

Issue - Autumn 2018
International Theoretical Organ

RED DAWN

Workers and Oppressed of All Countries, Unite!



The Existential Crisis of Capitalism
Political & Ecological Aspects

Women Revolution
Organisation - Consciousness -
SelfDefence - Social Struggles - Freedom

Marxist Leninist Communist Party
Turkey / Kurdistan



RED DAWN

17

Autumn 2018

International Theoretical Organ of MLKP

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Preface

As Marxist Leninist Communist Party of Turkey & Kurdistan, we have the pleasure to introduce you the new issue of our international theoretical organ Red Dawn.

In this issue, we have primarily focused on the women's liberation struggle which is discussed mainly in the light of the women revolution programme.

In the history of our party, our development has been both evolutionary and with leaps, with regards to theoretical, ideological and organizational aspects of the women's liberation. By involving in the strategical questions concerning the women revolution programme, the foundation of our Communist Women's Organization (KKÖ) during the 1st Communist Women's Conference of our party stands as one of our most important achievements and steps towards women revolution. In the first article, you will find the basic ideological and organizational points of our women organization.

The second article with the topic "Gender Consciousness and Class consciousness", questions one of the common understanding and attitude that is seen among the communist ranks which approaches skeptical on the gender consciousness for the sake of "saving" the class consciousness. In the light of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, the article reveals how gender consciousness stands as a must, not only for the women's liberation struggle but also for the whole struggle of socialism.

Our third article titled "Self Defense and Revolutionary Violence" discusses the necessity of the physical struggle for women's freedom, in the context of confronting against patriarchy as a systematic power of violence. This article analyses the meaning of the wide spread uprising of women right after the young student Özgecan Aslan was brutally murdered, as a turning point in the women's movement in Turkey.

The article "Women in Social Struggles" examines the role of women within the recent uprising and struggles in the context of class war. Analyzing the gender division of labor in society, it emphasizes the meaning of women's participation in the social struggles with their particular case of oppression, as well as the necessity for them to become leaders of these struggles.

A second focus of this issue is the ongoing analysis of the existential crisis of capitalism.

After the three articles focused on the general character of the existential crisis of capitalism and deepened the analysis of its economical and the ideological aspects in Red Dawn #16, this time we deal with the question how capitalism has reached to its limits in the political and the ecological sense. (you can download the previous issues on our website page www.mlkp-info.org)

The article titled "The Political Crisis of Imperialist Capitalism" concentrates on the ongoing depression of the imperialist bourgeois order, which has lost the material conditions to maintain its power other than force, and how it involves in the reactionary responds together with all its sections.

And lastly, the article "The 'Natural' Crisis of Capitalism" deals with the communist perspective of the ecological crisis. After dealing with the extent of devastation in nature, the article questions whether the limits of the imperialist globalization period of the world allow any exit from the destruction unless it is ended by a socialist revolution.

All the articles in this issue were published in the Socialist Woman (Sosyalist Kadın) and Marxist Theory (Marksist Teori).

We hope that the discussions included here will play a contributing role to improve our common practical fight against this decayed order of exploitation.

Communist Women's Organization

Fighting For Revolution

*"Women revolution means destroying the social basis making woman an oppressed gender with a revolutionary upheaval. Our party MLKP, who approaches the topic within this scope, puts forward its will to solve this problem of vital importance, which has been postponed to after revolution until today. Women revolution means break with reactionary, social roles. It is the uprising of women against all kind of secondariness deemed proper to women in the patriarchal system. It is the systematic struggle against all thoughts and feelings pulling women back. It is the consciousness of us, the women walking towards the center of politics, trusting in our strength, interfering actively into life. It means action, touching life concretely. It means that we as women have a relation on a new level on politics, theory, leading, means of violence; things considered to be far away from women and we give them our own color. (...) As a woman member of the party, I want to state that MLKP is a women's party. The party approaches revolutionary struggle with the perspective of women revolution. Women revolution is the manifesto of liberation from the patriarchal capitalist system. Our Party MLKP adopted the line of women revolution in its 4th Congress and with preparation and orientation in theory, politics, ideology and organizations in the woman liberation struggle, raised the communist women's movement to a certain level. With the KKÖ, whose foundation was announced on March 8, 2015 by the women of the party, they brought this level to a new organizational form. KKÖ will show an important will in the struggle against any kind of patriarchal approach, style, mode and show a revolutionary practice in the struggle against the gender roles and the patriarchy. I am greeting our KKÖ from here."*¹

These words taken from the first defense speech made in the courts of the fascist dictatorship in Turkey on behalf of the KKÖ in September 2015 summarize the idea of women revolution, which is the programme of the Communist Women's Organization of the MLKP.

Foundation Of The KKÖ – All Beginnings Are Difficult!

From January 3-7, 2015, the first Communist Women Conference of the MLKP was held. The Conference was "an important turning point in the history of the communist women's movement, the women revolution, for women becoming leaders and commanders and for the

efforts to find the according specific way of the organizational, political and theoretical development."² The declaration of the Conference characterizes the most important characteristic of the conference will as follows: "As any revolutionary action, the conference did not come together under conditions it preferred but under given circumstances. The problems from which our party and the women's front suffered in the previous periods and some negative consequences also had an impact on the preparation period of the conference. Heavy results from the time when our party went through with a lack of center which hit the women's front twice and which also resulted in difficulties like a split development of the woman understanding and will, also were on the agenda of the conference. However, this situation did not keep it away from showing the will to fulfill its duty of a new leap! (...) This is the most important reality of the conference's will."³

"The 4th Party Congress of the MLKP had pointed out the main features of the fundamental views, which are also principal for the decisions of the conference and the KKÖ today. Starting from that, the congress had indicated the need of a discussion about a new organizational model and taken a corresponding decision. Although the decisions of the 4th Party Congress basically led the women comrades in the different fronts of struggle, to increase their levels of gender consciousness and their relations with the women's freedom struggle, the women's understanding and will, yet remained split among the different fronts under the conditions of that time. The fact of this split and fragmented situation of the understanding, which went up to "tunnel views"; views limited to its own area, could not been overcome before the conference by means of carrying out an internal discussion, that there was no mutual interference beforehand, was a handicap of the conference. However, thanks to the active participation of women comrades from all struggle fronts to the conference itself, uniting different experiences at different fronts and the interaction based on socialist democracy; a deepness in thoughts could be reached from which a common understanding came out. Maybe an even bigger disadvantage of the conference than the one mentioned before were the problems resulting from the period when they developed in the form of introversion; the accumulated distrust among the women comrades, in possible development of the potential of the women's freedom

1 Taken from the defence speech at the court by MLKP-KKÖ member and communist prisoner Zeynep Yeter Gercek, published on September 18, 2015 in the weekly newspaper Atılım no. 191. She has been detained on September 25, 2014 and sentenced to 10 years of prison one year later. Send her a letter: Zeynep Yeter Gercek, Bakırköy Kadın Kapalı Hapishanesi, 34147, Bakırköy / İstanbul, Turkey.

2 Taken from the article "Let us raise the KKÖ with the spirit of the first Communist Women's Conference" published in Partinin Sesi (Voice of the Party), central organ of the MLKP, no. 85, August-September 2015.

3 Taken from the documents of the first Communist Women's Conference, quoted in PS no 85.

struggle, in the masses of women; the breaking of the will appearing here and there; the regression of the revolutionary cooperation among women and the feelings of woman comradeship and distrust in the understand of the party; lacking struggle concerning the topic and the questions of women's liberation struggle within the party organs, which all resulted more and more in decreasing will and hope to reach something in the women's freedom struggle.

There were different possibilities how to continue. The first option would have been to say "that happened to us due to our courageous steps"; deepen the decrease of will and distrust even more and take the return path! The second option would have been not to agree with the existence of these problems at all, repeat the ideal in words and just say something on the level of abstract understanding! The third possibility was to correctly define objective reality and act parting from this real situation, concentrating in advancing through changing this situation! As underlined also in the documents of the conference, the third option was elected; the conference decided approaching with revolutionary realism to crash the given reality with a revolutionary spirit of breakthrough and change it."⁴

At this conference, the Communist Women's Organization (KKÖ) was founded by the communist women. The MLKP Woman leadership states that the foundation of the Communist Women's Organization is a new level the communist women have reached.

The Communist Women's Organization And Organizational Principles

The first issue the conference focused on was political continuity; the task to unite politically and organizationally with the masses of women and the second issue was with which organizational form this period may be led without interruption; that is to say the problem of organizational continuity.

The organizational logic of the KKÖ consists not simply in leading the area of "women's work" and concentrating on that. It is an organizational understanding with the aim to lead the woman understanding and the woman action organizationally, politically and ideologically within the party, to rise the woman action in all fields of struggle, to turn women revolution into a strong political movement with the central element of winning the masses of women to the struggle on one hand, and to build its organizational structure and leadership on the other hand. The unity of organization and policy; meaning that political continuity requires organizational continuity and the relation between organizational continuity and permanent political action has shown itself in our history from time to time that way, that when one of the two elements or even both were interrupted, this caused a retreat in the respective front. The correct approach on creating unity among organization and policy is the most important way for the materialization of the ideological knowledge ac-

cumulated in this front. The KKÖ is exactly the result of the efforts to establish this unity among organization and policy.

Why not an independent women's organization but organizational autonomy? Or why not a wing-type sub-organization but a form of political organization and political autonomy being the half of the party?

The content of the political action is the basis of the answer to the question "what kind of organization?". Given that the content of our political action; our programme of women liberation, does not consist of making the masses of women a "reserve" of the social revolution but given that the women revolution aims at a social revolution with which the social sexism will be abolished, the question of "what kind of organization" has to be answered according to this aim.

Fundamentally, the communist women's movement stuck in its own history into two types of organization.

On the one hand, there are independent women's associations, trade-unions and similar means of struggle organizing the masses of women in the political struggle or in the context of their own partial agenda. Although these independent woman organizations are today indispensable means, too, in order to mobilize the masses of women in the political and social struggle for change, they are no means which can make possible the march of women into the center of struggle for political power, the vanguard and leadership of a social overthrow in the extensions of women revolution.

On the other hand, there are types of organizations like commissions and wings, "sub-organizations" or "partial units" of different kinds of social organizations like parties, trade-unions or similar things. This kind of organizations are partial, they do not correspond to the needs of a party-like political organization according to the woman freedom programme and which can assume their leadership. In order to leap the struggle around an advanced political programme it was necessary to found a political vanguard, a subject which answers to the programme of a social revolution.

Furthermore, the organizational understanding which the KKÖ is based on is nothing new for our party. It is both the normal result of its history and line of the women's liberation struggle and in baselines also part of the decisions of the 4th congress. In the period after the 4th congress, some organizational experiences were made in the different front organizations parting from the same understanding. So what are the concrete changes, where are the differences of woman organization concerning the organizational functioning for the party and what are the main organizational lines of the KKÖ?

Firstly, the KKÖ is not only the organization of the communist women in the area of mass work among women but the organizations of all communist women from all areas, from the communist women underground to above ground, from Europe to Kurdistan, from the press to the political-military front.

Secondly, it is based on its woman and leadership under-

standing leading all fronts. The efforts within the wing-type organization, fundamentally trying to change, lead and form the whole which starts from the woman mass front, have natural limits due to their organizational form. Thus, the contradiction between content and form, between political/ideological content and organizational shape turns into an objective border of the efforts of the communist women. While as a part of the party, the woman leadership leading all fronts is led by the party, at the same time it leads the party in a dual relation on the whole and it is a form of solution according to the change of the gender problem aspired. In this sense, the women leadership, different from the past experiences, when it was mainly limited with organizational leading of the mass front of women and making political proposals for the whole, now has the position of a political and organizational leadership of the women's freedom struggle as well as the position of an operational and complementary element of the realization of leadership within the current organizational form of the party and at the same time the position of a changing ideological center for the whole party.

Thirdly, we have to mention the quality of the organizations which the new model of organization is based on. The 4th Party Congress had lifted the limitation of the woman organizations of being only commissions including the central woman organization, however the organization did not overcome the spirit of commission, neither the modus operandi, the function linked to that nor the party opened the way for these organizations to play a role more advanced than commissions. The organization of our women's front remained on a half-autonomous level and was not donated with mechanism and rights needed for the power of implementation of their decisions. Our new organizing model is fundamentally based on authorized organs, as the 4th Party Congress has foreseen it. Together with the other elements of the model and especially together with the organizational autonomy, a real entity from right, authorization and responsibility came into being and it became possible that the qualities aimed at really could put into practice.

Fourthly, we want to mention the form of organizational hierarchy. The former organizational system was allowing only to the extend which it was possible to have organizational relations among the woman leadership and the forces of women in a certain area, in which organs directly responsible for woman work were founded. Given the fact that authorities and responsibilities as well as planning, leading and controlling were split among different organs, the women's freedom struggle could not be led in an all-embracing way. But the new organizational model binds all woman forces in different ways to the woman leadership and opens the whole party work to the control of woman understanding. Thus, at the same time, the direct interference of the women's organization and leadership into processes of building the necessary woman quality for the foundation of the required organs on all fronts has become possible.

Fifthly, organizational autonomy is the crucial point

which gives all this mechanism the quality of a real organization; which gives a real material existence, a real functioning to the organs, the organizational structures. The new model of organization caused – immediately after being announced and inevitably – doubts and questions concerning the “double burden”. Why not only a certain number of woman comrades concentrate on the questions of this front and the others only on those of other fronts, but instead, additionally to those comrades in charge of this front, all woman comrades of all fronts are faced with additional responsibilities and duties? Does this model give additional responsibilities to the woman comrades who already have duties in different organizations? Does the model add another task to the dozens of tasks already existing? Yes, it does, however the problem is that this is objective. There cannot be another consciousness of gender and another struggle of gender. That is also not different for those women who selected a totally separate way of organizing with a practice leaving apart other social struggles, also for women who decided to be completely organist in the way of sub-organization and carry out a partial work in this area. Yes, to be present in all areas and to say your opinion objectively means additional tasks, additional responsibilities, “double work, double time”.

However this is not a problem created by the new model, it just became more visible. Yesterday it did not look like that or not that clear. The new model makes the tasks, which already existed before, more visible. Thus, it should be even less legitimate for the communist women to abdicate from their responsibility. The new model did not create these disadvantages, on the contrary, it offers us a real concrete basis to overcome them. An organizational chain of the women's front with a leadership, which is really in the position to direct it with organizational autonomy, is the necessary condition. However, how much we will take advantage from that necessarily depends on the women's will. It is true that actually this was not different than before. To sum it up, double tasks require double rights. If the communist women, who are expected to raise women's liberation struggle on all fronts, to play a special role in education of woman cadres, to put questions concerning women's liberation on the agenda and produce solutions for the corresponding cadres; if they do not have “additional authorization” despite “additional tasks”, or to express it in a different way, if they do not have



the right to say something in the matter of cadres who should carry these out, or this right is not based on concrete organizational mechanism but depends on intention, understanding, capacity of this or that organ or cadres who “recognize priorities” and it is carried out only in a limited way; conditions for fulfilling their tasks would be limited from the very beginning. Apart from that, organizational autonomy is based on the idea which the point of view, the understanding and the priorities of women are taken as the basis for education, instruction of communist women and the solution for their problems. In a way, this is based on the understanding of the potential superiority of women concerning women issues. Thirdly, organizational autonomy is an answer to the need of taking decisions on our own, assuming responsibility for these decisions; also to learn, committing mistakes; to go forward leaning on its own experience, its own power and thus to strengthen the basis of revolutionary cooperation among women. Such an organization of women requires a high quality of cadres and at the same time, generates it.

Parting from this fundamental ideas our conference, constructed a model. At the same time, this model is in every regard, a state of transition. It is a state of transition regarding the adaptation with the general functioning and the constitution of the party. The model drafted in essentials and based on the present experience will find more real and concrete forms in the implementation. and it is a state of transition in this sense, too. The efforts to implement this model with a strong will, will create the basis for the model achieving further qualities.”⁵

Uniting The Masses Of Women with Women Revolution

No matter which kind of organizational model there is, without merging with the masses of laboring, working and young women, it is impossible that women revolution turns into a material force and takes the form of a concrete political movement. In this sense, the first Communist Women’s Conference “calls upon struggle against any kind of hidden distrust and alienation from the masses of women in our ranks and underlines in this context, the need to develop politics on local level and to enrich the means of agitation, propaganda and organizing of the women masses.”⁶ Doubtlessly, different forms of self-defense play an important role for the political activities.

Self Defense And Organizing Of Communist Women In Kurdistan

The first action of the KKÖ right after the announcement of the foundation to the public took place in Rojava as a retaliatory strike for our comrade Ivana Hoffman (Avaşin Tekoşin Güneş), who lost her life on March 7, 2015 when she was fighting at the front of Til Temir, Rojava against the IS. MLKP/KKÖ-Rojava said in the statement about the action which took place in Cizire: “We will continue to resist against the reactionary of the Islamic State, enemy of humanity and women just like our comrade Avasin

Tekosin Güneş by making our bodies a barricade.”⁷ They also stated that they will follow the way of Ivana, that the weapons will not be quiet and that they will continue to be the nightmare of the woman murderer and raper Islamic State.

Commander of the MLKP Battalion Martyr Serkan, Hêvî Sarya greeted, in the name of the woman fighters of the MLKP/KKÖ, the YPS-Jin as self-defense forces in Northern Kurdistan saying that it is an important answer to the AKP fascism. YPS-Jin (Civil Defense Units - Woman) is a civil force of Kurdish women defending the resistance of self-governance of Kurdish people going on despite the barbaric massacres of the colonialist fascist state.

From 4-12 January, the Sarya Özgür Training Cycle was organized by the Communist Women’s Organization in Rojava. The training cycle was dedicated to Berçem Renas and Ekin Su, who were martyred on December 22 in a heroic resistance in Istanbul and to the other martyrs of Northern Kurdistan.

The Immortal Woman Fighters Are The Heart Of KKÖ

Countless woman fighters, known and unknown, bravely opened our way. During different periods, they assumed important responsibilities and today KKÖ is rising on the shoulders of all these immortal woman comrades. The spirit of sacrifice of comrades Şengül Boran, Yasemin Çiftçi, Sibel Bulut, Ivana Hoffmann, Yeliz Erbay, Şirin Öter, Sevda Çağdaş, Berfu Canbay, Medine Özmez, Ayşe Deniz Karacağıl and Şevin Söğüt and the ideological leadership of Kutsiye Bozoklar show us the way and inspire us. The memory of the KGÖ members Büşra Mete, Polen Ünlü, Hatice Ezgi Sadet and the 7 other socialist women massacred by the AKP-IS murderers in Suruç will always keep our revolutionary spirit alive. The unified women’s struggle develops also with all the contributions of the communist women who were and are in prison.

Today, we live in times of war and revolution in the Middle East, in Turkey and in Kurdistan. On the one hand, the reactionary states, first of which the fascist Turkish AKP regime, and their collaborators like the IS are committing one massacre after another beyond any humane understanding. However, on the other hand, there is a resistance of the peoples which cannot be stopped by anything, and it is the women who are in the first lines. Not only in Kurdistan, also in Turkey, this struggle goes on, reaches new levels and is led in many cases by revolutionary and communist women.

“On December 22nd , 2015, two commander comrades, comrades Berçem and Şirin, answered the counter-revolutionary police’s annihilation attack and violence with their revolutionary will and revolutionary violence. They defended the party’s base they stayed at with their lives. By that, they joined the immortal comrades dying in the struggle for the revolution and socialism. Both didn’t only support the Kurdish freedom fighters’ and Kurdish

5 Ibid

6 From the documents of the 1st Women’s Conference.

7 www.anfturkce.net, March 11, 2015, „Hoffmann için suikast eylemi“

peoples' self-defense and armed resistance against the colonial occupation that has lasted for months from the West, meaning from Turkey, but also showed the way for strengthening the united revolutionary struggle and abolishing the colonial fascist dictatorship. They also gave us the message that the women's will and liberation could be won through revolutionary war practice and women's becoming commanders. (...) The MLKP has used any means and forms of struggle needed in the political struggle for the class struggle. Within its 20 years of struggle history, the party has used illegal and legal means, armed and disarmed means, the parliamentary and peaceful way as well as barricades and street resistances, unions and democratic organizations, cultural and sportive activities, strikes and boycotts, group and mass violence throughout its foundation and development. The members of the MLKP are trained as revolutionary fighters and militants foreseen by the statute and programme. They fulfill actions and take over duties needed by the party and class struggle. Comrades Yeliz and Şirin organized their lives and actions as wanted by the MLKP.”⁸

Şirin Öter (party name Ekin Su) came from the revolutionary mass work in the laboring districts of Istanbul and joined the military work. Since 2011, she was one of the commanders of FESK (Armed Forces of the Poor and Oppressed).

Comrade Yeliz Erbay (party name Berçem Renas) was a delegate of 5th Party Congress and the first Communist Women's Conference. During 18 years of struggle, she was underground for 14 years. “Comrade Yeliz took part in the foundation of the Communist Women's Organization. By being good prepared, giving intensive intellectual labor, making proposals and presenting draft resolutions and actively discussing, she made important contributions. Believing strongly in the need of growing woman comradeship, gender consciousness and love, she struggled everywhere for the special organizing of the action and type of relation of the communist women. She internalized woman comradeship in her daily life, in her revolutionary work. (...) Comrades Yeliz and Şirin walked to immortality resisting side by side against the enemy in their surrounded base; this is the new level of woman comradeship.”⁹

In times, where we receive again and again news of democratic, revolutionary and communist women being assassinated by the patriarchal spirit, by the fascist and reactionary regimes in the Middle East, the words of comrade Berçem may help us to understand, why women are so bravely fighting: “For my happiness, my womanhood, my gender, my freedom I am taking the risk of death. (...) In a country, where every day 5 of my kind are confronted with death due to reactionary violence of men, is that really so much, to embrace death in order to present a wor-



ld, where women can freely fly? No, not at all. I am chock full with women understanding, women comradeship and militancy. Especially, after the communist women brought into being their own organization, these feelings are on the top. Now, I am looking more confidently to our struggle. I feel stronger, more organized. And more responsible at the same time. I am walking, feeling the alliance of the KKÖ, the united force of the communist women, deep inside in every single cell of my body. We created another position in the ideological, organizational, political struggle. To accept the programme of women revolution, the KKÖ or not is something we have to deal with as an ideological question. Developing the science of Marxism-Leninism with a woman understanding, will and initiative means strengthening Marxism-Leninism. In the era of revolutions of the 21st century, women revolution is clear half of these revolutions. In Rojava, the programme of women revolution came to power. Inevitably, the search of the oppressed women of the world will organize and give life to it everywhere. Equal, free, humane life will start after this is achieved.”¹⁰

“The fact, that comrades Berçem and Ekin placed a cluster bomb of 40 kg material perfectly camouflaged, which exploded by remote control, in other words the technique they used and the fact that they targeted a bus full of policemen drove the enemy mad. It was not difficult for the enemy to guess that they will overcome the mistake of being 2 seconds late in future actions. Just like in the case of comrade Hasan, comrade Süleyman, the 33 comrades in Suruç, this time, the enemy gave its message by assassinating comrades Berçem and Ekin. They say: stop, do not go on on this line, with this tempo, do not raise the war to this level otherwise you will see nothing but death and tyranny!

Our attitude is clear. We remind again those who still did not hear it; our Red Detachments in the Black sea neighborhood in Istanbul shouted out our answer once again. We are ready to give everything we have in order to organize revolution. These are our last words.”¹¹

8 Taken from: International Bulletin of the MLKP no. 159, January 2016, see www.mlkp-info.org

9 Taken from: Statement of the MLKP-KKÖ, Women Leadership, December 22, 2015

10 From a letter by MLKP-FESK Commander Yeliz Erbay, posted in the newspaper Atilim, February, 5, 2016, no 210.

11 Taken from: Voice of the Party 87 January-February 2016, “We will never bow our head to the women massacres of the colonialist fascism“

Gender Consciousness And Class Consciousness

It is one of the reality of the communist and revolutionary ranks to be skeptical about the concept of “gender consciousness” for the sake of the concept of “class consciousness”; to find a feminist deviation from Marxism-Leninism or from the revolution, to believe that propaganda works and political struggles around this concept do actually push “the class consciousness” and “the class struggle” into the background. This situation is not equal and same everywhere. In some parties and organizations, this mentality is much more close to be limited with their male forces, however in others, it stands more to be a general situation.

This is not surprising, because every revolutionary search and demand of the women’s freedom struggle has encountered such similar questions. Even the demand for „women’s suffrage“, which today needs no discussion, was accepted in 1907, in the 1st Socialist Women’s International after an intense struggle against reactionary patriarchal worries, such as “it will blur the class war”. Again, the idea of a special organization of women, led by Clara Zetkin, came to the life only after the great struggles given within the Communist Party of Germany (KPD).

Many issues and approaches of which those of today would say “ofcourse we accept” while seeing a contradiction between the gender consciousness and the class consciousness, were became the topics of similar discussions in the 20th century.

The Proletariat For The Emancipation Of The Whole Humanity

The material basis of the complete abolition of the private property and the class society (the social production which makes this abolition necessary and possible) and its subject, the social force (proletariat) had emerged with the capitalism. Because of both its place in this capitalist mode of production and its relationship of property, the proletariat gained a historical mission as the vanguard of the classless society, the grave digger of capitalism, in terms of being the class who gathers the elements for the social emancipation of all humanity within its own class qualities and whose objective interest is to abolish all classes together with itself.

Then, it is a fact that the proletariat could play its historical role because and as much as it is able to represent the emancipation of all the oppressed and exploited sections at the forefront and in a most consistent way.

As Lenin states by addressing Karl Kautsky, the struggle of the working class is not a byword for the struggle of socialism: “...socialist consciousness appears to be a necessary and direct result of the proletarian class struggle. But this is absolutely untrue (...) **But socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other; each arises under different conditions.**”¹

What is „the class consciousness“ for the proletariat?

1 V.I. Lenin, What is to be Done, in Collected Works vol.5, (Progress Publishers, 1977), p.383

*“Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic point of view and no other . (...) Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding or rather, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical, understanding of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life .”*²

Lenin not only describes class consciousness, he also explains why communists must take the relationship between all classes as a course of its own revolutionary action:

*“Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, (...) ...the reply to the question as to what must be done to bring political knowledge to the workers cannot be merely the answer with which, in the majority of cases, the practical workers, especially those inclined towards Economism, mostly content themselves, namely: “To go among the workers.” To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social-Democrats must go among all classes of the population; they must dispatch units of their army in all directions.”*³

So, it is not the communists’ understanding and action, but of the economists, that holds the proletariat as a purpose for its own, and the class consciousness as a consciousness merely for its own. Besides, we do all know that the entire history of communists’ struggle has developed as a history of a ideological and political struggle against these such currents.

Social Genders As A Social Differentiation Within The Oppressed Class

What role does the gender consciousness play, under the conditions in which the society is divided not only into classes, but at the same time into social genders which are all included in each of these classes?

The social genders (the oppressive male gender and the oppressed female gender) have been differentiated within themselves into classes. Both genders (one as the oppressor, the other as the oppressed) have their own common gender interests within themselves. But when we discuss from the viewpoint of the oppressed gender, the class differentiation within a social gender provides the women of the ruling class with satisfactory class privileges to such a degree that they would be content themselves with some limited gender gainings. Yet, the members of the oppressor gender from the same ruling class are in a position to make concessions in this manner, which they actually did

2 Ibid., p.412

3 Ibid., p. 422

throughout the history. These kind of class privileges and this form of a relationship with the private property are so strong that even the contradiction between bourgeois woman and bourgeois man remains no longer antagonistic.

The classes are also differentiated into social genders. If we discuss the issue this time from the perspective of the oppressed and the exploited working class, then we see the fact that the privileges of the oppressive gender are not based on their right of disposition in a way to have an interest in maintaining the private property over the means of production. Thus, the gender privileges of the oppressive gender don't exclude the antagonistic character of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of the oppressive gender. For this reason, both parts of the gender differentiation within the working class can play a role against the private property. On the other hand, the oppressed gender, the women, undertake a special role in the social revolution (which we'll discuss below) due to their objective reality that they won't be able to be emancipated unless the entire material basis of the private property over the means/materials of both production and personal consumption would be abolished.

Then, what kind of a role does the social gender differentiation, which, in Engels' words, is "the first class antagonism" that coincides with the "development of the antagonism between women and men in the monogamous marriage", which is „the first class oppression“ that coincides with the „oppression of the female gender by male gender“, play over the class consciousness?

The struggle between the oppressive male gender and the oppressed female gender becomes one of the aspects of the class war as well as one of the social dynamics of the liquidation of the private property. As long as this social dynamic is clarified, organized and leaded by a revolutionary subject, the class war becomes much more sharp and strong.

What blurs the class consciousness is not the gender consciousness itself but on the contrary, it is the obscureness of the social gender differentiation in the eyes of the proletariat.

„The gender unconsciousness“ blurs the class consciousness of the proletarian man, because his privileges rooted in being the oppressed gender becomes a bond, a shackle, at least an aggravating factor in terms of playing his revolutionary role. If the proletarian man doesn't take the right position in the women's freedom struggle, or at least be neutral, then he keeps the danger to be reserved by the reactionary and counter-revolutionary approaches, organizations and forces. It is not for nothing that the communists have been targeted in countless regions of the world for many years, with discourses around the "community of women in communism". The aim was to weaken the class war of the proletariat on the basis of the backward consciousness of men within the oppressed classes. This backward consciousness has no chance of being effective, let alone being right. Anyway, it is also possible to define „the gender unconsciousness“ of a proletarian man as a "gender consciousness", but, as a backward one of the oppressor

gender or similarly, a spontaneous "gender consciousness" of a man. That is to say, as long as the material reality exists, in which one belongs to a gender and between these genders there is a social differentiation, every proletarian man and every proletarian woman, whether spontaneously or in an organized way, whether with the class conscious or not, will necessarily take position in one side of this differentiation, as long as he*she belongs to a gender. Because it is not possible to think and act outside of the social reality which they live within.

„Gender Unconsciousness“ also blurs the class consciousness of the proletarian woman. (It is true that one does not understand only the man when we say „proletarian“, isn't it?!) It becomes difficult for women to participate in the ranks of struggle, if she cannot understand that she is subjected to a double exploitation, oppression and male violence because she belongs to a particular social gender. Patriarchal traditions become the strongest ideological weapon against woman to naturalize and legitimize the capitalist exploitation. Furthermore the male violence, oppression and obstacle over woman realizing in the name of father-man, the husband-man and the brother-man, would be a de-facto physical obstacle for her participation in social struggles, unless a consciousness of the necessity for her to directly fight against this obstacle would be developed. The gender conscious woman becomes a stronger subject in the fight of changing the world.

From the point of view of the both genders, the *right relationship with the woman's freedom struggle*, will strengthen also their political class consciousness.

The Social Classes As A Social Differentiation Within The Oppressed Gender

So, this is the situation in terms of the gender differentiation within the proletariat. But then, the skeptic towards the „gender consciousness“ for the sake of the „class consciousness“ that finds a feminist deviation from the revolution or Marxism-Leninism would ask: "Since the gender consciousness doesn't only deal with the proletarian woman but with the whole gender, then wouldn't it correspond to a class reconciliation on behalf of the women of the ruling class?"

Afterwards, that understanding would add more and say "my point is not anything about fighting for the issues of women. The matter is that, under the name of the gender consciousness, women of all classes are qualified as the oppressed and counted as revolutionary subjects, which disrupts the class standpoint and deviates from the communist perspective!"

Furthermore, the issue would even be discussed through comparisons and examples, which infact doesn't amount to a great theoretical abstraction, such as Condoleezza Rice, Tansu Çiller (the prime minister of Turkey at 90's, who is famous with counter-guerilla massacres) or Angela Merkel, and the problem will be enlightened in one fell swoop: „Are they also suppressed?“, „Are we gonna target also their liberation?“

Let us take this objection, point of view, question or thesis

into account, in the light of the social gender with regards to the class situation of the oppressed gender:

Above, it was said that there is also a class differentiation within the social gender. The oppressed gender woman, including both the women of the ruling class and the proletarian women, involves women from various oppressed classes and stratas.

(We must add this note before moving on: Actually, until a certain period of capitalism, we can not talk of women who are "members" of a particular class, but „belong“ to a particular class. Because all women, extending to the wives of the sultans, were the „property“ of a man of a particular class, until the time, when the capitalist order let women get in touch with the "outside world" and through this character of "being a property of man", they were experiencing both the privileges and the disadvantages of a certain class. They were not beings on their own for themselves. In capitalism, on the other hand, the woman has reached the state of belonging to herself, to be a thing in itself. The achievements of the bourgeois women in terms of hereditary and property rights, the „right“ of the proletarian woman to wage slavery, and the totality of these relationships for women in general, have led them to be a member of a certain class on their own. Ultimately, from the perspective of our topic, the situation of the woman who is in relationship with the ruling class through both mediations, are same, and as it will be described below!)

Men's right of disposition of labor and the body of women, no matter which class or social strata they belong to, was socialized in the capitalist order. In the capitalist order, women are exploited as domestic servants/workers, as workers and laborers, and as a general commodity in every situation. The woman's body, not the body of woman A or B, but in the sense of a general being is a general commodity and a for capital investment.

The bourgeoisie has made the press of the patriarchy as loosen as possible for a certain part of women, for the women of the bourgeois class. What they possess on the basis of class privileges is much more than what they suffer on the basis of the gender differentiation. So that women in this class can live in peace with the order of the private property and the patriarchal order in two ways: first, as a class, as the upholders; rulers, property owners and bureaucrats of this order. Second, as a gender, they can the consequences of the capital's general right of disposition of women by means of the privileges that the ruling class recognizes. In this sense, the housework has been left to other women, whereas they have security walls against the patriarchal threats of the men outside from their class, have the opportunity to benefit laws not only on paper, but also in practice, etc... They are the conductors of the misogynist politics; the ones who provide the continuity of the order.

For some of the petty-bourgeois women, it is possible to realize some essential concessions within the limits of the capitalist order. For example, access to legal rights, child care and similar opportunities, improvements in individual sexual rights and innumerable achievements have been gained in European countries depending on the develop-

ment of the petty-bourgeois feminist movement. The realization of these concessions is related to the level of the women's struggle, as well as the general political and economic situation of each country; and in the last analysis they are periodical.

But for the other women of the oppressed and exploited classes, essential changes that they can practically benefit, can only come on the agenda when political and social revolutionary conditions arise.

Nevertheless, beyond all these, the capitalist economy, is a large-scale economy, a social economy and, *without exception, all material and social relations between all classes and stratas are formed on a social scale*: all men oppress all women, and they oppress them directly. The commodification of the woman's body, socializes the privilege of looking at the goods showing the naked body of women, for all men even though there is no equal distribution. Classically speaking, this concrete woman, whose naked body is commodified, can stay much higher from the class perspective than that concrete man, who consumes the commodity, but nevertheless the action of using this commodity with the possibilities of capitalism, thanks to the conditions produced by capitalism, in which the woman is commodified in a social extent, means that the man uses his patriarchal privileges. In this order, in which the women are directed outside the house to the streets, all women can be harassed or raped. All women, including the presidents, ministers, company owners etc. can be oppressed by sexist verbal abuse. All these examples that can be endlessly increased without any doubt, are the forms of oppression, humiliation and domination which affect all women from all classes.

To claim that the Marxist-Leninist Communists, especially the Communist Women, who correctly understand the relationship between man and woman as a social relationship and define this relationship in their specific form first in capitalism and later under the conditions of the *imperialist globalization*, who define correctly that the men as a whole social part oppress the women as a social part, who correctly define the special form in which the oppression of the woman occur *outside the boundaries of home and family* and that this is *realized on a social scale*, and who set the gender consciousness on this axis, would make class compromises, let's say with Angela Merkel, on the basis of the gender consciousness, will be more or less the same to treat, for example, those who emphasize the objective anti-imperialist character of various Islamic forces against the US occupation in Iraq, as if they are the potential supporters of the racist-fascist Islamic State. There is a huge difference between the question of theory / programme concerning the correct definition of a social law, relation and objectivity, and the strategic / tactical question of what relation has to be established with which of the forces acting in that objectivity.

Yes, gender consciousness is the consciousness of the existence of a social order in which all women are oppressed by all men. But no, this doesn't mean that all of these women can have the gender consciousness or can fight against the patriarchal order. How and on which level women from va-

rious classes will play a role in the women's freedom struggle depends on *how much the class they belong to can play a progressive role within the social and material reality of a given country.*

What is important is that, also in such these circumstances, the gender consciousness among women does not mean to a class reconciliation, but plays a differentiating role, because women from different classes have very different attitudes towards various issues of the women's freedom struggle. Uniting the most possible wide strata of women for a revolutionary women's freedom programme, for the women revolution programme, and building alliances with the organized representatives of these stratas to strengthen that programme on the basis of current tactics, will broaden and develop the class war in every situation. It will simplify the polarization of the oppressed and working masses against the capitalist order.

The problem is at what extent the owners of that understanding described above see the women of this or that class as a mature subject that can determine its own life. Of course, those who consider the history as a stage that takes place among the men, who think that the big deals are handled by men and women only play a fortifying reserve role depending on which class / strata they belong to, cannot describe the social forces in a right way and develop a strategy.

Gender Consciousness And The Development Level Of The Class Movement

The topic must be discussed on the basis of this very simple but very functional question, and we must receive very real, as in any reality, very revolutionary answers: What do the spontaneous movements of the masses and the concrete experiences of the class war tell us?

After all, does "the class consciousness" mean the comprehension of the own historical mission for the proletarian woman and the proletarian man, namely their uncompromising rejection of the order of private property, or not?

Is the class consciousness of a proletarian man backward or progressive, when he accepts any privilege of private property order, any of the „boons“ of the patriarchal capitalist order?

An important part of those whose hands are soiled by the blood of the murdered women are the men from the ranks of the working class! The others belong to the fundamental allies of the revolution, the peasants and the urban poor! Is this backward consciousness which is close to the struggle for freedom and socialism? Isn't it *one of the most important lessons of the democracy school that the working class has to go through*, that women develop gender consciousness, beat back patriarchal violence, understanding and action?

Is it the backwardness, or progressiveness of the class consciousness of a proletarian woman, when she postpones, accepts or remains uninterested on the patriarchal reactionism that legitimizes the private property order and restricts her own revolutionary action, when she remains insensitive to the problems of the oppressed of her own



gender? Isn't it a very simple, very pure reality that the gender-conscious women who are in struggle with the patriarchal order have a more progressive revolutionary potential than women who live in peace with the patriarchal order?

Is the class consciousness more progressive in where the democratic movements of women from different classes are strong or where they are weaker?

In Egypt, Tunisia, Chile, Spain, and countless other countries in which a wave of uprisings has spread recently, in which the women of all the oppressed and exploited stratas, especially the youth, participated broadly, even predominantly, have been accompanied by the emergence of broad movements for the rights and freedoms of women and several women organizations and institutions, haven't it?

Isn't it right that, without exception, the women's movement, everywhere and in every example, comes to be not just the product, but also the vanguard force of the developing class wars?

Yes, as the class war develops, the gender consciousness of women develops as well. And vice versa, women become *one of the dynamics that develops the class war* in any situation of which their gender consciousness improves and overflows to the streets.

No matter for what reason (national or class) a woman wants to participate in the social struggle, the first threshold that has to be passed beyond is anyway the doorstep of her house! And just like the proletariat, who can't develop their class consciousness without being trained in the school of democracy, women can't gain the gender consciousness, neither individually nor collectively, unless she includes the struggle against patriarchy in her daily political work, without shifting it into an indeterminate future, to socialism and the process after.

At the same time, the achievements of the struggles that are given to expand the political and social rights and freedoms within the bourgeois order, create more suitable conditions for the organization and politicization of women. Just as the 8-hour working day has created more appropriate conditions for organizing the working class. The right to vote, equality before the laws (including the civil and the criminal laws), the right to divorce, the decline of male violence against women, all of these reveal better opportunities for women to become subjects in the social struggle, and in these struggles, women strengthen their collective consciousness, as well as their ability to act together and accumulates experiences of political struggle.

If all these clear realities of the spontaneous integration of the women's freedom struggle development with the development of the political struggle of the working class are accepted, then what is the opposed matter? Is it the communists' action, that theoretically abstract this reality, combine it with the revolutionary will and head to organize it distinctively?

It is no big deal at all to define and accept the existence of the „spontaneous“ progress of the women's movement, the „spontaneous rising“ in terms of women's participation and becoming subjects in the revolutionary ranks. The contradiction between the social and private character of the production, that is, *the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, also functions in the social gender differentiation*. As much as the bourgeoisie needs the patriarchal reactionism, supports and strengthens its ideological apparatus and means of violence, it strengthens also the conditions for the destruction of the private property, by the channel of double exploitation of woman, on the basis of the exploitation of her labor power and body, whereby women are in a constantly increasing and advancing manner pulled outside the house, on the streets, into the social life. The consequences of this simple reality aren't only seen by the Marxist-Leninists, but also by the bourgeoisie with all its currents and institutions. The tendencies of the bourgeois parties to gain cadres and grow among women, to discuss women quotas in the executives of big corporate and monopolies, to issue more women in the showcases of economic and political institutions are all attempts to absorb this social dynamic within the prevailing order. Rather than a forced approval, the revolutionary attitude towards this reality is to create the programme, the strategy and the organizational means that polarize this social dynamic against the ruling order and to build the daily politics and tactics on this basis.

The thesis that „gender consciousness blurs the class consciousness“, beyond the definition of reality and its acceptance, forms a barricade against a revolutionary attitude.

Discussing the vanguardist mission of the proletariat, Lenin said:

“For it is not enough to call ourselves the “vanguard”, the advanced contingent; we must act in such a way that all the other contingents recognise and are obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard. And we ask the reader: Are the representatives of the other “contingents” such

fools as to take our word for it when we say that we are the vanguard?”⁴

For the proletariat to be accepted by the democratic women's movement as vanguard, isn't it the necessary condition to prove it by giving the most advanced struggles with its political action for winning these rights? Then, who will be the vanguard of the proletariat in this action? Who, if not its gender-conscious representatives?

With Whom Do the Communists Must Deal with?

Those who see an uncompromising contradiction between the gender consciousness and the class consciousness, and who also pretend that this is not the line of a political party, but only the line of women, are sure to apply the highest degree of justice and to have the most advanced and pure ML attitude, while they tell female communists, “you should deal with the capitalist order, the patriarchal order, instead of dealing with us!” But this is just one kind of the arrogance, which is well known by ruling nations, religions and classes inside of the oppressive gender!

What is not understood: exactly because we are dealing with the patriarchal, capitalist order, we cannot ignore these such approaches. Because they are reconciliatory with the patriarchal capitalist order and do represent no progressive class consciousness, but a backward one. Because we cannot allow the proletariat to have a consciousness blurred by the ideology and privileges of the order. Because we call proletarian women, men and LGBTI's to become vanguards in a social struggle by fighting against all the privileges of the patriarchal and capitalist order, the order of private property. For this reason, we have to deal with the approaches that reduce class consciousness to the lower level of a spontaneous consciousness, to the lower level of daily struggles with economic demands.

Not because of the achievements that Engels and Zetkin brought to the communist movement boil down to this, but because of the fact that we couldn't embrace these in a productive way; this such a confrontation within the communist movement, which remained on the plane of “women and men all together” that led a limited development in theoretical, organizational and political sense, became a surprising and annoying “new situation” especially for the communist men.

But in reality, this confrontation is not new to the communist women, but it's essentially new to the communist men! Anyway the communist women is in a fight against the limits of the patriarchy in any station of her own development and action. So with the term and the approach of „gender consciousness“, the proletarian man and woman won't create and construct a gender differentiation or a gender conflict between themselves. The point is, to turn the *existing* material reality, an objective contradiction, which functions in *disadvantage* of the struggle for socialism, into a favorable one for socialism with consciousness and will! The point is, to make the man see the reality, of which the woman sees, lives and experiences anyway, and from which the man experiences privileges. The point is, to

4 Ibid, p. 426

render the woman conscious who doesn't know what she is fighting against individually in many situations and to open her a collective battlefield!

And, of course, what is about is the further: the consciousness and the action that approves women as even more revolutionary social dynamic and revolutionary subject!

But the whole comprehension and practice of gender consciousness and the women revolution, really don't target mainly the revolutionary man and the communist man! The communist man makes himself a target by the weakness of his own revolutionary action for the change and his disinterest and insufficiency in the implementation and comprehension of the Marxist women revolution line. Even in this situation, however, he's not at the center of the ideological struggle of the political line of the women revolution, but standing on the side of it. Reasons for the discussions about „mainly with whom” women should deal, is the *tendency of men to put themselves on the center of every topic, due to the kind of thinking and feeling formed through the patriarchal culture*. Otherwise, the „main” goal of this entire political programme and action, is to win the women, primarily the women of the working and laboring strata, for the revolution, to win the revolution for women, and to lead the ultimate victory of the new society. On this issue, communist men have to do something they are not used to, they have to show the responsibility of realizing that they aren't the center of women's action, but a detail, and that this is due to their weaknesses to renounce from their gender privileges and let their gender renounce this privileges individually, as well as collectively.

What The Practical Experiences Of Socialism Have Taught

This comprehension of the „class consciousness” is able to limit the struggle of the communists against the patriarchal and capitalist order and it can also become to a real limited focus in the construction of a socialist society.

As the support and ideological basis for women to become a subject, a social dynamic and an organization in a collective sense, the gender consciousness is the assurance of the construction of the socialist society. The liberation of women and the end of social gender inequality are fundamental to build socialism and the communist society. The socialist society can only progress towards communism, as much as it abolishes not only the contradictions of the urban-rural and intellectual-manual labor, but also the social gender contradiction and all manifestations of sexism.

By integrating itself to all class societies, patriarchy has reproduced itself by shaping the mindset, culture, traditions, comprehensions and sentiments of the society thousands of years and thus has almost gained the appearance of „god's gift”. Capitalist society is the last link of this. For that reason, the point is much more rooted that it can not be abolished easily by transforming the position against the production means. The new human who thinks in a new language, who has gained a new heart, and whose mindset, culture, traditions, mentality and feelings would be on this basis, has to become „typical”. In other words, the abolition of the private property on the means of production

will only create the preconditions for a social transformation that will abolish gender inequality and won't solve the problem by itself or automatically. Decrees and laws are not enough to make that change happen. All reflections of the patriarchy over the social formation continue to resist against this change.

The objective basis of the gender difference is not abolished completely neither in socialism. Without reaching to a productivity level which would first socialize the housework and childcare within the framework of the reproduction of the lineage and secondly, abolish the private property on the individual consumer goods, thus, the foundations of the individual accumulation on the axis of the family; the social gender differentiation that locates the woman as a secondary gender on the basis of the family and the law of succession would remain the new society.

The question of building a new society, including all its dimensions, cannot be handled on the basis of a spontaneous economic development. The intervention not only in the infrastructure but also in the superstructure, in the political institutions, together with the participation of women is obligatory for socialism to progress towards this way. Yes, in order to have the housework and childcare completely socialized, the productivity has to reach a particular level however, the development of this socialization can be ensured only by involving women, under their leadership.

Otherwise, the continuity of the individual accumulation, the gender division of labor and the family would remain as a handicap, a regressive factor and an obstruction not only for women but also for the whole socialist society; the male habit and the culture becomes a destabilizing factor for the socialism in terms of economy, politics and the organization of the society.

The women's freedom is also obligatory in respect to the economic foundation of socialism. *Socialism is possible only by the complete development of the productive forces, as well as by the freedom of women's labor in a true meaning*. This corresponds to the women's participation in the social production, in the social life. It is also one of the fundamental elements to abolish “the the contradiction between the development of the productive force and the relations of production”.

On his speech given at the “IV. Moscow City Conference of Non-Party Working Women” in 1919, Lenin emphasizes the revolutionary significance that October Revolution had immediately ensured the equality between men and women before the law, and continues: *“Owing to her work in the house, the woman is still in a difficult position. (...) We are now making serious preparations to clear the ground for the building of socialism, but the building of socialism will begin only when we have achieved the complete equality of women and when we undertake the new work together with women who have been emancipated from that petty, stultifying, unproductive work. This is a job that will take us many, many years. (...) And the work of organising all these institutions will fall mainly to women.*



(...) We say that **the emancipation of the workers must be effected by the workers themselves**, and in exactly the same way the emancipation of working women is a matter for the working women themselves. The working women must themselves see to it that such institutions are developed, and this activity will bring about a complete change in their position as compared with what it was under the old, capitalist society.”⁵

The line of MLKP in terms of politicization and organization on the axis of gender consciousness-women revolution, is nothing other than a logical outcome of Lenin’s words. In the Soviet experience, this idea and necessity couldn’t find a sufficient response in terms of organizational and political leadership, theoretical approach and political practice and eventually, the revolution couldn’t preserve the reached level due to the fact that it failed to create the means of organizing the women’s power in a collective way.

In this context, this assessment of the utopian socialist Fourier, which Marx and Engels was also sharing, has been proved not only by the Soviet experience but also by the ongoing revolutionary struggles of today: “*The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women towards freedom, because in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation.*” (Charles Fourier, 1841)

During the revolutionary armed struggle period in Nepal, the participation of women in the ranks of the guerrilla had been reached up to 40 percents, as an indicator of the change in women’s social status. However, since this situation is comprehended under a superficial manner of equality leading to assume that the social gender differentiation has automatically gained the class character and the

patriarchal mentality has completely lost its foundation in the ranks of the party, this quantity of women in guerrilla ranks couldn’t transformed into a quality that can be ensured by women commandship and thus, only in the first two years of the peace process, the women participation declined to 12 percents on the basis of the reconciliation with the family and traditions. While the quantity of the guerrillas were declining generally, the first ones going back home became the women. It is not that much difficult to see the role of the unconsciousness of women as a gender and their unorganized situation within the organization, which failed to resist this result. That is, the unorganized one becomes immediately liquidated!

The role of women’s fertility on the Palestinian resistance has been mentioned many times. In fact, the material reality that obliges a population policy against Israel’s war of genocide, couldn’t be administrated on the basis of gender consciousness even at a minimum level. Yes, the continuity of the lineage is a must, moreover, it is an essential condition and form of the war. But in the Palestinian case, it is maintained on the basis of the traditional division of labor, which is counted as “natural”, without developing not any special revolutionary policy to change it. Can we suppose that this had brought grave consequences only for the women? No, not at all. Since the “Palestinian warrior” was formed among the men, who have the responsibility to maintain the family in economic sense under this social division of labor, this situation did objectively bring a kind of a waged military system, despite their paramount level of sacrifice; that influenced the relationships of some of the Palestinian organizations with the Arab states, even paving the way for presenting reactionary attitudes, and also became a factor of the lack of the creation of an ideological alternative against the political Islamic reactionism.

Same periods have also been experienced in the Kurdish women’s movement case. We can easily assess that, every liquidation wave emerged throughout the PKK (The Kurdistan Workers’ Party) history was developed around the women’s liberation issue at the same time. The US originated liquidation plan, which had developed by the axis of the discourses such as “social reform”, “freedom to marry”, is one of the most clear example of it. And it is also very clear that, it was the women’s organizational level itself that allowed the Kurdish women movement as well as the PKK and KCK (The Kurdistan Communities Union) leadership to develop a way out from this liquidation plan. Yet, regarding to its given material reality, Kurdistan is quite suitable for its own revolutionary subject to be defeated against the patriarchy in the society, however, by leaning on the organized collective women will, these such problems have been overcome.

5 V.I. Lenin, Speech Delivered at the Forth Moscow City Conference of Non-Party Working Women, in Collected Works vol.30, (Progress Publishers, 1974), p. 383

In 1920, on his speech on the International Working Women's Day, Lenin was summarizing the achievements of the October Revolution: "*Complete equality has not been granted even by the most progressive republican, and democratic bourgeois states. The Soviet Republic of Russia, on the other hand, at once swept away all legislative traces of the inequality of women without exception, and immediately ensured their complete equality before the law.*"⁶

This was a matter of a great political courage and a great revolutionary action! Think about it: you will take a fragile power, have the duty to implement socialism in a concrete way, which has not been tried before, besides, you will do all these in a country which owns unsuitable conditions in terms of the material conditions of socialism, and while doing so, however, you will lean your power not on the safe harbour of the patriarchy but on the "abstract potentiality" of women's liberation. And on top of that, you will be light years away from the concerns connected with the patriarchal culture and mentality such as "this will blur the class consciousness" or "at the present moment, this will endanger the gainings of the class"...

And next to this picture, let us locate these approaches this time: those leaving the duty of declining the patriarchal tradition and morality to the bourgeoisie, to its power of resolving society into pieces, as a result of the concerns such as "not distracting the class" or "paying regard to sensitivities of the society". Or others, that reconcile with the backward manners of the society in numerous fields such as family, marriage, divorce, clothing, sexuality, etc... and accept to take a step only when the struggle of the feminist movement or the spontaneous influence of the urbanization process render another type of a movement legitimate; those become objectively accepting the vanguardism of the feminist movement, while having the claim of fighting against feminism, or similarly, those become objectively accepting the vanguardism of the bourgeoisie, while while having the claim of raising the class consciousness against the bourgeois class.

The October Revolution had responded promptly and courageously to all of these fundamental questions about the women's freedom struggle of that time: legal rights, socialization of housework, and inclusion of women in political and social life.

It is no question that repeating Lenin's words or remembering the steps taken that time, would not won't solve the task of today's revolutionary leadership. What is need to be done, is to think and act in a Leninist way. Is it possible to do that, by other means than claiming all of the fundamental problems of today's women's liberation struggle and positioning as the political leader of those?

The Task Of The Revolutionary Theory And Action

Concerning social gender, the Communist Movement actually has limited itself with consuming Engel's theoretical heritage and the practical heritage of October Revolution

and has put many few upon these. Thus, this field, has been left to feminism in terms of theory, ideological aliveness and influence. Instead of discussing the questions of today, in a concrete way, the communist movement caged itself by addressing either the past (by adopting only the manner of giving quotes) or to the future (by adopting the narrowness of "socialism will solve the question"); even couldn't manage to be inspired from how Clara Zetkin and Lenin established relation with Marx and Engels. In this situation, it is one of the outstanding features of MLKP that in the context of the women's liberation struggle, it is in a constant development, transformation and renewing/innovation in terms of theory, organization and political practice.

There can be no other development path for the communists either. All in all, socialism mainly as an idea based on scientific knowledge in Marx, came to the reality with Lenin and it had been updated, renewed and developed.

We all know what kind of a situation that those who couldn't understand the different forms of the class war, failed to comprehend the Marxist-Leninist method in a dynamic way, found themselves in regard to the Kurdistan issue. Since they couldn't comprehend that the national struggle in Kurdistan corresponds to the sharpest form of the class struggle, they failed to reach to a development capable of turning the society upside down. Yet in reality, both the workers and the poor peasants of Kurdistan have taken their sides through this national struggle.

Gender consciousness is also a topic of this kind, and those who don't understand the struggle against the social division of gender as a form of the class war, become the ones who turn their backs on a great dynamic of the class war, on its revolutionary power. This leads not only to political, but also to ideological loss and limitation.

In his discussion with the economists about the class consciousness, which was often cited above, when Lenin faces with the question "*the work among all the other classes , will this not mean a retreat, or lead to a retreat, from the class point of view? But if we have to undertake all of these, in what way will then the class character of our movement be expressed?*" he gives a reply briefly as so: "*all of these will be conducted by the party with a consistently Social-Democratic spirit*" (the summary belongs to us)⁷

We would also like to answer the questions about gender consciousness remembering the same reality: all these works will be conducted by the communist party and the communist women; with a communist programme, with the women revolution programme!

Those who develop the theoretical and political work in the context of gender consciousness is the Communist Party and the communist women, the Marxist-Leninist women; the organizational and political leaders, organizers, constructors and actioners of the glorious practice given in very different areas that make up the history of Marxist-Leninist Communists.

And we have no other guarantee than this.

6 V.I. Lenin, International Working Women's Day, in Collected Works vol.30, p. 408

7 V.I. Lenin, What is to be Done, p. p432

From Women's Revolt To Women's Revolution: Self-Defense And Revolutionary Violence

The Women's revolt, which erupted after the massacre of our dear Özgücan¹, was a new threshold to leap which Turkey had never experienced before. None of the women's actions before had reached such extent of the social sections, such massiveness of attendances and such geographic diffuseness. The content of the demands also expressed how legitimate the Özgücan revolt was in the society and it was even able to shape the politics. The means of struggle and organizational forms either used or brought into agenda were also new for women's struggle. In this revolt, the mode of movement limited with protesting only was mentally surpassed with the will to snatch rights, which could be seen in "the moments" of actions from time to time, but more generally in the outcry "we will arm if necessary!"; and through de-facto legitimate struggle. It also exhibited an unprecedented level of bonding with the social and class based revolutionary dynamics which actually represented a continuum in series of social outbreaks around the many various agendas since the June uprising. All in all, the Özgücan revolt, became the signal rocket of the new period of the women's liberation struggle.

This "threshold to leap" of the movement assigns its subjects, its vanguards with the task to develop the women's political mass movement as a subversive revolutionary dynamic of social struggles, which has an insistent go-getter attitude, with a high ability to get rights and which can take on many different means and methods in the line of de-facto legitimate struggle. It is obvious that political subjects, defining their tasks different than that and who are satisfied with the means and mottoes of the previous periods, cannot drive the development of this movement and advance it. Those who deal with the issue differently, will be busy trying to pull the movement back and will face with being surpassed by the movement itself.

New Situation In The Women's Movement

A political mass movement of women, could have developed and did develop through firstly, self-subjectification of women in all parts of social struggle and upholding women's manner and women's intervention in these parts; secondly, bringing issues and contradictions arisen from the position of women as oppressed gender in the society into the agenda of social struggle.

Most of the women's liberation struggles managing to gain strength and gather big masses, firstly detect the most bur-

1 Özgücan Aslan, was murdered in Mersin on February 11th, 2015 after resisting against rape. Her body was found burnt the day after the murder. She was a 20 years-old university student. After this horrendous murder, women took to the streets all across Turkey with rage. Many thousands of women demonstrated against the ignorance of government to rape, violence and murders.

ning social issues of women at a specific time and in a specific region. Then, women join the struggle around the effects of these issues on their lives. And through that, they obtain a collective existence and an identity on this basis. In the end, they move on towards the women's struggle around the issues and contradictions, this time, arisen from the position of women as oppressed gender. The umbilical cords between the proletarian women's movement and revolutionary struggles of periods until '50's, between the women's movement of '60's-'70's and the revolutionary and democratic movements of those years, especially the period of '68, and between the Kurdish women's movement and Kurdish national revolutionary and democratic struggle are the most distinctive examples of this course of joining the struggle. No serious vanguard fighting for the emancipation of women can turn its back on this phenomenon which has occurred many times throughout the history of women's liberation struggle, of course alongside the search for its own unique path.

The other main axis on how women's liberation struggle can develop is actually still needed to be enlightened. So far, the struggle directly connected with the women's liberation issues is unable to take a general strategic line, to take a stance surpassing the defensive opposition against the male domination and to develop around a concrete foundational political programme of a subversive struggle. Here, the main responsibility lays on the shoulders of women's movement starting especially from the feminist ranks to Kurdish national democratic sections and to socialist sections of the movement. The other side of the same truth is the failure to enable these issues and agendas as the topics to deepen the struggle and confrontation between the oppressor and the oppressed, capital and labor, state and people. Moreover, confronting women with the patriarchal bourgeois political power also on these issues and gaining men to democracy struggle by the motto and praxis of "facing with" the gender discrimination has great potential and precious value for the development of social struggle as a whole. The question is the incomprehension of this potential and value. Again, here, the revolutionary movement is the main responsible for failure due to its indifference to these struggles, almost caring not at all.

In the end, the women's movement in Turkey and Kurdistan suffered from a syndrome about its political line. It couldn't save itself from "education is a must" discourse and from the line which prioritizes raising consciousness of society and women. It didn't manage to detach from the effects of bourgeois enlightenment. Even today, when you ask women, including socialist women, who have become political subjects in the social struggles that "what is to be done for the emancipation of women?", a considerable part of them has often given and still gives the answer that is "raising consciousness of women" or a bit more progressively "organizing women".

However, when the same question is asked about any other social section or issue, the answer “raising consciousness” will not be on top of the ranks in this list.

Similarly, the main line of the struggles dedicated to women’s liberation is within the limit of demanding legal reforms through protests. The problem is not the reform demanding, the problem is not being able to administer the struggles on the route of these single reforms, depending on a concrete political programme aiming at overthrowing the patriarchal order as we mentioned above. The problem is not being able to advance these reforms as steps completing each other on the route to enhance the conditions of women to join the political and social life and struggle.

Therefore, even though women’s movement in Turkey is one of most dynamic and vivid sections on many social issues, it couldn’t get politicized enough around the women’s liberation issues. In other words, it has chosen to make political actions to raise consciousness of more women, instead of raising consciousness and organizing women to make politics with bigger forces, to confront bigger masses with patriarchal order to prepare its destruction, thus to make politics to become a bigger political action force.

There is no contradiction between these two, of course. Raising consciousness, educating, organizing are elements of daily mass work of women that are indispensable, irrecusable and irreplaceable with any other work. But the movement as a whole must not focus on the aim of raising consciousness; the work for consciousness-raising and organizing have to aim at unveiling a political action force able to destroy patriarchy. Yet, in the current situation, there is a narrow-minded approach handling the question as a mentality issue, a comprehension issue. In the last analysis, handling the question as an issue of “consciousness-raising” rather than as a concrete material conflict between different social forces restricts the struggle.

In the end, patriarchy is not “the power in minds” or an abstract mentality, it is not an abstract power. It is a concrete political power and its existence, its matter is embodied in the current bourgeois political structures, apparatuses and their extensions and organizational forms spreading among the society, starting from family. What precedes its ideological-mental-psychological existence is its economical-political existence. The women’s movement has been under the ideological hegemony of the feminist movement for a long time, and has been deserted indifferently by the communist and revolutionary forces which contrarily take a belligerent stance in the social-political struggle as a whole. And all sections of it without exception have prioritized consciousness-mental issues as if they have been fighting against a force whose ideological existence is a priori to its economical-political existence. While they have tended to more concrete political targets in single struggles and actions, their actions in total have been towards more ideological targets. Yet, the struggle against patriarchy, like all political struggles, has to aim to affect and change the relation between the ruler and ruled, and at realizing the essence of the mentality change on the material basis. Starting from the feminist movement, one of the most serious shortcomings of the wo-

men’s liberation struggle is that it acts very “evolutionary” on the political dimension even when it defines the ideological dimensions of duties in a “revolutionary” way.

This situation is understandable for a feminist movement as they don’t interpret the social material reality and the integrity of domination relations, oppression relations on an accurate materials basis, but for a communist movement (and for its women half), it can only be explained with the lack of interest and direction, weakness of mental labor, traditionalist restrictions and habits!

In regard of this discussion, why is it important for us to investigate this side of the topic? Because, lessons from a decades-long struggle of concretely today’s and concretely Turkey’s and North Kurdistan’s women’s movement make it both possible and a must, a women’s mass movement which can carry out politics through more advanced, sharper forms of struggle, including forms based on violence.

Because, we can talk for days and write for pages on the women’s self-defense, the protection need of women from male violence, the general meaning and importance of self-defense. And these same truths were also there ten years ago, forty years ago. They could be there twenty years later. We can only make the discussion of self-defense meaningful by following the questions “where are we now and where do we want to go” depending on today’s concrete political conditions and the way we want to proceed the women’s movement, thus we can clarify its real function, role, extent, forms, etc. on the development course of women’s movement. Only by discussing on this basis, we can comprehend the development of self-defense as an inevitable, irrecusable task for the women’s movement: a task of not yesterday, not tomorrow, but today. We can remove it from the list of “postponed tasks due to other tasks and other issues despite being a current political task and despite the need to shoulder it determinedly”. We can appreciate its contemporary meaning within the integrity of social struggle, its actual corresponding “moment” and the current significance it is endowed with.

Political Meaning Of Femicides

The search, practice and discussion of women’s self-defense grows on the basis of widespread violence against women and especially femicides which almost reach a slaughter scale.

One reason why this widespread violence occurs today, undoubtedly, is that violence against women has become apparent, more publicly announced and discussed, and taken its place among the topics of social struggle by distinguishing among the “third page” news. And this is a gaining of the struggle of democratic women’s movement against the violence towards women.

The women’s liberation struggle has forced all society, especially the oppressed sections to take a stance, to question their lives and the system of virtues from this standpoint. Violence against women was counted natural yesterday, but this naturalness has been left off. Through this change, men as half of the society are particularly called for a social confrontation and it becomes a more distinctive axis of the confrontation of the oppressor and oppressed, capital and labor,

state and people.

Since this issue becomes more apparent, more concrete, thus more available to fight against and to push back, the questions of struggle against violence against women become more explicit, such as from which concrete demands it can rise, what role the state and laws play to sustain the male violence and also from where it can be pushed back. Tactical possibilities created by this new situation are important.

When the struggle against male violence is handled as a single struggle topic, these sides of the issue stand at the center. As a result, the real increase in the male violence rather than only becoming more “apparent”, may be perceived as a quantitative problem.

Yet, exactly beyond the relative increase due to becoming more apparent, the existence of a real increase in femicides creates the vital link in terms of determining the development direction of women’s movement.

The women’s movement is stronger now than it was a couple of decades ago. It succeeded some favorable legislations to pass. And the social legitimacy of their demands to join the social life and to get political rights has strengthened. Considering all these, how can we read the reality?

Actually, the reasons are known. The basis of the gainings summarized above has routed out a different women’s behavior from the past on a social scale. Women from working and toiling classes, thus including the main body of the oppressed women, act more with their own will compared to the past, on the preferences about marriage and divorce. In this sense, they live their sexuality more independently, behave more freely in both choosing and rejecting. Despite every kind of family oppression centrally coming from husband or father, they decide their clothing style, participate in various activities of social life based more on their own choices compared to the general social legitimacy. In short, they take the decisions on their own body and life more freely. Social legitimacy, the consciousness of righteousness are more developed than in the past and they also dare more against death, violence and heavy costs on this basis.

The leading part in this picture belongs to women’s liberation struggle and its organizations. Undoubtedly, we can add this the spontaneous economical and ideological effects of increasing urbanization, migration due to political and economical reasons and imperialist globalization, as more indirect factors. When the general social struggle in Turkey, which the women’s liberation struggle is also an important component of, evolved into the June uprising in 2013, women’s movement also took part in it both as an amplifying force of the June uprising, strengthening it quantitatively and qualitatively, and as a growing force itself with this uprising. Both women’s movement and LGBTI’s were active components of the uprising. They waged an effective struggle against the patriarchal discourse and actions also during the uprising directly (for instance against the slogans with sexist cursing in it). This also reduced patriarchy inside the democratic movement ideologically and made it lose ranks within the movement.

When looking at the whole picture, it can be seen that it was not just a “mentality change” or a “consciousness gaining”

which was acquired, some political ranks were also acquired and the widespread usage of these ranks by women also has resulted in a change in the male behavior on a social scale. While the legitimacy basis of patriarchy narrowed, the progressive sections of the men as half of the society became more ready to adopt this new women’s behavior; there came out a “confrontation” topic and practice at the gender front even though it was only a nucleus to begin. The reactionary resistance of patriarchy, on the other hand, starting from the most reactionary sections of the men half of the society, took to a more radical line. In the name of AKP, the fascist, colonialist, patriarchal state,, took the leadership of this reactionary resistance. It protected the perpetrators of male violence with its legislations, legislation sketches and the actions of its law system and aimed to punish the individual or organized resistances of the oppressed women gender. It legitimized this violence through media and ideological apparatuses, and acted as the primary political support of this male reactionism.

Therefore, the patriarchal violence does not only amount to a different quantity in comparison with yesterday, but it has also gained a different quality: it turned into a sort of open war, a reactionary resistance waged by the state, family and individual men against the women gender and its social and political gainings. This war is partially spontaneous and partially organized. Its spontaneity comes from individual members of male gender, from the force to represent their gender shaped by domination mentality and from their habit of natural cooperation within. Its organizational quality comes from the male character of all the bourgeois institutions and organizations, starting from the state itself, and of the written and verbal laws. Right now, it is actually a one-sided war, in other words, it is only the male gender which applies the means of violence of politics and wants to compensate its loss of ranks in every field ranging from social virtues to laws and to suppress the tiniest resistance against its privileges.

This wide ground provides not only a “sectional” struggle against the violence against women, but also possibilities and development directions, some strategic and tactical questions of women’s revolution which is in the making and in motion, with its development dynamics, its congestion points, their solution ways, etc. in its own integrity.

Handling the topic of self-defense as a “struggle for existence” or a “struggle for right to live” on a narrow ground is, let’s say, understandable for a national or cultural community struggling against extinction, but it is way too far away from being enough for the struggle and needs of the oppressed women gender, who has the strength to lead the social revolution to advance it until communism where classes, borders and gender discrimination are abolished. A struggle restricted with merely the right to exist can only be meaningful for classes, strata and communities which have lost their possibilities for power, political leadership strength and social leadership mission, not for the women gender who represents the new society of future with all its strength and brightness.

As a revolution develops, it causes counter-revolution to

grow and centralize. It has not been different for women's revolution too and it will not be. This, can also very concretely be seen when looking at the growing reactionary male resistance against the gainings mentioned above. In the face of this situation, the movement also needs to push its limits, to ramp up its political demands and mottoes, organizational means, forms of struggle to another level.

The women's movement has acquired new ranks and the male resistance has become more radical. It is women's movement's turn again for a move and with the Özgöcan revolt, the prelusive signals of that big move are introduced.

The women's liberation forces must improve this move. Beyond that is a great social decaying and corruption. We can look either from the perspective of the emancipation of women gender or the emancipation of the working class and all oppressed; concrete back-steps of patriarchal reactionism forced by women's liberation struggle are again not "visible" enough compared to the development of the social struggle, but they are still vitally important. Similarly to the phenomenon that the Turkish chauvinism is not only a physical-practical blockage against the Kurdistan revolution, but also a big barrier against the working class and oppressed of Turkey in terms of ideological decay and deepening the political reactionism; aggravation of men's reactionary resistance up to women's slaughter is also one of the main reactionary-racist-chauvinist confrontation axes for the overall social struggle. From the killers of Özgöcan to Hüseyin Üzmez², it is an important sign of the danger that most of the names who come to mind first when considering the crimes against women are also racist-fascist individuals. Revolutionary women and women's liberation movement must improve the above-mentioned move in order to weaken the women's enemy, racist, chauvinist social supports of AKP and the colonialist fascist state, with the aim both to protect women gender and to open the path for women's struggle, and with the responsibility to acquire a new democratic consciousness and a new dynamic for the development of its action, to open channels, to practice leadership. The development of democratic and socialist movement in Turkey also has to cross through the path in which the patriarchal reactionism is practically pushed back.

Calling the men as half of the workers and laborers to a social confrontation based on the questions of women's liberation; directing them towards accounting for the patriarchal ideology which negates humanity as it negates women as human and legitimizes slavery, torture, crimes against humanity; adding them in the political struggle against patriarchal institutions and state; and reserving them are all vital in the process of confronting the working class and oppressed with the bourgeois-patriarchal order on various issues.

Staying within the limits of being subjected to discrimination

2 Hüseyin Üzmez, was sentenced to 13 years of prison time on September 16th 2009, due to "sexual harassment" and "sexually abusing a minor". He was formerly known of assassinating Ahmet Emin Yalman in 1952 who was a newspaper columnist at an Islamic newspaper. He and the verdict given to him was widely protested against by the women's organizations. Police attacked many of the protests, which is a sign of the attitude of the state towards this issue.

on and keeping the innocence, within this kind of discourse and action or in such a position while facing with such a picture cannot be tolerated. There is no problem with condemning and disclosing the killing manhood. But the situation must never be seen as if it has only one subject. These women are not being murdered for no reason, they are not being slaughtered like a sheep. These women are not waging a struggle for existence, they are waging a struggle to change the relation between the ruler and ruled, the oppressor and oppressed, and to abolish them. No, these women are really not "innocent" and being not innocent is the best side of this dashed picture. Women, are being killed because they want to decide with whom and how they will live their sexuality. Women, are being killed because they go out to streets at nights to join education, production or social and political life. The dominant subject, which are men, improves its reactionary suppression measures against the oppressed subject, which is women in spontaneous and organized forms, because women are becoming subject.

To sum it up, the data we are most interested in is not the repression of men and the state, it shouldn't be. The reality of male gender sustaining its domination with violence apparatuses and the state is not at all something new! It is not that men stand on the side applying violence due to their nature and women on the other side avoiding this war due to their nature. It is also not that men are the perpetrators due to their nature and women are the discriminated due to their nature. It is that men are more advanced in using the means of violence due to their domination and women are weaker in using the means of violence as well as all the other means of politics due to being oppressed. Men are perpetrators because they are dominant and women are disadvantageous because they are oppressed. Between the two genders, there is a dominative, oppressive political relation which occurs between oppressor and oppressed. Changing this balance is possible and is a must.

The Struggle For Individual Sexual Rights Is A Struggle For Political Rights

The struggle against the violence against women is of course a fight for humanity, a humanization action. However, just as the demands of the Kurdish national democratic movement are compressed to the level of individual cultural rights, struggles arising around this and other issues of women due to being the oppressed gender have been relegated into the degree of "individual freedom", "human rights", "personal life and existence right" since the beginning. The revolutionary movement has also been part of this approach as a matter of fact. The communist movement regarded the 8-hours workday demand in order to strengthen the conditions for upholding the revolutionary struggle, for workers to gain class consciousness and to join the social and political life. But it didn't exhibit the same approach when it came to the women's liberation topics and demands. It didn't perform a vanguard stance corresponding to its claim and reality that it has a more progressive social transformation programme than the feminist movement and when comprehending "what is personal is also political".

For example, let's consider the right to go out to streets freely without fearing harassment, rape or family pressure. Spontaneous behaviors, actions and sacrifices of each woman in this direction is, in total, the move of the oppressed female gender as a social force to raise a collective gender consciousness and to join political life. This right must be defended on a social and political ground, not on a ground related to personal safety. Of course, "defending on a social ground" is not only writing "this question is actually political". Not being safe on the streets evidently, practically prevents women from joining the social and political life equally. To defend this right "on the social ground", firstly, it is needed to derive the issue as a social issue directly for the society itself. Secondly, it is needed for this right to be gained in practice, to come in action more on a social scale with the countless forms such as resistances, deterrent self-defense and getting the right for self-defense on a legal ground. And also it is needed to cause the collective male resistance developing on contrary to this to lose concrete ranks in terms of laws, social legitimacy or application power. In other words, it is needed to materially clear the way ahead for women to behave different than yesterday. This, is the question of women becoming subjects in the revolutionary struggle.

The issues in the context of pushing back bourgeois or feudal traditions, laws and applications and improving the practical decision-making rights of women on their bodies are also equally and similarly political issues.

Moving On By Clearing The Own Path

No social oppression order can stand without violence of weapons. And no social revolution can avoid replying the means of violence of the dominant power back with the means of violence, firstly in order to overthrow it and later to defeat the counter-revolutionary actions which are done to bring back the old order.

Women's revolution is also a big social revolution. It will, too, develop through internalizing the forms of struggle based on violence, including the daily routine. Naturally, just because women's revolution develops as a founding component of the social revolution which will overthrow the capitalist order and class society, generalizing the issue of the relation of women with the revolutionary violence cannot be acceptable. In other words, developing and ensuring the women's revolution also with the means of violence must also be embodied in the struggle against the violence and oppression of bourgeois state apparatus and individual men directly against women, as much as in the relation of women with the revolutionary struggle as a whole.

As discussed above, "patriarchy" is not just a question of mentality. It is not immaterial. It is not shapeless. It is not a lack of institutions or organizations. It is concrete, it has substance. Apart from the bourgeois state apparatus and the patriarchal feature of all of its means of violence, reactionary actions of individual men are not separable from these material existence. Moreover, violent actions of individual men from the oppressed classes can also be defined as some sort of civil-armed defense mechanism of the existent patriarchal order based on gender privileges and are equally material.

By this way, they become an addend, a reserve to bourgeois private property system, or at least an easily manageable tool and also play an active role in the continuity of the patriarchal order in which of course himself is in the dominant position.

Struggle against this material existence must never stay on just an ideological basis or even on a basis which ideological struggle weighs centrally.

What can ideologically be pursued is only the struggle against the male behavior in the democratic and revolutionary ranks, which have already detached programmatically from the material order of patriarchy or tended to detachment and at least limitedly detached from its ideological hegemony. Even, this ideological-weighted struggle has to create political-organizational existence, find its own mass and social support with its own form of organizations and models. And just like women's liberation struggle, the issue of transformation of men cannot be postponed after revolution.

Clear facts which can be said for all revolutionary struggles, prominent qualities are valid for the women's revolution too, of course with its unique form. How can a national or class based revolutionary struggle grow without trying to pull down the ranks of ruling powers, without pushing back the ideological hegemony of them especially with the force of its own political action, without physically-practically dismantling the physical activities-organizations put before its struggle (a state-oriented gang over that district, police-state institutions in that region, paramilitary in those villages or a single fascist starting to attack in that street etc.), without clearing the area by force? Which revolutionary struggle can develop only through an evolutionary path? Revolutionary struggles, revolutionary organizations, revolutionary programmes open their own paths through revolutionary methods, in a revolutionary mode. If the women's revolution means a political and social revolution tending to change the relation between ruling-oppressor men and ruled-oppressed women rather than an ideological transformation motto, it has to follow this path.

For this reason, approaches evaluating the self-defense tendencies especially condensed after the Özgücan revolt neither as enraged words arisen with a temporary excitement in the face of brutal murders, nor as just tactics that can be applied now and then, could have a chance to grow the women's revolution struggle. Self-defense is an advanced form of women's organizing and political action. Concretely; for the women's movement today, women's self-defense is a matter of surpassing a threshold or not. Spontaneous women's resistances and actions symbolized in the outcry of "We will arm!" or Nevin Yıldırım's case prove a level of women's movement in its political development. Crossing this level requires more. The women's movement must open its own path through de-facto legitimate struggle. For instance, it must form its self-defense organizations and defend their legitimacy, struggle for their legalization. For instance, it must embrace examples like Nevin³, organize such a mass

3 Nevin Yıldırım, is a woman who used her right to self-defense by killing the man who raped her with a machine

women's struggle that it can force the judicial system to apply remissions. For instance, it must defend the Rojava revolution as the most progressed rank of women's self-defense with an action plan by all means.

Risks, Questions And Issues

Perhaps the most serious issue about the struggle methods based on violence, one of its foibles to be abstained most, is to talk about it, but avoid its practice. The most serious risk for women's self-defense will also be the inability to unite the word with the action. Since the words about self-defense got out from the mouths of women who joined the Özgöcan revolt, since it was embraced by the women's movements, as soon as that moment happened, any slowness, any attitude lack of initiative will now play a will-breaking, verbalizing role in carrying out self-defense with its various organizational and struggle forms and methods.

We must detach from the understanding of practice which emphasizes the forms of struggle based on violence too much and then postpones it until a total mass uprising with a right-wing perception (and even postpones it when the mass uprising comes until a bigger mass uprising because of lack of preparation), or which stands still because of the idealist, perfectionist discourse pretending to have a radical image. That is why, although the widespread usage of self-defense words strengthens its legitimacy basis, the will of the communist vanguard and its vanguard praxis will be decisive not to let it fall into caricaturization due to weak action practice or inaction basis on contrary to verbal abundance.

First of all, there is the risk for vanguard on not meeting with masses. The struggle against the violence against women must follow a line to bond with women's masses, to carry out a systematic mass work among women, all including the struggle and organizational forms of women's self-defense content. Secondly, it must keep in touch with the general topics of social struggle.

Third risk is being unable to unite the means with the aim. Of course, if we talk about a real political women's mass movement rather than a homemade fiction, it is inevitable to experience some phenomena of inertness by degrading self-defense into a lovable agitation slogan or some phenomena of unjust-revanchist destruction. These kind of risks must never lead a weakness in the consciousness on its legitimacy or a break in the courage. We must walk on the path daring all these and accepting that no serious struggle in any front can develop without facing with these kinds of negative experiences. However, communist women vanguard must keep in mind that she is the one carrying the responsibility of directing the volcanic action of women without being dragged by it, not any other political structure or any ideological circle. No matter how much the movement grows, communist women as the women vanguard of the movement must be aware of that they are the one primarily carrying the responsibility of the justice of the movement, of gun. She, then beheaded the rapist man and threw his head to the square of the village to break the silence among the people there. Her trial period took a while with objections and retrial processes. The patriarchal justice system sentenced her to life time prison.

the level of social accountability. As much as it trails the movement via its path-breaking praxis, vanguard claim must be expressed in the shaping of this movement on its own will, not with other forms.

The first and main legitimacy concern of women's self-defense line is for sure, gaining social legitimacy among women and for sure will find male reactionaries in front of itself even after its most legitimate actions. Already, this kind of self-defense discussion is brought into agenda because there is no such possibility to tame male reactionaries by convincing. Yet, in reality, giving up on confronting men from proletarian-oppressed sections, who are the main alliance force of women's revolution which will develop over demolishing the bourgeois patriarchal power, with the private property system will not strengthen, but weaken the women's liberation struggle. Regarding this general line, it is not contradictory to target "individual men" with women's self-defense. They are the ones who insist on being watchdogs of the order as much as other means of violence of the system and who insist on keeping their gender privileges by violence.

We must emphasize even though it is out of topic, that it is mainly a task of men communists to build a new male behavior in society. Again if we intentionally bend the stick on one side of the issue, the principle social responsibility belongs to men communists in the task of reserving men from oppressed and exploited sections to women's revolution. If women's movement and its vanguards have trouble due to narrowing of their clash with the male violence, the main responsible for this will be men communists with their weakness in carrying out these tasks.

To Walk Ahead Of Women's Revolt

As Özgöcan revolt showed that, development of women's movement does not automatically bring the result of spontaneous flowing of women masses towards ranks of various political subjects. There is no direct correlation between these two. What is decisive is the vanguard practice of political subjects, their revolutionary will and continuous activity in order to meet with women masses.

The women's movement has gained a quality to progress its critique against the patriarchal capitalist order through more destructive and result-giving forms. The Özgöcan revolt, embracing of women's vanguard in Rojava, arrival of self-defense topic into the agenda of women's movement in Turkey front after Kurdistan proves the politicization of the movement.

The most progressive women's liberation programme in front of this movement is women's revolution. However, unless this programme meets with the most progressive political actions, organization forms, it will not save itself from being a bunch of plain words. Communist women have reached a theoretical, political and organizational preparation level. They get experiences in women's struggle with their vanguard, inclusive and unifying practices. Well deservedly, they can walk ahead of growing women's revolt, can unite women's revolt with women's revolution. Falling behind to that may cause devaluation of words and claims, loss of meaning and decaying.

Women In Social Struggles

The utopian socialist Fourier once said, *“The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women towards freedom, because in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation.”* [Charles Fourier, 1841]

It is necessary to evaluate the participation and achievements of women in the social struggles from this perspective, but also each of the struggles themselves in terms of their level, strength and power to change the society.

First of all, it must be said that the gender struggle itself is an independent and fundamental social struggle. For this reason, all these struggles, from fighting for electoral rights to fighting for equal pay for equal work, from organizing to the right to abortion and the fight against violence against women, are also social struggles.

Therefore, it would be the result of a missing perspective, if we discuss the role and the contribution of women in social struggles only by focusing mainly on what percentage of women participate in the guerrilla forces in a given country, or in other, which sense women contribute to a civil war process, etc... Women not only contribute to the development of social struggles only by participating in their various fronts, but also by fighting for women's freedom, for their demands and aspirations. Entirely women-centric struggles do develop social struggles in general in terms of denouncing the bourgeois society, paving the way for struggles of other social sectors, developing the democratic consciousness of the working class and the oppressed, etc..

On top of that, women make up the half of society, the half of the working class and oppressed, which are fighting for different demands and different slogans. Therefore, the title „Women in Social Struggles“ should not only focus on how women prove themselves within social struggles or their usefulness. In this sense, the scale of the success and developmental force of social struggles in any time or place must be their level of usefulness on the sexual freedom question; whether they prove themselves or not in this regard. Assessments made in this light do actually reveal that what Fourier said in 1808 has been verified several times throughout the history of revolutions and class wars.

The Developing Struggle Dynamics Of Women

It is possible to see the active role of women in social struggles in almost every revolutionary warfare, every popular uprisings and even in partial struggles, strikes and resistances.

And what we see also is that the quality of this involvement of women has been steadily strengthening in the course of its history; increasing its influence level on the social struggles as well as developing its gender identity, collective participation and its unique and autonomous level of organization.

Women participate actively in all areas of life and struggle: in struggles for national democratic demands and aspirations, in resistances against imperialist wars and occupations, in uprisings for political freedoms against repressive regimes and dictatorships, and in revolutionary warfares which directly target the bourgeois order. The direction of this involvement assumes more and more the form of being the leading political subject of these struggles, establishing their own specific organizations and participating in the movements under these organizations, being more represented in percentage terms within the leading political structures of struggles.

Women's desire for freedom against patriarchy unites with the necessity for a social upheaval. In many situations the woman sees the opportunity to brake the chains of the patriarchal yoke in the social struggles. For instance, a woman participates in a national struggle because as much as she carries a desire and longing for the national liberation, she also finds this struggle as a response for her desire of freedom, of uprising and resistance against her own life conditions, against the oppression of the partner, family or the society. Again, she participates in an urban uprising also because she considers that the only way for the change in her own living conditions, in the patriarchal moral and value concepts surrounding her, could happen by changing the present order and social consciousness. However, this form of participation does not always happen on the basis of the gender consciousness. It does not always directly come along with the slogan of freedom for women. But it contains almost always an objection to the given conditions of life. Throughout history, the gender consciousness axis of this involvement has developed linearly.

There is no doubt that the development of cities and industry, and above all, the objective consequences of the phase of imperialist globalization play a role in this. However, the decisive factors are undoubtedly the political, ideological, theoretical and organizational achievements of the women's freedom struggle. With the roles they have played



in many uprisings and resistances of the working class and the oppressed in the 19th but mostly the 20th century, as well as with the independent struggles they developed for their own demands and aspirations, women have brought the desire for a genderless society and the woman freedom consciousness in the progressive accumulation of history. They have attained ideological positions, so that no force that claims to be progressive and revolutionary could demonstrate the honesty of its own claim, without appreciating this accumulation and those positions, at least without agreeing with them. Along with the unique organizing methods, they have also gained organizational positions such as quotas, equal representation, zipper system and these mechanisms have been turned to the collective accumulation of the progressive and revolutionary movement. In fact, more and more political subjects with working left-wing quality and democratic mass organizations are directed to claim these mechanisms. The political achievements of women's freedom struggles have fundamentally changed the situation of women in society, and within the limits of the bourgeois order, of course these haven't been able to solve the question of women's freedom and abolish social gender contradiction, but developed the conditions for women, especially for laboring women, to participate in social life and struggle.

At the beginning of the 21st century, as the color of women became no longer only visible but dominant within the struggles, as well as the LGBTI people headed towards establishing stronger links with the other social struggles, almost every resistance, uprising and struggle has gained also the quality of a gender rebellion.

One clear quality of the wave of uprisings and revolutions which shook the Arab countries was the active participation and the vanguard manner of women, especially the young women. One of the fundamental factors influencing this involvement is the demand for individual sexual rights. The aspirations and demands of the young women in these uprisings (most notably in the uprisings of Tunisia and Egypt), which were most commonly referred to in social media, in interviews, even in agitation speeches and slogans, were the demands to marry whom one wants, not to be forcibly married, the freedom to uncover or cover one's head, the opportunity to participate freely in the socio-cultural life, to be able to walk on the streets freely with the beloved and to loosen the pressure of family and society. The young women have participated in the uprisings with the idea and feeling that the sexual oppression they are exposed to is related to the political repression of society and they have acted with a spontaneous consciousness of their individual freedom integrating with society's freedom and the question of political freedom. In the case of the middle aged women; poverty, exploitation, „secular oppression“ (over Muslim women), „Islamic oppression“ (over non-Muslim women) as well as the anger and rage against the anti-democratic oppression and implementations affecting their family members, relatives and friends, were the determinant factors for their participation in these uprisings.

In the uprisings that spread throughout Europe and the US, anger against capitalism, unemployment, poverty, patriarchal violence, and the destructive consequences of imperialist globalization over women's bodies and labor is explicit. In these uprisings, again the young women stood out, but their sexual identity was more clearly expressed with innumerable independent organizations, because the traditions of mass organizations, unlike in the Arab world, were even more developed.

In the Gezi-June uprising in Turkey, the determinant participation of women not only in quantitative but also in qualitative sense, their ability to lead the slogans, the action forms and the political-ideological atmosphere of the uprising, as well as the LGBTI's strong fusion with the social struggle, were all revealed a mass struggle in which the struggle against patriarchy and for sexual freedom became the most dominant color throughout Turkey's history.

Women have become the vanguard of the uprising against the insolent Trump, the racist, chauvinist, anti-black and anti-immigrant president of the United States, and this struggle has uncovered the inevitable parallelism of the reactionary tendencies with misogyny and male chauvinism.

And finally, the Rojava Revolution. The first revolutionary experience of the 21st century and the glorious banner of the regional revolutionary situation in the Middle East, has been materialized also as a women's revolution. As the resistance against the most wild and bloody representative of the patriarchy, the ISIS, became symbolized by the women fighters, especially during the period of the Kobanê resistance on behalf of Arin Mirkan, the Rojava revolution has become the world-wide sign of women's freedom. Moreover, in a land where the political and social reactionism is explicitly dominant and the socio-economic structure is much more backward than many other countries in the world, the revolution gave effort towards establishing a political-social system that is based on equal representation and co-presidency, even in the most remote villages. By doing so, it has emphasized the lack of women's representation in the imperialist metropolises together with revealing the limits of women's freedom in the bourgeois order. This level, which even the most advanced capitalist countries, with the most advanced examples of women's equality, are nowhere near approaching, has become a new standard, a new threshold for the subjects of women's freedom struggle and the revolutionary political subjects of the world.

All of these and the women's struggles that have spread from Ukraine to Poland, from India to Argentina and countless other countries show that the 21st century will also be the century of women's revolutions.

Women's Participation In The Social Struggle And The Gender Division of Labor

The role of women in the social struggle and the contribution of this role to women's freedom as well as to the social emancipation are an unquestionable reality, however, it is not that much easy and free from troubles.

As long as there is a gender division of labor in the society, it is inevitably maintain in women's participation in the

struggle in some degree or other. Especially when we move from the realm of the political subjects to the realm of the mass-subject, this reality is much more present. That is to say, this applies to all struggles which exceed a certain threshold towards becoming a mass struggle.

In this gender division of labor, the female gender essentially takes over the task to maintain the continuity of the struggling community. This shows itself through fertility, care work, as well as the efforts to organize and maintain the social life.

From individual strikes to the resistances in neighborhoods and quarters, this condition manifests itself in all minor struggles and much more, in the long-term periods of hard war or genocidal attacks. The production of „new generations of warriors“, the fulfillment of health and other needs of the people on the hinterland or a fighter at the front, as well as undertaking the social production tasks (agriculture and industry) under war conditions and all the other similar functions focus on preserving the continuation of the „house“, of social life.

As long as we speak of a gendered society, the participation of women in the struggles as in the forms of mother-woman, carer-woman and women-in-the-house, including the struggles which put the gendered society as a target or has the freedom of women in their program, is neither good nor bad in itself, but simply a reality. What matters is how to handle with this reality.

One side of this reality is this: In the phases of such kind of social struggles, the caring labor becomes socialized or shows the tendency of socialization, and thus, a ground for the socialization of women emerges rapidly. However, it would weaken the struggle of woman's freedom, if one finds it sufficient by ignoring that this situation realizes on the basis of a gender division of labor. Because it is also possible to see this axis of socialization as a revolutionary possibility, to transform it into a lever for the development of the women's organization and to change the social consciousness.

What is important, is not to ignore the role which women play in various social struggles on this basis and not to allow the labor and action of women to become invisible in the name of rejecting the gender division of labor. For the sake of not giving any credit to the praise of "woman and mother", which excludes woman from the whole social life, especially from the areas "belonging to men", does not necessitate to underestimate women's labor and action, their contribution and value. Of course, it is necessary to show and teach women, who devoted their lives caring their loved ones and realizes themselves through this action and more, who consider their contribution power to the struggle limited to this action, that there are other ways to live, to love, to be loved and to be valuable and useful within this life. But this does mean trivializing the woman's action, which in reality is very valuable for society and also indispensable unless the conditions for organizing the whole society completely in a different form.

Shortly, the gender division of labor, which is symbolized in one degree or another as the „world as the man's house“

and the „house as the woman's world“, is reproduced in the social struggles as a division of labor between the hinterland and the fore front. And in the presence of the hinterland, the action and the labor of the woman is devalued again, whereas there cannot be a forefront without a hinterland. The place of the woman in the struggle as a „mother“, which was symbolized by the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina and the Saturday Mothers in Turkey, belongs to the women and to the women's freedom struggle; so as her role as a "fertile human" in Palestine, in the Soviet Union or in Kurdistan. Many resistances against occupations have risen on the shoulders of the women, who have maintained the production in the factories while the men were at war and thus kept the whole society alive. This action of them also belongs to the women. In all of these, women were not the victims but the subjects even they suffered from gender inequality and injustice.

Then, women should never allow their readings of history regarding the social struggles to devalue the role that women play in the hinterland. However, the results come out from this history reading for today and future are exposing the necessity of a continuous intervention on the gender division of labor between hinterland and forefront. Correspondingly, they tell us the fact that a political subject, who does not head towards changing this situation in a systematic and increasing way, or even worse, who tries to keep it by seeing it natural, would fail with regards to the social upheaval and the social revolution.

Far from bringing freedom to women, insisting on the gender division of labor, considering women's position in the hinterland, encouraging the motherhood cannot produce anything good for the social struggle as whole, in fact they didn't so far. Without an intervention on the gender division of labor within the social struggles, it is impossible in reality to keep a revolutionary path forever. An uprising, struggle or a war that is based on „male fighters“ and „male commanders“ inevitably needs a family order that ensures the continuity of the fighters and the war. It is not the society itself, but the existing social order which is condemned to the gender division of labor in order to stay on its feet. A struggle which aims to destroy this order cannot be based on the same foundations that keep this order alive. The Family and the gender division of labor are the essential parts of an order that is based on woman's domestic slavery. It is the class and gender society order. And considering women's social position as normal, and even more, trying to progress while keeping this position as so, reproduce the old order; does not and cannot create a new society.

The Influence Of Women's Participation In Social Struggles On The Gender Division Of Labor

The participation of women in social struggles, even in their most spontaneous forms, has made it possible to overcome the gender division of labor, even though it still includes it. Each revolutionary struggle, mass uprising, workers strike or guerrilla warfare has brought forth the participation of women in all parts and fronts of the strug-



gle as well as the changing in the old forms of relationships and the questioning of the traditional roles. No matter what extent the woman participate in, every social struggle lead her to give a blow to the house slavery and socialize.

Almost every struggle in our revolutionary world history has brought vanguard women who became the symbols of the struggles. The disruption of the gender division of labor is one of the most clear indicators for the consciousness of working class and the oppressed, but ofcourse, primarily of the women, by exposing the limits of the old order as well as the necessity to build a new one. In the mind and the heart of the oppressed, the freedom of the woman shines as the materialized form of the possibility of freedom and a symbol that the oppressed can free themselves from the their shackles. A woman who has become free, is the hope for the whole society in terms of the possibility of a new society. And this manner is materialized above all in the vanguard women who have become symbols.

For example, Leyla Khaled doesn't reflect the average form and quality of Palestinian women's participation in the Intifada, infact, she reflects only the situation of a small minority. Palestinian women have played and are still playing a major role in the resistance, but they have participated in the struggle much more with the traditional roles rather than as soldiers and political leaders.

For example, the PLO didn't have a women representative throughout its history. However on the other hand, Leyla Khaled is not only a symbol of the Palestinian women, but one of the most important symbols of the whole Palestinian struggle for freedom.

The picture of Vida Mohaved, who took off her headscarf and waved as a flag during the recent Iranian uprising, became the symbol of the image of a vanguarding section of the women in the uprising. Besides, the viewpoint of the oppressed men involved in the uprising is probably far behind the meaning of this symbol, nevertheless it has become the heart and conscience of this uprising.

In short, the struggle itself also changes the minds of men

and women while it changes their action, whether they are conscious of it or not. The participation of women in the struggle as a collective existence with their own demands and slogans, taking part in various areas of struggle accelerates the changing in the consciousness and enriches the social struggle with an inner dynamism and renewing power.

An important part of the women's freedom struggles, especially those that have overcome a certain threshold in terms of mass participation, influence and achievements, have developed by taking part in the struggles on the basis of more general social problems, demands and slogans of a particular phase and within these struggles, a collective identity has been gained more and more and specific struggles for women-related issues began. This is an important phenomenon., with regards to the particular development of women's freedom struggle.

The participation of women in guerrilla warfare, their involvement in the struggle by military means as the most intensified form of politics, dissolves the old conditions all by itself. Even if this participation doesn't involve a women-centered organization and work among women and society as a whole, it creates major upheavals. The fact that "women are able to do" in these particular periods of the struggle echoes in the consciousness of the society and drive them to question the patriarchy as the obstacle leading "women are not able to do" in other periods.

Gender Polarization Within Social Struggles

The gender contradiction and the gender polarization continue to maintain within each of all social struggles that women participate.

Above all, no matter in which form or area it happens, it is a common tendency to regard the state of women's socialization, which comes along with the struggle processes of women, as a „temporary state“. After a social struggle, whether it ends in defeat or victory, the fundamental question lays in front of women is the question of „returning home“. Of course, there is never a complete sense of „returning home“ after a social struggle. The struggle changes the participants of the struggle, as well as their living conditions. The „returning home“ then realizes under different conditions than yesterday, but the matter is still clear: Will the woman want a place for herself that is below her present level and activity, or a more advanced one?

Will the mothers who went out streets for their children uphold the old order in their homes? Will the old order and division of labor continue in these homes, where revolutionaries have been welcomed and where various needs of them have been met, from courier works to the health care? Will a young woman, who was involved in an urban uprising, dream of marriage and a 'happy' life, or will she become active in the political struggle and pave a new path? Will a female guerrilla marry a comrade after the war and become a regular houseworker, while he continues to carry out revolutionary works in any area? Will a woman kept in prison continue to fight with other means under new conditions, or will she wait until her time is up?



And if victory is gained, will the new society develop and progress the socialization level of the woman with revolutionary impulses, or will it hold with the gender division of labor and women will be send back home?

One of the fundamental axes in which gender struggle maintains in the social struggles, is about how much space the aspirations and slogans, needs and desires of women and LGBTI's find in these struggles. In the history of struggles, the struggle for „suffrage“ was seen as divisive for the working class and as a blurring factor for its path; the „right to abortion“ was considered irresponsible and individual, and at the same time marginal; „sexual freedom“ was seen as bourgeois, degenerating and unnecessary; LGBTI demands were thought to be detractive and for the masses. In fact, every claim of gender struggle has met with these kinds of reactions to some extent.

No matter it is the working class, or a particular nation or any other section which maintains the struggle, the society wants and expects women to support this struggle for the sake of “their own emancipation”. However, this “support” includes the renunciation of their own demands in varying degrees.

In the final analysis, this sexual contradiction is expressed by the form of an expectation that women would “successfully” represent the „honor“ of the movement. Is the right to vote desired to gain sexual freedom? Which sexual understanding leads to the right to abortion? What is the purpose of the demands for a change of marriage and divorce law? What will the other parts of society say, if the women wear what they want? Furthermore, wouldn't let the demands on the basis of sexual freedom, which in most cases will not even go beyond demanding the women's right to decide for their own sexuality, the honor of entire struggle go down the drain? These are the most common questions arise in these cases. Because it is really about the contradiction between the sexes, even the most general political demands are implicated in the problem of protecting the rights and privileges of men over the sexuality of women.

Women have to be in the forefront of all fundamental fronts of these social struggles. In a way, she has to prove her merit to the society. This is the precondition of the leadership and vanguarding. No part of the society that has a claim to be a leader/vanguard can evade that. Moreover, since human is a social being, the women's struggle has to pay regard the social reality in which it takes place. But

proving oneself has nothing to do with closing your eyes to the patriarchal yoke, protecting the sexual freedom of the man and bowing to the existing moral rules that mean nothing but the continuation of his privileges. Above all, the hardest moral test that awaits any social struggle is that women, like all the sections of a struggle, have the freedom to determine their own demands.

In many situations, women are expected to join a struggle by accepting „to continue their old situation“. The masses and political subjects are also subjected to a hard democracy test in relation to the social gender issue. The forces of a social struggle can have the power to change a ruling order, only if they successfully pass the simple (but certainly not easy) democracy test by accepting and defending women's demands and slogans, no matter what those aspirations and slogans may be and, above all, consider it natural for women to determine those by their own.

Political And Organizational Continuity

Because in every social struggle there is also the contradiction and the confrontation between the genders, a fundamental element for analyzing the participation of women in social struggles, is not the individual but collective existence of women in the struggles and their organizational level. The organization of women as a gender is an indispensable position terms of gaining the power to make their independent demands and aspirations as the ones of the whole social struggles, developing and guiding the participation of women in the struggle in a manner to disrupt the gender division of labor, creating revolutionary channels of solution for the problem of „returning home“ and protecting and improving the achievements of struggle.

There are many dimensions of women's history of social struggles that need to be discussed. But it has to be emphasized once again that all direction of the existing development is towards ensuring women to become subjects in social struggles, both individually and collectively, and realizing in the form that the question and the phases of the social revolution is getting more and more integrated with the women's revolution. The common message of the past and ongoing struggles is that each of the revolutions of the 21st century will simultaneously be the women's revolutions the same time and anyway they are obliged to women's revolution, if they want to succeed.

The “Natural” Crisis Of Capitalism

(Translator’s Note: The scientific datas used n this article are dated back at the end of 2017 when the article was written. Yet, it has only got worse since then.)

“Apocalypse Day” scenes which can happen only in a science-fiction movie a few decades ago, have become the topic of ecology documentaries and scientific researches today. It is crystal clear that an ecological crisis extending to the whole earth and threatening the humane life conditions of an ever-growing number of people has become a bitter reality.

Tsunamis, earthquakes, climate change, ozone holes, food scandals¹, extinction of species, air pollution, poisoning of oceans, drinkable water shortages, trash mountains and nuclear disasters like in Fukushima and millions of death due to environmental pollution have now become a daily issue of capitalist reality. Scientists state that 90 percent of the cancer cases today are resulted from environmental effects. However this situation, of course, does not stop the international monopolies keep destroying the very basic foundations of our lives and looting our world. Cruel greed of imperialist capitalism for more profit is no surprise for anyone, but there comes up a little problem: the capital is now cutting the branch it is sitting on!

The Global Feature Of The Ecological Crisis

Even 150 years ago, Marx and Engels pointed out the environmental devastation of the capitalist mode of production. The intervention to nature through large industrial production had reached to a new stage with the factors like enormous increase in production of steel and iron, extraction of coal and urbanization.

The first modern environmental movements of 1950’s were born out as a reaction to the more crystallized environmental devastations. Still, natural problems coming to the question at that time were more of local ones: a poisoned river here, a smoke flumping on a metropolis there. But today, the environmental crisis has reached an international level. Like the climate disaster, it is not only affecting regions on its own, but affecting the nature as a whole.

All the life on earth takes place between 60 km above and 5 km under the earth surface at the biosphere² that can be sorted as three layers; soil and rocks (lithosphere), water sources (hydrosphere) and gases (atmosphere). The very origin of life started here 3.5 billion year ago, as Engels described as “the emergence of the white of an egg” or “albuminous” and summarized with the words “Life is the mode of existence of albuminous bodies, and this mode of existence essentially consists in the constant self-renewal of the chemical consti-

tuents of these bodies.”³

Today, throughout the biosphere system, dramatic changes are in motion that will cause the extinction of human unless it is stopped.

Let’s look at some of the examples that show the extent of devastation in nature:

Since from people started to record the weather temperature, top 10 hottest years occurred in the last 20 years. 2016 was recorded as the hottest year of all time. The sea level has risen 17 cm in the last century. The average temperature of the world has risen 0,89 Celsius degree since 1880, when the weather temperature was recorded for the first time, due to greenhouse gas emissions such as carbon dioxide (CO₂) emitted primarily by burning fossil fuels, especially coal and petroleum, methane (CH₄), laughing gas (N₂O) and PFC which is produced to replace the finally-banned CFC. In 2013, for the first time in 25 million years, the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere has exceeded 400 ppm (particle per million). Even though climate changes occurred many times during the 4,5 billion years of the evolution of the world, each of them were lasting over tens of thousands of years, that is, none of them was so sudden and with such leaps.

Climatic warming causes heavy rain, flood and famine, extreme temperatures and cold snaps. If the rise of sea level goes like this, countries like Bangladesh, cities like New York and Shanghai will be underwater. On one side, floods occur more frequently due to melting glaciers, and on the other, new greenhouse gases laying under these glaciers are released into air and as a result causes more warming. Again, with the glacier melting, less sunbeams are reflected back to the space, hence warming goes up even more. Due to this warming, global air flows change, some regions are trapped in cold while right next to them, subtropical moist and hot air flows head towards north.

More than half of the rain forests, which were once covering areas in 70 countries, has gone between 1900 and 1980. One more mechanism ensuring the natural balance is being destroyed with the cutting down of forests which take CO₂ from the atmosphere and transform it into carbohydrate and oxygen via photosynthesis and so is functioning as the reducer of CO₂ rate in the atmosphere.

Ozone layer blocks 95 percent of the ultraviolet solar radiation and reflect back to the space. When the ozone layer gets thinner than 220 Dodson in unit, it is called an ozone hole. In 2000, the ozone hole in the southern hemisphere grew up to 28 million km², which is almost equal to the size of Africa. The ultraviolet radiation damages the land and water species, affects their immunization system adversely, causes skin cancer and disrupts eyes.

The reason of the thinning of ozone layer is the increase in the gases like CFC (chlorofluorocarbon). CFC is now banned

3 Friedrich Engels, Anti-Duhring, translated by Emile Burns, Progress Publishers, p. 50

1 According to an official report released by BBC in October 2017, made-in-Turkey paprikas ranked 4th in the list of the most dangerous products due to “high level of pesticide remedies”. Enjoy your food!

2 Bios means life and sphere means globe in Greek.

after the protests going on since the ,80's, but HFC (hydrofluorocarbon) and PFC (perfluorocarbon), both of which damage the ozone layer although not as the same level and are produced millions of tonnes, take its place.⁴

One research of the Swiss scientists showed that the thinned ozone layer affects even the tropical regions which are thousands of kilometers away. Due to the ozone hole above Antarctica and Arctic, rainfall in French Polynesia increased 50 percent during the period 1960-90. This example, above all, proves how closely related are the processes and elements in the biosphere with each other and how deeply affect each other. Same interrelatedness also exists in the extinction of the species. Most of the time, a living organism form plays a central role for the whole ecosystem and balances can be shaken disastrously with its disappearance. Unfortunately when the awareness about the situation raises, it is usually very late to recover. Today, there are 1,9 million animal species known; 1,88 million of them is spineless as most of them comprise bugs. And according to estimations, 35 thousands species go extinct each year. According to Greenpeace, as much as 8 times of the species that were extinct in the last 500 years face with the risk of extinction today.

The amount of small moss called phytoplankton, which is the basis of food chain in the seas and carries out the 70-80 percent of the global oxygen generation, has reduced 40 percent since 1950. This is not only wrecking the sea ecosystem, it also affects the climate and weather conditions. Seas are becoming sour⁵, coral reefs are dying, plastic is polluting... Now there are more than 500 "dead regions" in the seas close the coasts, some of which cover couple of tens of thousands of km². Polluting, poisoning, warming and souring of seas are about to reach an irreversible level.

In 2012, in only one year of time, 1,9 billion tonnes of waste were produced worldwide. 70 percent of this was collected, but only 19 percent of it was recycled. It is not difficult to guess where the rest of it is. Incinerating waste is even more harmful. This process generates extremely poisonous remedies and greenhouse gases. Poisonous and nuclear waste pollutes water, weather and soil at an incredible level. Producing only for the sake of production without considering anything other than maximizing its profit, the capital, does not care about a complete economic cycle in which natural resources are recycled and reintegrated into production process. However, in order to realize recycling at a meaningful level, it is needed to be planned in the production stage. For example, only 1 percent of the electronic waste, some of which includes plenty of amount of valuable metals, is recycled. It even costs from 2 to 10 times more to extract the same materials from the mines compared to recycling.

Countless chemical, biological and nuclear weapons also pose as one of the main threats against the life on earth.

4 In 1987, Montreal Protocol was signed, however many countries stayed out of this protocol and monopolies have never stopped profiting from these hazardous gases. In the end, in 2010, remaining countries agreed the banning decision too, but new gases produced instead of the banned ones have already released to the market.

5 The reduction of pH value of the seas due to increasing CO₂ is called "souring".

Being 2000 times more powerful than the bombs dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that is, enough to wipe out a land as big as France from the map, the "Satan 2" thermonuclear missiles, which the Russian imperialism has started its testing stage, is just an example of those.

In the 21st century, more than 1,2 billion people have no access to clean water. Almost 11 thousands children die every day due to insufficient or dirty water. These deaths are not results of lack of water, since 380 thousands liters of water is consumed in the production of one single car and 15 thousands 500 liters of fresh water is consumed for producing only one kilogram meat.⁶

Limitless exploitation and atrocity of capitalist mode of production obviously involves the environmental issues. Atrocities which imperialists persecute on dependent countries in terms of natural issues are on giant topic which we cannot go into detail in the context of this article. However, we cannot go over without underlining this: those who create the environmental problems are actually a bunch of world monopoly and imperialist country, yet those who suffer most from its ruthless results are especially people living in financial-economic colonies. For instance, according to the data released in 2017, 75,26 percent of share in the CO₂ emissions belongs to G-20 countries, which the total share of China and USA in this is 37 percent.

Another result of natural devastation which does not draw too much attention is migration. More than 2-3 times of the amount of those who were forced to migrate due to wars, had to migrate due to natural disasters between 2008-2017, Perhaps, in many cases, climate refugees couldn't cross the borders and that's why they couldn't take up space in the agenda. According to one research of Greenpeace, 25,4 million people are forced to migrate every year due to climate disasters. Between 2008-2015, 110 million people had to leave their homes only due to floods.⁷

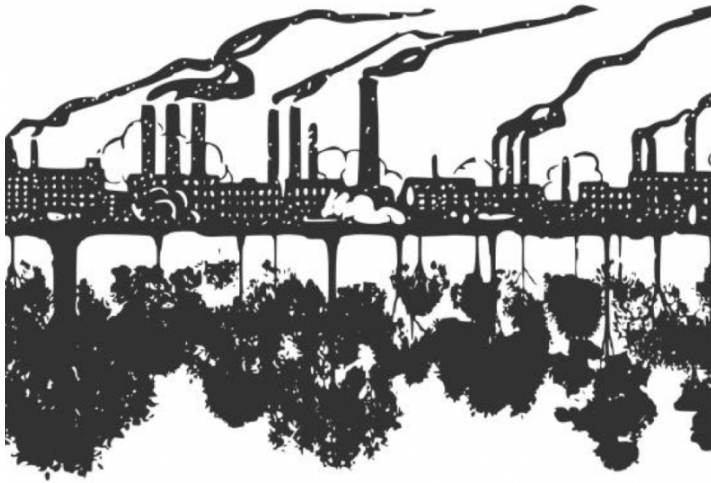
Even the bourgeois sources cannot deny anymore the fact that natural disasters are the results of the existent system. Looking at the results of 7 different researches published in 2016, more than 90 percent of the experts related to the topic states that the perpetrator of global warming is human. Of course, we need to correct the answer "human" here with "capitalism".

Obvious Perpetrator Of The Crisis

In the Dialectic of Nature, Engels manifests with multiple examples, that human intervenes the nature with a specific purpose unlike animal, it transforms nature in the service of its own purpose, but in most cases, it does not foresee the aftermath of these transformations at all and causes huge devastations. While defining the relation between human and nature, Engels states that *"Thus at every step we are reminded that we by no means rule over nature like a conquerer over a foreign people, like someone standing outside nature, but*

6 Akt. Katastrophalarm! Was tun gegen die mutwillige Zerstörung der Einheit von Mensch und Natur?, Stefan Engel, Verlag Neuer Weg, Juni 2014, s. 211

7 Akt. Klimawandel, Migration und Vertreibung, Greenpeace, Mai 2017



that we, with flesh, blood and brain, belong to nature, and exist in its midst, and that all our mastery of it consists in the fact that we have the advantage over all other beings of being able to know and correctly apply its laws.”⁸ And continues; “with every day that passes we are learning to understand these laws more correctly, and getting to know both the more immediate and the more remote consequences of our interference with the traditional course of nature. In particular, after the mighty advances of natural science in the present century, we are more and more getting to know, and hence to control, even the more remote natural consequences at least of our more ordinary productive activities. But the more this happens, the more will men not only feel, but also know, their unity with nature, and thus the more impossible will become the senseless and anti-natural idea of a contradiction between mind and matter, man and nature, soul and body...”

Thus, we can approach the issue neither from the perspective of taking the nature under yoke nor the perspective of protecting from “the evil human” as some “biocentrist” currents do. The issue is that human should live in harmony with the nature as a part of it and provide the needs of human development in short and long term by taking the laws of nature into account. However, as Engels states, understanding the laws of nature is not enough for this; it is necessary to overthrow both the existent mode of production and the whole social order. Because, capitalist mode of production is in conflict with this in its essence. Recognizing any purpose but maximizing their profits, each capitalist and the capital as a whole see the nature as a “self-service” shop without a cash desk and try to exploit labor and nature with a great ambition which are the sources of all wealth.. It doesn’t care about harmony with the nature or results of intervening the nature. Only thing to care is selling products and realizing profit! In the capitalist society, it is inevitable that human gets alienated to the nature just as it is alienated to its own labor.

Everything turns into commodity in capitalism, today even genetic materials (seeds for example) and drinking water have already become private properties. It wouldn’t be surprising if they soon try to sell us the air we breath. The capital disintegrates the nature as into commodities. All the production in capitalism, which means the intervention of human to the nature, is gradually tied up to the profit purpose. Since the situation of nature, of which human is also a component,

is played down by the ruling class in terms of the entirety of social relations, fossil fuels which endanger the life on earth continue to be used for the sake of a handful of powerful oil monopoly to multiply their profit, even though everyone knows about the danger. The climate change issue is not a matter of a lack of knowledge about its material reasons, nor it is the absence of a scientific cure today. On contrary, it is entirely rooted in the fact that social and political relations, which are determined by the competition and interests of the ranks of capital block, obstruct the adequate precautions to protect the nature.

Eating organic food has nothing to do with protecting the nature. Solution methods degraded into individual approaches, meaning single reforms such as separating trash at home, using biofuel for car or charging cell phones with solar energy have already become pointless. “Behaving responsibly” or imposing single reforms unfortunately can no longer solve the natural crisis which has grown into a worldwide level and composed of agglomeration of a series of factor conditioning each other.⁹ This crisis can only be overcome through extermination of capitalist system wrecking humanity and nature, subjecting everything to its greed for profit.

Greenwashing And Crocodile Tears

Devastation of nature cannot be hidden anymore, so even the representatives of the capital are forced to react. Sacred oaths at the environment summits are glaringly broadcast in the bourgeois media. Reforestation or moderately clean air and rivers started to appear in imperialist countries after applying some of the decisions, most of which only stay on the paper and are actually gained by the widespread democratic protests. But we must emphasize that the situation proceeds contrarily in the financial-economic colonies. Small patches can’t cover the decaying scars. Bourgeois “solutions” cause the issue to shift away and also new problems to come up. London is a good example; smoke over the city had been reduced as the heavy industry was moved, but even worse case is happening in the metropolises of China today. Or, marketed as “clean energy” for replacement of coal, yet no way to ensure the full safety, shifting to nuclear energy means nothing but jumping out of the frying pan into the fire.

Not being able to follow the path of a total denial in the face of obvious ecological facts, bourgeoisie passes millions of dollars to the “climate skeptics” in order to create confusion. The only duty of them is to keep the urgent climate issue contentious with fake data and methods full of lies and to smooth the way for capital monopolies to get a green light for new investments. Similar entrepreneurship is on hype nowadays: “greenwashing”, meaning acquitting in terms of ecological sense. According to that, commercial projects are presented as “contribution to environmental protection” and even supply additional funds for monopolies. One example of painting the capital with green in this way is wrapping up the waste incinerating facilities, which are extremely harmful to environment, as “environmental friendly”. One of the

⁹ This, of course, does not make struggle for reforms subsumed by the aim of revolution, on contrary, formulating ecological daily political demands and waging struggle for them stand as an important task ahead of us.

most famous “greenwashing” representatives is the American bourgeois politician Al Gore. Because, he created a new market bringing immense benefit to speculative capital through carbon trade. And surely, this had not much of an effect in reducing the carbon emissions. Certificate trade agreed in the Kyoto Protocol is also a similar example. HCFC-22 (hydrochlorofluorocarbon) production in China and India increased 25 percent in the first place, just to earn money from its annihilation, since reward of annihilating one ton of this gas was 140 thousand Euro.¹⁰

Is It Possible to Overcome the Ecological Crisis in the Stage of Imperialist Globalization?

Capitalist system constantly undermines the physical life conditions with its rapacious ambition for maximum profit and the situation is getting out of control. It is not new for the capital being in an approach of “after me the deluge!”, but what is new today is that the part “after us” is no longer available, which means the feet of the capital have already started to get warm.

In the book “Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism”, David Harvey¹¹ analyzes the nature-capital contradiction. He asks whether the environmental crisis is a deadly crisis for the capital or not and presents four reasons to bring suspicion over this widespread opinion: 1) Capitalism has a long history with ecological problems, but so far it has managed to work it around and none of “the world is about to end” claims have turned out to be true. 2) The nature is a component of the capital accumulation process; for instance, a plant’s ability to grow is a component of profit and reinvestment. 3) The capital has turned the environmental issues into a great source of income; environmental technologies have become a significant factor at the international finance market and thus, the metabolic relation with the nature is transformed into an accumulation strategy. 4) Even in the middle of a natural disaster, the capital can continue to circulate and accumulate; natural disasters offer the capital new possibilities for profit and by keeping the relative surplus population in mind, the capital doesn’t worry about the mass destruction due to natural devastation.¹²

Let’s check these arguments. As Harvey also accepted, the fact that the whole life has not been destroyed yet, does not ensure that it wouldn’t in the future. Because, these types of processes occur once. Besides, here the question is more than simply about “the end of the world”, it must be about whether the capital is capable of overcoming this crisis which increasingly affects the nature more intensely and in more complex ways or whether the capital-nature contradiction in the stage of imperialist globalization is another expression of the capital reaching to its own limits also in terms of ecological boundaries.

The fact that the nature is a component of circulation and accumulation process of the capital, as Harvey stated in the second reason, does not exclude that the same process pos-

sess an antagonist contradiction. Baring the antithesis between the social production and the private property in its bosom, capitalism already has an incurable contradiction as it brings its own „grave digger“, the working class into existence. The nature is the subjected one in the capital-nature relation, however when the plants cannot grow as expected due to genetic manipulation, excessive rain or drought, even when it gets impossible to estimate how they react to incredibly unsettled conditions, the possibilities to rip off profit from them also melt away.

It is true, capitalists dare to sell us three-headed chicken or directly the poison itself by presenting it as „the gourmet’s notch for taste“, but do we buy it? What we mean, it seems very hard for our digestive system to change as quick as the climate when looking at the speed of the evolution, therefore it seems impossible for capitalism to digest such a nature which is that much “out of control” and will be more turbulent. The environmental crisis is no longer a controllable or predictable situation and it doesn’t seem like a war convertible into profit, because we are not talking about someone taking bribes or buying weapons, but the objective laws of nature. There can only be short-termed profits dug out of natural disasters developing through reciprocally affecting each other, but still the ecological devastation conditions melt down the capital investment opportunities under extreme temperatures or leave them under the flood of water.

Already, “devaluation” for the capital is serious; there is no fish left in the seas, fertile lands are turning into deserts. Disintegrating the nature and its commodification don’t allow the capital to be the sovereign over the nature.

The capital always chase the most profitable investment branches and the environmental technologies, of course, are no exception. However, due to low profitability, there lays this fact: it detaches from the productive investment and concentrates on speculation. And its profit-oriented investment character means that it considers today’s profit definitely more preferable than everything from tomorrow. Thus, there will never be a tendency to prioritize the investment branches capable of preventing the environmental crisis. In other words, as long as petroleum brings more profit than wind as an energy source, it will be burnt until its last drop. As long as the capitalist mentality directs the scientific researches and the application of science to the production, the environment-friendly technologies will never be dominant in production just as how robots cannot take the place of the living labor completely.

Limits Of The Capital

Scientific-technical revolutions have become catalysts in reviving the economy in the history of capitalism. When the petroleum came into scene as the main energy source, automobile¹³ conquered the world market and was felt like a remedy for the economical crisis. Afterwards, it set the basis for a general automation leap. Today, can a similar development, meaning a real revival in the capitalist economy suffering from long-lasting stagnation be provided through a

13 By the way, in the development of automobile, a woman (Berta Benz) had a big contribution.

10 Akt. Katastrophenalarm, s. 96-97

11 David Harvey: English geography and anthropology professor, critical politic economist.

12 David Harvey, Seventeen Contradictions and The End of Capitalism, Profile Books, 2014, p. 246-250

total shift to electric cars or to solar energy? Let's suppose, electric cars discard the combustion motors, overcome the last obstacles and become dominant in the world market. Without a doubt, this becomes a development that cannot be looked down on for the capital which desperately seek for new markets and profitable investment sectors. Appeasing the resistance of the quite powerful big automobile and oil monopolies and the realization of such a move which would bring a certain regeneration in the productive forces are not at all impossible today. Yet, in today's world of imperialist globalization, two main factors reciprocally conditioning each other and limiting the breathing effects of this kind of refreshment moves have already been in the scene: on one side, the share of real production is not that much big in the entire economy as in the period of automobile invasion. On the other side, excess capital has reached such a colossal amount that any kind of new productive investment sector cannot be sufficient to absorb this chronic excessiveness. That's why, today, new investment branches and market layers created by new technologies can influence the congestion of capital relations only in qualitative terms, not quantitative. And the impulse to invest in "green technology", of the capital whose flame of technological motion is mostly quenched can no longer appear so strongly.

The capital needs to have features dissident to its own nature in order to overcome the ecological problems, according how David Harvey thinks. Every element of the global environmental crisis is directly bound to one another and it requires a worldwide coordinated, planned and long-termed intervention. In fact, when one single company produces according to a plan, whereas the anarchy in production on a social scale and the competition keep ruling over as definite laws of the capitalist economy, there is no objective basis for the capital to intervene in the ecological crisis in a planned and coordinated manner.

Extremely intensified competition and the tendency of declining in profit rates in the stage of imperialist globalization push the capital to mercilessly exploit not only human, but also the whole nature. There developed a reform capacity which can compromise with the environmental movement on their demands in the period of "welfare state", but today, there is no margin left for "additional expenditures" like ecological precautions in the viewpoint of capital.¹⁴ In a time when the capital has been retreating from production due to low profit rates, trying to find ways to slip off the tax burden it carries and in a time when even the most basic public services are put into market, it seems not possible anymore that the capital can be convinced to make new constant capital investments for environmental measures or tied up with new taxes on a social scale. Even when strong environmental movements force the single monopolies to take environmental protection measures or the bourgeois states to intervene in a specific environmental issue, such measures or interventions don't open a path for a generalization of these steps on a social scale.

Plundering the natural resources is not a new property of

the capital. The capital used to move away somewhere else when a source at one place dries out, like it did when the land became infertile for coffee planting in Brazil. However, there is no such pure untouched land left today. New natural resources laying under the poles or at the bottom of oceans could only be extracted via methods which are extremely harmful in ecological regard, which in return sharpening the ecological crisis. In this sense, expansion of the capital starts to hit the physical boundaries of the world.

Harvey, in a totally rightful way, states that the capital will never give up on commodification of the nature and dividing it into private property rights. And from this, he concluded that the environmental movement, if it wants to pass beyond the sole make-up changes, has to embrace an anti-capitalist character today. Yet, conflicting with this conclusion which we also agree on, Harvey is in the view that it cannot be claimed the capital has lost its capacity to manage its inner contradiction in the relation with the nature. And since he approaches the issue like this, he cannot see beyond the dependence of the ecological crisis on the subjective, therefore changeable decisions, he cannot see that the ecological crisis is an objective impasse for the capital. The issue here is not related with this policy or that institutional regulation or ideological argument; it is related with the tendency rooted from directly the nature of the capital and the possibility for the capital not being able to stop the ecological crisis which accumulates risks even capable of destroying the capital itself. Saying that *"If there is a serious question in the capital-nature relation, this is a contradiction rising from inside the capital, not from outside"* and comparing the ecosystem of the capital to a total of simmering cancerous cells, Harvey couldn't make the theoretical deduction that he could draw from here and gets nowhere there: *"We cannot just claim that the capital is capable of destroying its own ecosystem and at same time easily deny its potential to get itself out of the mess and solve its internal conflicts or at least to reach a balance in them."*¹⁵ But why?!

No one claims that the capital will collapse on its own tomorrow due to ecological crisis, but the facts become more distinctive, that we reach a separation point stated in the expression "either socialism or barbarism" also for the environment topic, the production for the maximum profit is getting closer to the worldwide physical devastation limits in full throttle. Now, the ecological crisis has gained an existential feature for capitalism.

Although he doesn't accept the existential feature of the ecological crisis, Harvey introduces two reasons that could threaten the future of the capital, in the contradicting metabolism between the capital and nature from his point of view. Firstly, he points out the growing force of the rentier class, meaning those who own the land and natural resources but have no intention for production. Because, says Harvey, through this way, monopolist rents are earned at the cost of loss of the productive capital. In the end, the rates of profit decline towards zero and together with that, of course, so does the reason for reinvestment. Thus, according to his thesis, by appropriating the natural resources and occupy-

14 For more information about the existential crisis, check the previous issues of the Red Dawn.

15 David Harvey, p. 259



ing crucial ranks within the capitalist ecosystem which is the contradicting unity of the capital and nature, the rentiers strangle the productive capital.¹⁶

As a second reason, Harvey mentions about the extremely alienating relation between the capital and the nature of human and the nature as a whole, and a possible uprising caused by this. In his opinion, the devastation created by the coercion to form the natural world as a commodity, carries a deeper meaning than natural forces not providing any benefits for the capital anymore; therefore what has been devastated is the human nature, the ability to be a different kind of person rather than what the capital dictates. In Harvey's words, *"The seeds of a humanist uprising is being inseminated against the inhumanity laying beneath the degradation of nature and the human nature into solely a commodity."*¹⁷

Both points Harvey underscores are on the mark, however regarding the capital, the ecological crisis is deeper and more unsolvable than he thinks.

To Stop The End, We Must Say The Last Word

For a long time, environmental issues have been perceived as a political playground for petty bourgeois reformism. Even, the working class itself, for instance in the mining sector, has been pushed into conflicts face to face with the environment movements by using the unemployment stick with the discourse "they want to destroy your workplaces". Nevertheless, the ecological crisis gradually turned into a matter of life or death for millions of people directly.

At the point we have reached now, there is no objective basis left for inner-system solutions. Only, a socialist system which is based on the harmonic unity of nature and human; places its footing on the needs of people, not the profits of bourgeoisie; is built upon the plan and proportionality, not the chaos and competition; saves the creativity from the gyves of capitalist mentality; opens the channels for the usage of new ecological technologies completely, could find real solutions to the ecological crisis.

We cannot say that revolutionary movement has been interested in the topic as much as it deserves for long time. This, leaving the reasons aside, is definitely a situation that we must put an end immediately.

Today, the contradiction between the capital and nature has turned into one of the most important and quite concrete topics of the class struggle which bitterly affects the lives of all oppressed and even gives birth to new anti-capitalist dyna-

mics. This is a development that can easily be seen when looking at the resistance against the cutting down of trees which became the detonator of the Gezi uprising or at the militant peoples movement against the hydroelectric energy dams in the Black Sea Region or at the increasing interest of women and youth in the ecologic agenda. That is to say, around the environment issue which most plainly put forth how much the existential interest of human contradicts with the grim profit mentality of the capital, a storm of struggle against the capitalist system and fascist dictatorship can be blown.

In recent years, increasing number of "Marxist ecologists" or "ecologist Marxists" is a reflection of the fact that the crisis can only be overcome through an anti-capitalist solution, which shows itself in these consciousness forms.

Ecosocialism, among its representatives are sociologist Ted Benton, philosopher André Gorz and economist James O'Connor, stood out as a new current in the 1980's. In that period, the criticism against Marxism about its insufficient attention to the topic was prevalent, but in the 1990's, "ecologist Marxists" like Paul Burkett and John Bellamy Foster¹⁸, who got more effective on the subject, pointed out the ecological context introduced by Marx in his political economy critique and the valuable contributions of Engels in the field of ecology. They concentrated on developing views of ecological struggle against capitalism with the perspective of Marxist theory. And those who are influenced by ecofeminists like Vandana Shiva, such as Judi Bari, stated a clear tendency to the revolution and socialism: *"Ecologists with serious aims must be revolutionary". "One of the primary goals of socialism is production for use not for profit. For this reason, one cannot talk about a unbalance in socialist system like in capitalism and therefore I believe that a socialist structure which will not harm the earth can be established."*¹⁹

Today, ecology is getting to be an indispensable agenda in the revolutionary movements of the working class and the oppressed. And more importantly, the consciousness stating that this issue can only be solved through an anti-capitalist revolution strengthens day by day. Let's embrace our world with our struggle of overthrowing capitalism before capitalism ends humanity.

18 John Bellamy Foster: editor of the Monthly Review and sociology professor. In Turkish, his book "Marx's Ecology" (translated by Ercüment Özkaya, Epos Publications, 2001) is an important piece for ecologist Marxists.

19 Revolutionary Ecology Biocentrism and Deep Ecology, Judi Bari

16 Ibid, p. 260-261

17 Ibid., p. 262-263

The Political Crisis Of Imperialist Capitalism

Based on its existential crisis, the capitalist imperialism is having a political crisis. This fact exposes itself in two ways.

First, not only in the neo-colonies but also in the capitalist centers as well, bourgeoisie is in a depression of keeping the masses under its political power by means of its major parties and collaborators within the working class.

Secondly, the political stability of the US' domination over the imperialist world hierarchy has been substituted with an intensified imperialist competition.

The Depression Of The Traditional Parties In The Capitalist Centers

The political crisis of the bourgeoisie is actually what Lenin puts forward as the first condition for defining the revolutionary situation; "...when it becomes impossible for the dominant classes to maintain their dominance without transforming into a new form; a crisis of the ruling classes"

Bourgeoisie finds itself in a political crisis when the contradictions between the cliques become sharply intensified and the bourgeoisie fails to maintain its dominance as used to be and resorts to new ruling forms.

Bourgeoisie holds the monopoly of armed force in its hands in order to protect its economic, social and thus, the political dominance. However, it cannot preserve its power only through the armed force without having a social basis. Since the capitalist society, which does not have only two major classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie being in antagonistic contradiction, but also the petty-bourgeois class that consist of different layers, bourgeoisie provides the social support from and through that intermediate class; the semi-proletarian and the proletarian sections.

All efforts and policies of bourgeoisie for showing its state apparatus, which is composed of military-civilian bureaucracy, in an objective form, as well as establishing different parties with different political lines, linking the mass organizations to itself or presenting the "parliament" as the mean of representation, come out from the necessity to provide the mass support in order to maintain its power.

In the imperialist states, especially in the periods where there is a low level of proletarian mass movement together with a relative stability rather than an economic crisis and a temporary reconciliation instead of wars, bourgeoisie manages to maintain the political mechanism, which allows parties to formally rule through parliaments that are presented as the symbol of "democracy and freedom", and gives effort to create the perception that administration is actually provided by this mechanism.

Thus, wide oppressed and laboring masses are rendered the social basis of the bourgeois power through "bourgeois democracy, although (it means) a great historical advance in comparison with feudalism" (Lenin) and its

symbols; the bourgeois parliament and the parliamentary parties. The petty-bourgeois and the worker aristocracy as the intermediate classes, play the essential role in this mechanism by filling the cadres of these parties.

But in the periods when the mass movements of the exploited classes rise up and endanger the bourgeois power, bourgeoisie resorts for extraordinary methods at the expense of violating the perception that it creates. State of emergency, martial law, state of war, fascism, military coups are the major methods of this situation.

This corresponds to the transition of the bourgeois dictatorship itself where it passes from one form to another and primarily, it is the sign of a political crisis. That is to say, bourgeoisie responds its political crisis by shifting to an open terrorist form together with using civil war methods. With such new forms, it protects its power from the threads of the proletariat and the oppressed classes as well as suppresses possible power struggles or an internal division.

Today, in the central countries of capitalism, the administration model in the form of bourgeois parliamentarism, which has been lasted from 1945 to the 2000's, began to enter into a crisis together with its two major parties. The conservative and social democratic bourgeois parties, which are expressed as "the center right and the center left", have eliminated their difference first in the economic and then in external and internal political spheres. The abolishing of the difference between these parties in the economic sphere as well as in the sense of imperialist expansionism was given by Lenin as an example of the decay of imperialism: "The difference between the democratic-republican and the reactionary-monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive." (Lenin, Imperialism and the Split in Socialism). From here, he was emphasizing the necessity of the proletarian masses to move for a revolutionary rupture.

This phenomenon, which started at the beginning of the last century, had been able to remain at the background for a long time during the decades after the 2nd re-division war, when imperialism had the opportunity to implement its "welfare state" policy. But today it has become permanent by gaining an irreversible character.

In the US, France, Germany, England and other imperialist countries, there is no difference left between the conservative parties and the social democratic parties in terms of their economic and imperialist warfare policies. Plus, regarding also their common sides in terms of implementing the State of Emergency and the Statutory Decrees, it is a fact that they don't have any difference except from some matters like racism, homophobia and hostility against immigrants. In that sense, for example, Corbyn's election to the Labor Party as a result of the disappointment caused by Blair, who was the same as Thatcher, will either remain as casus or – if Corbyn wins

a general election- result in a compulsorily veer towards the policies of the British oriented world monopolies.

This fact is important to remember that these parties from both wings used to function for the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the sense of binding the masses which have been under the influence of the conservative tradition in one hand and of the historical struggles of the workers movement with the tradition of bourgeois revolutions on the other. But now, this function of the parties is dying out.

The economical opportunities, which used to allow bourgeoisie to give economic-social rights under the name of “the welfare state/social state”, was the material basis of the bourgeoisie in getting the consent of the masses, making them the social support of their power for decades by means of its parties and mass organizations. But for almost 30 years, under the conditions of the imperialist globalization, bourgeoisie has got to and has been gradually eliminating these rights. It has necessarily been reducing the worker aristocracy down to a trivial size. In these conditions of the existential crisis of capitalism, bourgeoisie is unable to expand the worker aristocracy. (This fact arises from its own character based on cheap labor and financial exploitation for grabbing share from the world scale profit that results in bankrupts when it falls behind in the competition by failing to maximize its profit through these instruments as well as through military occupations.) Moreover, as in the cases of Berlusconi, Trump, Cameron or Macron, the attempts of the bourgeoisie to hire some bourgeois characters and monopoly leaders directly to the head of the parties/governments or to the ministries do not help to provide a political stability, but rather aggravate the existing impasse.

As a result, the traditional bourgeois parties are losing their social basis and this fact shows that the bourgeois powers are no longer able to rule as they were before; they are in the political crisis.

Applying Extraordinary Methods

Major parties in the central countries of capitalism, which were able to render the masses the social basis of the bourgeois dictatorships through parliamentarism, are now starting to use emergency methods such as the State of Emergency (the SP administration in France, the MR and NVA coalition in Belgium), the Patriot Decree-Law (the law çıkarıldı by the Bush administration and continued with Obama), or Statutory Decree Laws etc..

Similar emergency methods that the two major parties of bourgeoisie in different countries use under the name of fighting against ISIS or El Kaide are nothing other than thin excuses. The fact is that, under the conditions where the social support declines, bourgeoisie heads for implementing fascist forms through these kind of emergency methods, rather than wasting time by parliamentary means.

As it is mentioned above, the fact that the bourgeoisies of the capitalist centers, together with their major parties, are restricting the parliamentary bourgeois democracy,

which used to function as a mean of influencing the masses by being exposed as the symbol of the “democracy for all” discourse and step-by-step applying the administration methods that are specific to the civil war conditions, indicates their political crisis clearly. And the most important aspect of this fact exposes itself in the conditions of governance crisis with the attacks to prevent the movements of workers and the oppressed to be revolutionized.

The Rise Of Neo-fascist Movements

Since the bourgeois syndicalism is also in the crisis on the same material basis with the conservative and social democrat parties, bourgeoisie has found the solution in developing neo-fascist movements. More precisely, along with undertaking the emergency fascist implementations as an urgent precaution through its conservative or social democrat governments, it creates the basis for the improvement of the neo-fascist movements.

The Tea Party Movement in the US and the presidency of the racist, sexist, antiimmigrant and fascistoid Trump, the rise of the Pegida movement and AfD in Germany, the strengthening of the National Front in France, the UK Independence Party in Britain, the ongoing impacts of the Freedom Party in Netherlands, the Northern League and the National Social Movement Party in Italy and the Freedom Party in Austria, the improvement of the neo-fascist Jobbik Party together with the fascistoid Fidesz governments for several times in Hungary... These examples shows that bourgeoisie in the conditions of crisis holds the neo-fascist movements and parties in reserve in a way to prevent the development of the revolutionary movement of the worker masses. But it also points out the political crisis of these new conditions.

Instability In The Financial-Economic Colonies

In the financial-economic colonies of imperialism, the crisis of the bourgeois political power exposes itself by uprisings, usage of extraordinary means of administration and rising fascism by means of the main “center” parties of the bourgeoisie.

During the 1980's, by the inducement of the US, Latin American countries had shifted from fascism to the reactionary parliamentary regimes which were named as the “low-intensity democracy”. Through this way, the mass movements against the fascist juntas were tried to be restrained from turning into sharp revolutionary struggles. However, this attempt failed to prevent the uprisings which had started in the 90's and spread across the continent especially by the 2000's. By means of the petty-bourgeois unionists, parties, progressive movements and the fronts established by the old guerrilla movements, which had decided to conduct peaceful parliamentary struggle, these uprisings had been absorbed and transformed into the means for establishing -popular or neo-liberal reformist governments. Nevertheless, the political crisis of the bourgeoisies soon erupted again.

Beginning from the end of 2010, there have been the

uprisings of workers and the oppressed peoples in the Arab countries which sparked also those in Turkey and Iran. By creating a revolutionary situation, these mass movements rising from the grassroots demanding democracy, freedom and social rights, dragged the states and the bourgeoisies into political crises. The bourgeois ruling forces in these countries failed to put an end to their political crisis although some of their parts headed towards fascism, Muslim Brotherhood like dictatorships or military coups. The civil wars and occupations that are conducted by the imperialists with the reactionary states had deepened the chaos and crisis more than before. Now, also the fascist political Islamist opposition movements in Muslim countries are expanding the chaos, rarifying the political instability even more, and thus, the need for the popular and freedom-demanding revolutions becomes more and more urgent.

In the South European countries, there had been uprisings of the workers and the oppressed against unemployment, poverty and the burden of capitalism's crisis laying on workers. Despite bourgeoisie's tactic of neutralizing the mass struggles through a new type of social democratization for the petty-bourgeois movements together with functioning them in the government, the political instability and the crisis continue in these countries. While bourgeoisie is organizing neo-fascist movements as an alternative for the mass movements to become revolutionarized, the movements of the workers and the oppressed are insisting on exposing leftist and revolutionary characteristics in a large extent.

The Southeast and Far-Asian countries are also passing through a process of the political crisis which manifests itself by the progress of Islamist organizations, power struggles between the bourgeois cliques, the spread of chauvinist aggression as well as the revealance of the decay of the bourgeois rulers... This situation is accompanied by both the ongoing revolution processes coming from the past and the new mass movements.

In the case of Africa as well, the continuous instability exposes itself as the dominant reality which is characterized by ongoing reactionary civil wars, rise of the workers' strikes against neo-liberal capitalist aggression, wars between bourgeois states and the occupations of the imperialists relying on various excuses...

Thereby, concerning also the dimension of these countries, which had turned to be financial-colonies in the imperialist globalization period, we see that the imperialist capitalist system cannot emancipate itself from its political crisis. Regardless of what extent these mass movements (either started before or triggered by the political crisis) became revolutionized or carry a potential for turning into a revolution, it is a fact that ongoing political crisis in these wide links of the capitalist imperialism chain are being transformed into continuous governance crises.

Escalating The Reactionary Imperialist Wars

As the material conditions of nation states had been

exceeded and the material conditions for the proletarian states to get united freely in an international level became favorable, the imperialist bourgeoisie started to give effort to strengthen its domination by praising the imperialist globalization through spreading the lies presenting imperialist occupations for "democracy and rights", the regional imperialist collaborations on the service of "development and peace".

It is also experienced in practice that the regional imperialist collaborations have been functioned as a stepping-stone for the imperialist states, which have the strongest world monopoly groups, towards their goal of a world scale domination. In that sense, the occupations and wars, which are escalated by the competition between imperialists, have been and keep on intensifying. Specifically in the regions where a dominance vacuum emerged at the beginning of the 90's, the wars between nations and states as well as the imperialist occupations have become increased and widespread up to the present.

This reality indicates not only the intensification level of the competition for the imperialist dominance but also the fact that bourgeoisies are spreading the reactionary and expansionist wars in order to deflect the discontent of the masses away from their own interests through the "nationalist" demagogies and wars. Thus, it becomes the expression of the intensity of bourgeoisie's political crisis.

The Collapse Of The "US Century"

It is another aspect of the intensification of capitalist imperialism's crisis that the "peaceful" order in the hierarchy of the imperialist states, which has actually been maintained by the sword of the dominant imperialist power, has left its place to chaos and wars.

In 1945, the world was divided into two blocs: the capitalist imperialist bloc under the leadership of the US and the socialist bloc under the leadership of the USSR.

This division was not only a sign of the imperialist world order's depression in political sense. Peoples living under the capitalist world states were considering the socialist bloc as a practical alternative for their liberation. However, as the Soviet Union passed towards a revisionist administration and caused a strategical weakening in the world communist and revolutionary movement, the world scale balance and the contradiction of power between



the US and the USSR was meaning to a split in favor of the peoples of the world for their struggle against imperialism and local bourgeoisies in terms of the hierarchy of the world states.

Addition to this, some nationalist bourgeois regimes were able to determine policies by taking the advantage of this power balance. Majority of the states from the Non-Aligned Movement, which could be counted as anti-imperialists in a limited sense, or regimes like Saddam Hussein and Hafez al-Assad were those who took benefits from this contradiction.

When the Warsaw Pact, led by the Soviet Union, was liquidated in 1989-90, the US found the opportunity to establish a world system under its leadership, to collect all bourgeois states under its own rule. The thesis that the US would establish its own world empire forever with a greater power than the Roman Empire or the analysis of the "the US Century" had filled the atmosphere along with the prophecy of "the end of history".

As the imperialism under the leadership of the USA was integrating Russia and the revisionist bloc countries into the Western capitalism, there emerged two important consequences. First, the world monopolies ensured their dominance over these regions in financial-economic regard. On the other hand, leading this collective interest of the Western monopolies, the US attempted to re-shape a world political system under its war aggression in order to suppress a possible rivalry of Europe and Japan.

Through imposition, money and wars, the USA manages to pull its rank over the countries which were under the influence of the USSR as well as those positioned as buffer countries in the context of the power balance conditions between the USA and the USSR. The wars that divided Yugoslavia and others in Iraq 1991, Somalia, Afghanistan in 2001, the 2nd Iraq war in 2003, Lebanon, Libya in 2011, the wars in Syria, Yemen; coups 1991 and 2004 in US' backyard Haiti, and the defeated coup attempt against Chavez in 2002... These wars and coups were the means of the US to shape the world imperialist system under its domination and to prevent a possible division of influence and dominance by its rivals. All of these were for running the world under the domination of "Pax Americana". But the law of uneven capitalist development continued to function in a way leading to a change in power relations. Thus, befo-

re reaching to a stability, the unipolar imperialist world under the US domination shifted to a process where new imperialist power centers started to occur.

This time, the potential rivals were not the EU and Japan, but the alliance of China, which realized a rapid and long term financial-economic growth, and Russia, which had become a military alternative for the US by regenerating its military industry. In less than a quarter-century, the world dominance of the US had declined and started to collapse. As in the case of the mullah regime in Iran, far from dominating some of the bourgeois regimes which were relatively "autonomous", the US couldn't manage to prevent the ascendancy of the Iranian mullahs even in Iraq which was under its protectorate. In Latin America on the other hand, Chavez, Morales and the Ecuador administrations, together with Cuba, established the Bolivarian Alliance of the Latin America countries (ALBA) as a confrontation rose from the backyard of the US.

The US couldn't manage to reach to a stability in the majority of the regions where it imposed the war or directly occupied. Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Somalia and Syria are the examples of this. First time since the ,90s, it has faced with such a determined rival in Syria, the Russian-Iranian alliance, and couldn't attempt for a direct occupation. In Ukraine, where it had organized a coup through improving the civil fascist movement, the US had to admit Russia's annexation and the separation of Southeast Ukraine. In Africa as well, it couldn't achieve a stability with the administrations that it established by occupations.

Starting by the ,80s but mainly in the ,90s, the US gave its effort to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome", in which it faced with the wave of revolutions and of people's revolutionary movements, through the aggression for establishing "the US Century". However, the monopolistic competition of the imperialist world together with the economic depression and the law of uneven development led to a change in the imperialist power relations and collapsed these such scenarios.

Now, as the greatest imperialist power, the US is meant to intensify the competition against its rivals in order to preserve its dominance. That's why it is escalating the warfare tendency and provoking a re-division war by leaning on its massive military strength.

The Warfare Provocations Of The US

This aforementioned fact brings some important conse-



quences: The US domination over its rivals and collaborators is trembling and declining.

Against the US protectionism starting with Trump's slogan "America First", reactions defending imperialist "globalization" have been rising in an extent from China to Germany and France; the competition is getting intensified. Being both, a threat and a mean to preserve its dominance, the US is increasing its military budget, escalating the arm race and mobilizing its massive military force for war.

Since from the last year of Obama through Trump's 54 billion dollar sign, the US military budget has escalated up to 619 billion dollars. This amount shows the will of the US to extend the warfare as a mean to cut the way of its rivals. Only the increase amount of the US military budget this year is almost equal to the sum of the British military budget of 2015 (55.5 billion dollars), at the same time being close to the Russian military budget of the same year (66.4 billion dollars).(www.aljazeera.com.tr, 28.02.17).

Placing heavy weapons in the NATO countries on the eastern border of Russia in Obama's last period, and others followed and increased by Trump such as launching missiles from the battleships to hit Syria, intensifying the air bombardments in Yemen couple of fold, using the heaviest conventional bomb in Afghanistan which is almost close to nuclear weapons or provoking warfare against North Korea by sending two aircraft ships carrying nuclear weapons... These are all reflecting the US policy of preserving its imperialist dominance through warfare, but at the same time, they are the direct threats against its rivals China and Russia.

Although the US warfare policy pushed the EU imperialists to "sedateness and reconciliation" in 2003, it is now pushing them much more to „protect their values and interests" whereas at the same time, provoking the Chinese-Russian alliance to stand against in military sense; and thus, laying the path for a new imperialist division war. In this picture, we can see that the US domination is declining whereas, the Chinese-Russian alliance as well as Germany holding the benefits of the EU, are coming to the fore as the focus of power.

The inevitability of the US' war against China and the scenario that a possible "reason" and the place would be the South China Sea, had been repeatedly voiced by Trump's election strategist, S. Bannon, who was also hired to the membership of the National Security Council for a short period. The Chinese military officials were forced to accept this in their foresight, but they did not give up to challenge the US. On the other hand, Trump, who were speaking in favor of reconciliation with Russia, had come to adopt the uncompromising aggression of the US imperialism as a result of the suppression of the US financial oligarchy and Pentagon.

Considering the nuclear "opportunities" that the leading war provocateur, the US, and its rival states and collaborators have, it is clear that today's possible imperialist re-division war would cause an unpredictable catastrophe

for the laboring humanity and nature. The decline of the US dominance along with the challenges of other imperialist powers following their own interests gives way for even the financial-economic colony regimes to voice their particular reactionary interest loudly. The governments of Maliki in Iraq, Erdoğan in Turkey and Modi in India, who have been following their own regional expansionist political lines in some extent, do owe their capability to implement such kind of policies to this depression in the hierarchy of world imperialist states. Those like Duterte, promising to change their ranks, or Iran shuttle between reconciliation and conflict are also encouraged by this depression.

The fore-days of the 1st imperialist re-division war was the period where the world dominance of Britain's world dominance had already been declined, new imperialist power focuses like US and Germany emerged and the process towards the imperialist re-division war had been accelerated. Today, we can talk about a similar situation however with different actors with different armament levels as well as with the globalized conditions of the imperialist capitalism that would inevitably cause demolitions in a larger scale.

The war at the beginning of the last century led to an economic-political depression. The monopolization level on the fore-days of the war had accelerated the law of uneven development, declined the world domination of British imperialism, brought the development levels of other imperialist power focuses close and thus, gave birth to the demand for a re-division war. Today, the economic depression prioritized the war provocation and together with the change in the power relations in economic-financial terms, it causes a political depression in the imperialist hierarchy along with increasing the actors' tendency for the warfare provocation.

The 2nd imperialist division war came upon a grave and long economic depression of ,29. Just like that period, today's growing danger of war is being escalated upon a long-term economic depression. However, unlike both periods, it rises from the basis of capitalism's existential crisis.

Because of this reason, unlike the cases of Britain and USA in those war periods, it cannot be said that a new era under the dominance of one great imperialist state would follow after the chaos and war.

As a result, capitalist imperialism is in a political crisis both in the centers and financial-economic colonies, and it is a fact that the world is passing through conditions towards a new imperialist division war.

This political crisis is one part of the complete existential crisis of capitalism. For this reason, it cannot be substituted with a long-term political stability, neither through improving neo-fascist movements, nor wars. The continuous political depression and wars can be permanently stopped only by the socialism struggle of the working class and the oppressed which will overthrow the power of the class being the source of the depression.

**Marxist Leninist Communist Party
Turkey / Kurdistan**



“...Inevitably, the search of the oppressed women of the world will organize and give life to the women revolution programme everywhere. Equal, free, humane life will start after this is achieved...”



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