, in the form of semi-military organizations. Their organization of course requires great patience, labor and will. And it requires passing through "the gates of sacrifice". As the famous saying, "either we will find a way, or we will open a path." To remind Kazantzakis' words, "[one] cannot sprout wings unless one has first reached the brink of the abyss." To sprout wings to be free, and being free requires to be at the heights of the abyss. Salute to those who live on the edge of abyss, opening their wings to freedom!



## Renewed Election, Non-Renewable Stalemates

In terms of reducing the vulnerability of this cruel regime through social legitimacy by popular vote, local elections held on 31 March in Turkey and North Kurdistan meant an important turning point for the fascist dictatorship which evolved into a one-man chief regime under Erdoğan's leadership, yet has been passing through a deep multi-faceted and long-term crisis. Turkey passed through 8 elections in the last 5 years. However, none of them solved the

structural crises of the regime, and what is more, this resulted in an even more severe economic crisis, which was constantly postponed with these election periods and the expectations of shortcut solutions depending on the international relations and foreign investments, and eventually crystallized step by step since the current capital accumulation model was stuck since 2013.

So that, TUSIAD (Association of Industrial Businessman of Turkey) has

not had any problems with the AKP government on the topics such as relations with international capital and the choice of capital investment areas within the country so far. However, since this group of collaborative monopolist bourgeoisie can satisfy its interest via the policies of AKP especially with the precarization of labor, the unrestricted exploitation of nature and the suppression of opposing voices through social legitimacy while all this happening, it was not making high-pitched protests against the AKP. But as of today, the revelation of TUSİAD which was displayed as an outcry for “democracy” in their recent statements was actually explanatory for the position of capital in the economic crisis in terms of laying out the negotiation process going on between the government and the capital by giving the fascist AKP-MHP alliance the message that either straightforwardly implement the policies of imperialist globalization which is embodied as IMF policies, or at least prevent the social unrest while exploiting.

The 31 March election process took place with all kinds of electoral frauds, like the previous ones, where violence was used as an electoral tool, the law was completely suspended and the revolutionary-democratic forces were criminalized. The president of the bourgeois opposition CHP was tried to be lynched in a district of Ankara, and journalists who critici-

zed the government were beaten on the street even though they were on the nationalist line, and peace academicians who had been dismissed before are now being arrested one by one. Eventually, after all these fuss, the AKP-MHP alliance lost municipalities in big cities, while in Turkey the general trend of melting of their vote continued. The economic crisis became the direct determinant of this melting. And the loss of the Istanbul municipality which comprises 25 percent of Turkey’s economy alone was not accepted by the AKP-MHP bloc both because it means the loss of big economic rent which has been an overt theft run by a seemingly criminal network of AKP’s political-Islamist circles and it was seen that it would be an important threshold in the process of overthrowing the fascist dictator. The legitimate election results were invalidated after one month of an unlawful “theater play” and the decision to re-election was taken by YSK (the High Board for Elections).

The cancellation of elections for these reasons is a necessity rather than a choice for the political power. As the 31 March election results show, the dictator is losing and needs a new election victory to survive. However, neither the discourse of “future survival” of the state which was used before the elections nor the expectations of “normalization” in politics after the elections were not solutions

for the regime, and this cancellation decision further deepened the regime crisis by adding new dynamics to it. The cancellation of the Istanbul elections is the introduction of the politics of designated trustees which was applied in the municipalities of Northern Kurdistan to Istanbul and it has abolished the legitimacy of “ballot democracy”. Surely now, there is no guarantee of any rights that cannot be assured by the struggle on the street and which are not defended by the organized will of the people. This cancellation decision of 6 May showed once again that the Erdogan’s palace regime could not be permanently defeated by the ballot boxes.

This is the case for the masses who fill the streets in Istanbul on the night of May 6 to protest. At this point, the laboring left movement has the responsibility of organizing a line that focuses on building the democratic forces accumulated the social tension around a reelection agenda as a revolutionary alternative. This requires a political strategy and tactics, including the organizational strategy embodied in the construction of the third front which will be the revolutionary alternative for the people, neither the political-islamist agenda nor the bourgeois democratic restoration program. No other plan will create a real solution for the working class and the oppressed.

Now, on 23 June, the ballots will be set up once again in Istanbul. If the

aim of the revolutionaries is to put down fascism as the first thing, this will only be through the mobilization of the democratic forces against the aggression of Erdogan and the social force that will grow from here. Under the conditions lack of minimum bourgeois democratic rules, the electoral activity can only be functional if it is combined with the actions of democratic forces, if it is subordinated to the actual confrontation of people with the palace regime. As long as the 23 June election result is not assured by a sustained street movement, it will be usurped by the tricks of the AKP-MHP fascist bloc, new lynching, war and occupation policies, and the Istanbul municipality remains in the hands of them.

The resistance line should be remembered again in these days, the anniversary days of the Gezi uprising. The lack of self-reliance in the laboring left forces and the feeling that there is no other choice but to back up the bourgeois opposition must be defeated. The best example of the resistance line was given with the hunger strike resistance which resulted in victory and the scarf-wearing mother’s movement which is among the vanguard subject of this resistance. This movement on the street combined with the self-sacrificing 8 immortal activists and thousands of prisoners, has brought fascism and the state to step back. Abdullah Ocalan’s message reached out after 4 years. And this de



velopment took place in a time when the state would never want it, thus it is a real victory, not a compromise. It is therefore essential to make an assessment taking into consideration of the whole of Kurdistan's liberation struggle against the evaluation of the reformist reflections in Ocalan's message by some social chauvinist sections by taking the words out of this context. As HDP does not nominate for mayor in Istanbul, the voter base of HDP, majority of which is Kurdish, will take a step further over this hunger strike victory by defending their anti-AKP choice after this undemocratic step of the government.

The struggle for freedom of women against the never-ending femicides and child abuses, and the most severe effects of the economic crisis, the labor struggle aggravated by the record-breaking unemployment rates, high inflation and harsh living conditions, the resistance vessels with the demand of justice such as the cases of Suruç and Ankara massacres, people who were dismissed by the statutory decrees (KHK) of Erdogan due to so-called terrorism ties and peo-

ple who retired at young age but are unable to get their pensions (EYT) will be able to re-develop not only in Istanbul but also in the whole country during this reelection period. The fact that the candidates do not only perform in Istanbul but also in other provinces so far is the most important indicator of this. This reflects the potential for the 23 June Istanbul election clash to turn into a springboard for the defeat of fascism.

Instead of channeling our peoples' accumulated anger into ballots and leaving the tense social dynamics to the consequences of polarization between the ruling classes, meeting on the streets of these resistance vessels, getting distinctive as a separate political line and handling the period on the line to build the third front anew and more powerful will be the tactic of the revolutionaries of Turkey and Kurdistan.

The communists and the revolutionaries will have an active relationship with each movement in this process, and they will take responsibility for the purpose of expanding the united public will on all grounds where we come side by side. They will struggle on the street, which is the only way for democratic rights such as a democratic and fair election environment and the right to vote. They will call on all progressive, left and socialist forces to fight together against the fascist block.

# Long Live the Resistance, Long Live the Victory!

MLKP Central Committee

Four years ago, the fascist chief and the murderous regime of the public enemies had announced that a shield reading „No entry and exit“ had been issued in front of the prison in Imrali and that this shield would not be ever hung up again. They propagated this as if the leader of the national democratic movement had been buried alive. They waged a fascist psychological war that was accompanied by the demagogy that the PKK, which waged a determined struggle for national democratic rights, forced them to do so. Under the vanguard of Leyla Guven, the resistance of the indefinite hunger strike and the attack of the death fast were started and developed, whereby the fascist chief-regime had to hang up this shield and throw away the grave lock, the culprit in the Ministry of Justice's chair had to declare the „repeal of prohibition of attending a lawyer's visit“, Ocalan's handwritten message from Imrali to the outside had to be accepted. The forbidden streets have been conquered again by the practical legitimate struggle. The deception about the invincibility of the dictator and the

fascist chief-regime has been strongly hit, along with its wall of fear.

Once again it was seen that those who have the courage to pass the sacrifice gates sooner or later will win. May this political and ideological victory be congratulated to the workers, women, youth and all the oppressed!

Glory above all the 8 immortal comrades; the creators of victory; the indefinite hunger strikers, among whom were also eleven communists, and who were in various corners of the world; the free prisoners who started the attack of the death-fast; the mothers with the white headscarves! Glory to the laborers, women and youth who shed sweat on the streets for the success of this great struggle in Turkey, Kurdistan and Europe.

Until the complete defeat of the extermination and isolation attacks of fascism in the prisons, the struggle on the streets and in the prisons will always be on the agenda. Communist prisoners and our party will fulfill their revolutionary responsibilities in this sense.

**May 26, 2019**

## „This Victory Will Be the Harbinger of New Victories“

*Prisoners of MLKP cases have issued a statement regarding the victory of the hunger strike for the lifting of isolation on Abdullah Ocalan:*

The resistance that began with the vanguard action of Leyla Guven and grew up with sacrifice; with the sacrificial spirit of Zulkuf, Medya and Yonca; with the determination of our white-scarf wearing mothers and the resilience of thousands of prisoners; has come to this point.

The determined prison resistance has persisted for three seasons, has spread from the prisons to the streets and has grown with the will of those

who have resisted the hopelessness in the direction.

We, as the prisoners of MLKP cases, have seen it as a historical responsibility to be subjects of this struggle against isolation and to position ourselves. We have become a modest, but unyielding part of this resistance. We are proud and happy to be part of this resistance and victory.

We believe that this victory, which has entered the history of the oppressed, will be the yeast for new resistance and victories against fascism and salute those who increase this will both inside and outside.

