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International Theoretical Organ

# RED DAWN

*Workers and Oppressed of All Countries, Unite!*



**MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY  
TURKEY/KURDISTAN**

# REVOLUTION



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# **CONTENTS**

- ▶ **Preface.....1**
- ▶ **Interview with the General Secretary of the MLKP.....3**
- ▶ **The Stage of Imperialist Globalization.....26**
- ▶ **Financial-Economic Colonialism.....41**
- ▶ **Imperialist Globalization and the Nation-State.....52**
- ▶ **The Actuality of the October in its 100<sup>th</sup> Year.....63**

## Preface

After a long break, we are now introducing our 14<sup>th</sup> issue of Red Dawn, the international theoretical organ of the MLKP. It is our pleasure to prepare this issue in such a historical month.

This issue covers five articles including an interview with the general secretary of the MLKP, the article of the currency of the October Revolution and three significant evaluation topics of the stage of imperialist globalization.

The first article is the interview with Kerim Gökdeniz, general secretary of the MLKP. He replies to questions about several topics and summarizes his party's general political lines. Politic-military front, urban-rural guerrilla units, Rojava revolution and the situation of the communists there, mass movement in Turkey and the confrontation efforts among the laboring left are some of the issues denoted in this interview.

The second article is basically explaining what capitalism means today with its general development lines. It detailedly evaluates the process of capitalism through a deep research in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and finally concludes its evaluation with a conclusion of a new stage of capitalism: the stage of imperialist globalization. The article claims that the internationalization processes of production and distribution of the commodities has now reached an irreversible level and this also conditions an existential crisis for capitalism.

“Financial-Economical Colonialism” is the title of the third article. It continues developing the thesis, claimed in the second article, by explaining the transformation of the colonialism types. It is giving a sublime comprehension on how the states are colonized by investigating the features of the colony states. It also mentions the differences of colonialism in the stage of imperialist globalization and offers new routes for the class struggle by laying bare the foundations of the imperialistic relations.

After detecting the anomalies in the global colonialist system, the fourth article tends to question the understanding of nation-state. It again appreciates the evolution process of the nation-state throughout the history of capitalism. After detailedly putting forth the concrete basis of the nation-states, it reaches the conclusion that states the stage of imperialist globalization undermines these bases with development level, but still strictly depends on the existence of the nation-states. This contradiction sums up the general theoretical claim of existential crisis of capitalism.

The last article shows how the MLKP evaluates the great October Revolution. It explains every aspect of the revolution and points out both its historical gainings and its intrinsic or formal flows. By objectively approaching the revolutionary period, the article claims to follow dialectic and historical

materialism as the Marxist-Leninist ideology defines. It compares today's conditions with the past and reaches a hopeful resolution.

The imperialist globalization articles discussed in this issue will have following articles and will be published in the next issues. While creating new theoretical approaches, the MLKP carries on the internationalist spirit and puts it as a task for itself to translate and share its ideas with the international communist movement. We hope all the discussions will be fruitful for the new developments in the international communist movement.

We wish you a good reading experience and say once more in the 100<sup>th</sup> year of the great October revolution:

*Long live Marxism-Leninism!*

*Long live proletarian internationalism!*

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

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

We look forward to meet again in the next issue.

*(All the articles in this issue of Red Dawn were taken from the 16<sup>th</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> issues of the publication "Marksist Teori" published in Turkey.)*

# General Secretary of the MLKP

## Kerim Gökdeniz:

### *Hope is with us! We will succeed!*

*We are publishing an interview of the General Secretary of the MLKP Kerim Gökdeniz, in which he commented on a wide spectrum of their work and understanding ranging from his party's politic-military front to rural guerrilla, from Rojava to mass movement and from the situation of laboring left to the building of fronts.*

***Your party's political presence in a wide range of struggle fronts, the June uprising (Gezi uprising), Rojava revolution, 6-8 October Kobanê serhildan (rebellion) and self-governance resistances as main parts of them, draws distinctively attention. A rise of interest towards your party is also apparent. What are the dynamics of developments of MLKP in recent years? How did these pushing forces take in action?***

Our party's views about the unique way of the development of revolution, political leadership and political struggle style, also the unified revolution aspect are the basis that this development sits on. Determination to apply the party line on such a basis, whereat political leadership and organizational leadership, prepared and shaped this development. Our party's political leadership understanding turns its face towards the masses and their problems, demands, desires and its political struggle style understanding uses all tools and forms of struggle. The party mechanism based on collectivism, this mechanism's finding a response in the organized party life and determination on applying party line have taken these emerging dynamics into action. Among these, especially association with Kobanê



revolution as well as orientation and will for the confrontation in laboring left movement put forth our party's position, its relationship with revolution and its politic determination. And this, naturally, brings out a practice that cannot be ignored.

This development drew attention of laborers, women, youth, oppressed communities, people whose hearts beat for revolution, who want a new life. And that attention, at the same time, is a product of our party's history, a result of expectations from it. This is because MLKP is a party that succeeded the Unity Revolution, shaped its political struggle understanding, style and revolution strategy in a new mentality, created itself with the vanguard and leading practices

towards the enemy on various fronts of countless struggles, from Gazi Uprising to the campaign against the disappearances under police custody, challenging death and panzers, walking under fire. There has always been expectations from this party. There has been hope awaited from it, even when it experienced a political fall-back, organizational narrowing and ideological bleeding problem. The Party's body is a body united with revolutionary purposes.

Under determined leadership conditions, it has always developed big struggles, prepared leaps, presented many distinct examples of sacrifice spirit. All these elements form the dynamics of development.

***At the 20<sup>th</sup> foundation anniversary, you announced that your party is ready to take the leadership of the revolution. Was this confirmed by the later developments? In which direction will your party move forward in terms of taking the leadership of the revolution?***

Our party's comprehension of class struggle dynamics, understanding of building fronts, the perspective of leadership and vanguard have progressed more in these last two years. And again, our party's taking the revolution as its own identity and the total detachment from the attitude of "making itself its own aim", which is very common in the laboring left movement, have come out once more and more clearly in the last

two years. MLKP is a party which knows how to learn, digests what it learns, seeks for new ways and does not hesitate to handle the theoretical-political-organizational issues of revolution over and over again and to confront its views with life and practice. All things that happened throughout the time after our 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary proved the clarity of all these approaches, perspectives and viewpoints once more. In this period, the party leadership, the party's cadre frame and again the wide party forces have performed consciousness and practice which show that they are totally dedicated to revolution and determined to take any kind of measure for the revolution, which approach all problems with revolutionary responsibility and revolutionary claim. From the perspective of "Everything in favor of working class and peoples is also in favor of our party", we took the actions. Various types of hard questions or newly emerged questions about revolution, were tried to be enlightened theoretically, politics was created and practice was made leaning on this.

Looking from these aspects, the period after our 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary has proved the correctness of our opinion which states that we are ready to take the leadership of the revolution. However, revolution is an enormous action. And for the success of this enormous action, our party must especially strengthen its capacity in the struggle of politic-military front and of course enlarge its organizational frame to organize the largest masses of our people. Today, we are facing the responsibility of moving forward in this direction to solidify our claims on a more powerful basis.

***You said you are aiming bigger successes on the politic-military front. Moving on from here... At the end of 2015, two woman fighters of your party, Yeliz Erbay and Şirin Öter became immortal***



*resisting against police siege. The start of total war in July in the same year pointed out that revolutionary violence will enter the agenda of the political class struggle in Turkey more. The expectations from your party, predictions about your development were also in this direction. In this regard, what is your evaluation of your last one-year development?*



The fascist dictatorship of bourgeoisie, fascist politic-islamist Erdoğan and the AKP, as the new ruling of the regime, executes politics mainly with military tools. In the last one year this was exhibited most obviously. They use bullet, gas bombs, gun stocks, cannons and air strikes against the demands of the working class, kurdish people, women, youth, the oppressed and the poor. Choking their voices, discouraging from their demands, giant ideological devices for enslaving, developed fascist psychological war methods and using religion are not enough for them. They need tanks, weapons, planes. They need torture, arrest and prison instruments. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to carry on political struggle with only peaceful methods, unarmed formats and legal formats. Otherwise, it will lead to a result consuming our peoples' hopes, pushing them into despair against the counter-revolution's armed force and systematic terror. With the Suruç-Pirsus massacre, Erdoğan and its party set to a big fascist, colonialist war. Since that day until today, armed kinds are ahead in the class struggle.

Our party used armed kinds of struggle in defense and progress of the Rojava revolution. It used them in different cities in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. Lastly, it practiced this kind of politic struggle in the mountains of Dersim. Under conditions of state-terror in Turkey and colonialist

extermination war conditions in Kurdistan, which means last year, our party's fighters carried out 10 military actions in Turkey's cities. One of these was, before they became immortal, Berçem and Ekin comrades' brave action against the riot police bus in Bayrampaşa. And again they carried out a determined resistance when they were sieged. Also, in Dersim, three comrades were martyred in the struggle that the FESK Kurdistan rural guerrilla fighters started, during the actions within the Peoples' United Revolution Movement (HBDH) and during independent activities depending on their self-power. When considering these immortal comrades, it is seen that we are moving on a consistent line. We are in the effort of developing, expanding and becoming competent in armed forms of struggle. However, this is a fact: under the new conditions of illegality, especially our struggle in the cities is very behind the needs of today and this period. Despite the determination of action of FESK's Red Commandos, despite their ten actions against AKP, MHP and weapon production monopolies of the police and the army, our practice stayed behind the needs of class struggle.

Particularly, considering the harshness of the war shaped by "crush and dissolve" policy, the cruelty and destructiveness of the enemy and the efforts to surrender our peoples by the fascist terror, we could have developed an action broadness and



action effect that could be a reply to this. Our efforts on this issue have still not reached the level we desire. But as I said, the line laying from comrade Yeliz and Şirin to comrades Veli, Ümit and Berfu puts forth our direction and determination. Our party will certainly gain a level, that will reply the needs by going over its insufficiencies.

***By the way, what are the founding purposes and perspectives of the FESK Kurdistan Rural Guerrilla Units? Rural guerrilla, which is generally identified as the same with Maoist people war strategy, what is the position of it in MLKP's strategy?***

Defining rural guerrilla as the same with Maoist people's war should be understood as a lack of historical consciousness. For instance, Eastern European peoples' revolutions, which happened before the revolution in China were developed almost entirely with partisan war tactics based on rural guerrilla. Mao, who successfully led the people's war based on rural guerrilla along the unique way of the revolution in China, is a revolutionary leader who contributed the strategies and tactics of rural guerrilla preciously. However Mao's understanding of people's war is more of an ideological one than of military. The distinction is here. Thus it is not a distinction of rural guerrilla-urban guerrilla. It is an issue of

whether proletariat can lead the revolution, whether the party can be formed within the proletariat and whether cities can lead the revolution. Rural guerrilla or urban guerrilla is completely a matter of certain geography, moment and conditions of class struggle agenda. On this matter, MLKP has never been in such a dogmatism. It gave weight to cities and the struggle in the cities, because it believed the victory of the revolution can only be organized on this basis. It brought

these to its agenda, developing in the big industrial cities, using legal, illegal, peaceful, mass violence based, unarmed, armed forms of struggle there. But you also cannot find such a view that rural guerrilla is not communist or there is not an element of such kind in communists' revolutionary strategies in our party's written history. It has repeatedly been said by our party, that revolution in Turkey and Kurdistan will not be a replica of the revolution in any country, that it will certainly find its own unique way - which is also correct for other revolutions. For that reason, from the military point of view, the distinction between rural guerrilla-urban guerrilla is irrelevant to Maoism, but if you attribute an ideological meaning to "people's war", you can definitely think like that.

The FESK Kurdistan Rural Guerrilla Unit was born from the need of joining the struggle in Kurdistan with military forms. There is revolution going on in Kurdistan and military forms are ahead there. From time to time, depending on the national liberation movement's tactics, military actions are pulled back, however military forms have always kept its importance in the whole and it has always been weighed more in the class struggle, in the struggle between oppressor and oppressed, between colonialist Turkish bourgeoisie and state and Kurdish people who are

under the imperialistic yoke. As much as it is used against colonialists in Kurdish cities, military forms will also be used in Kurdistan's rural regions. Opportunities from the whole geography will serve the struggle's favor. Our presence in Dersim's rural areas, our presence in a small part of Kurdistan today, is currently a result of this need. It has an aspect of spreading to all rural regions of Kurdistan, like spreading in all cities naturally. Regardless of whether it is achieved or not, the needs of struggle put this duty in front of the whole revolutionary structures, which claim to organize the revolution.

***Let's talk a bit about Rojava. It is seen that both, your military and political works are continuing inside the Rojava revolution. How do you evaluate your party's 4-years Rojava praxis? What conclusions do you draw from this experience?***

Our presence in Rojava was conditioned by our perception of unified revolution, as well as our being a Kurdistanian power, being peoples' party, again our internationalist character and our understanding of regional revolution and democratic federation of Middle East developed by our 3<sup>rd</sup> congress. Our presence in Rojava developed step by step depending on the progress in determination of applying the party line. But the needs of the Rojava revolution still accelerated our steps. There was a revolution happening in Rojava and the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed was basically going on militarily. So we have organized our whole political positioning accordingly. Our forces in Rojava took part militarily in the revolution. On the other hand, a relatively few number of our forces sweat in social and economical construction works of the revolution or they switched with the comrades on these fronts from time to time.

In Rojava, our existence is still ahead as a military organization with military struggle forms. This is a positioning according to the needs of revolution. However, at the same time, we have been performing revolutionary practices among the masses in Rojava, among the masses of Kurdish people, Arabic people and people from Christian beliefs for one year. We are trying to raise the option of socialism in Rojava, complete the consciousness and the tendency of freedom among Rojava's laborers and the poor, Rojava's women and youth against imperialism, against the colonialist states of the region, and against their gangs like ISIS, with a socialism tendency. Besides the military organizations and forms of struggle, our party develops its mass organizations and struggle practices based on the revolution's legitimacy in Rojava. Our joining in the Rojava revolution and praxis there was a test for our party's theoretical views, its thoughts on strategy and its unified revolution understanding. From this test, it was concluded that we are standing on a right and correct basis about all these issues. The struggle during the Rojava revolution has developed our party in many ways, widened its angle of view on different subjects and grown its action. It provided regaining various weapons back in class struggle's armory, such as a weapon like the international battalion. The struggle in this revolution introduces new correspondences to the vividness of our party's





thoughts, flexibility about revolutionary will-power and organizational formats and struggle types.

***“Our party comprehends its action as a sacrifice troop”***

***You declared that your members and supporters were also among the revolutionaries massacred in Suruç. It was known that the massacre aimed at your party and the development of your youth. Also, in Ankara massacre, in Rojava, in Dersim, revolutionaries from your ranks reached immortality. You have often brought up the term “Party of immortals” recently. What does this mean?***

As we define our party in the Rojava revolution, we described ourselves as a “sacrifice troop”. Revolution is the achievement of organized masses, we know this. In this gigantic movement, in accordance with the comprehension of vanguard, we are carrying the responsibility of taking the foremost places on the fronts. Revolution can only develop relying on such a vanguarding and leadership potential. Being the revolution’s sacrifice troop means completely engaging the revolutionary purposes, not having any other purposes than revolutionary purposes, not having narrower, more introverted purposes and that paying the price of this tough struggle with your live or spending the lifetime resisting in

prison. So our party comprehends its action as a sacrifice troop. It sees itself as such a vanguard subject. “Party of immortals” is a symbolism of the reality that women and men from all ages, comrades who worked on various fronts of the party, are increasingly, faster and more intensely going over the death, confronting with the death. By that, the party told itself: you shall pay tens and hundreds of times more prices than you already

did and by walking on such a line in accordance with revolutionary purposes, you shall organize the victory. Whichever front of the party you are working in, you shall be aware of the enemy’s destruction threat and you shall be ready to take part in the most conflictive footholds of the struggle.

Yesterday, maybe most of the comrades can tell the names of our martyrs at one swoop. But, after September 2013 when comrade Serkan Tosun reached immortality, those who can count all the names of our immortal comrades, have decreased, naturally.

We are carrying on an eye-for-an-eye struggle against our peoples’ enemies, against a fascist, colonialist, expansionist dictatorship. This struggle will require very heavy costs. When a revolutionary party cannot risk of being the party of immortals, carry this weight in practice, generate its thought and emotion accordingly, it also cannot go beyond staying at the edge of war and being a mediocre political force. We are using this term to put forth this consciousness clearly, to make those starting from the professional revolutionary cadres to all party cadres, members and member candidates, advanced supporters, shape themselves in such a spirit and consciousness, create their feelings, thoughts and actions on this basis. The youthful men and women who lost their lives in the last two years,

and the comrades who dedicated their relatively long lifetimes to revolution are indeed those who originated this term. We, just simply name their actions and wanted to create the consciousness of this reality to come forward which becomes as one of the aspects of the communist vanguard's existence.

***Regarding that disappearances under police custody, immortals, imprisoned ones in the last two years outnumber the previous periods, what was the moral reflection of this in your ranks? How do you evaluate this level of losses?***

Nazım, the master poet of Turkish had said “this two dead are two undying immortals/ bourgeoisie invited us to fight/ their invitation is accepted”. Throughout the history, the struggles between the oppressor and the oppressed have thrived with big costs. In all the struggles whether it succeeded or failed, people’s humanistic sublimity arises in different ways.

In the history made under fire, immortals, veterans and prisoners have taken a significant part in the communist vanguard’s life as symbols of our revolutionary war, our party’s determination, daring and victory courage. Fascist enemy has developed will-crushing plans from time to time to block our party’s raising its struggle level and organized attacks. In 1995, upon our attack to 100. Yıl police station in Bağcılar within the campaign of taking Gazi massacre's revenge, they murdered comrade Hasan Ocak by torture under custody and wanted to disappear him. We knew what they were telling us: “you will face much more heavier than this, if you move forward”. We moved forward, we faced with heavier things, but never stopped. Thus, they carried out a heavy massacre in Pirsus as the requital of our unified revolution line, our positioning in Rojava as a Kurdistanian force, young communists' determinedly raising the struggle. They wanted to break our will-power, but failed and we walked on our path. They massacred the comrades Berçem and Ekin with a

total fascist cruelty at their besieged base under disadvantageous conditions and so they told us not to try expanding and growing our urban guerrilla actions. We didn’t stop, we moved on. And we replied the enemy by telling them that we are going to expand and grow our political struggle not only with urban guerrilla and also with rural guerrilla.

Commenting on just by looking at the prices paid by the names of immortals and prisoners, by sighing about it, only shows that the conditions under which we try to make our way are not seriously thought about, and that a meaningful association with its results is not created. Surely, our party now has the responsibility and duty of recognizing new illegality conditions, developing methods, techniques, tactics to reply these conditions. However, this is a job that can only be done in the process of struggle. The party, shall improve its mental labor, practical competency, predictive power in order to reduce the losses from its own mistakes on all fronts of the struggle. However it shall be aware of that it is struggling against a head-to-toe destroyer enemy, it is continuing this struggle not under its own terms but under terms found readily and shall be aware of the consequences of this. It shall ensure the mental solidity this requires. It shall realize that immortals, veterans and prisoners should be like a bridge on a river seen impassable or on an edge of a cliff.

While on the one hand, the enemy’s cruelty, bloodthirstiness, efforts to stand with a terror regime, unlimited usage of all the opportunities of technology, efforts to do its best with all the financial, technical and human sourcing force to protect its public-enemy governance. On the other hand, the facts that need to be focused which revolutionaries and our peoples must act with the consciousness by which they can beat the enemy despite all these inequivalent conditions, by doing the only thing they can do, depending on human creativity, human courage, humanistic and

righteous ideals. It should always kept in mind that you should not even once hide the fact that heavy prices will be paid in a practice carried out with such consciousness. On contrary, you should know that there is no advancing by any other ways, that there is no way reaching the revolution without giving martyrs, being tortured, getting imprisoned, knowing that there has never come up such a way up to now and there will not be such a way and act with the clear consciousness of these. We are looking at the prices we paid in this struggle by asking how we could avoid which ones of these. We are doing this to be more competent in the struggle. This is inside the viewpoint of surpassing our martyrs. For this, without a doubt, we have the responsibility of being more equipped while fighting with the enemy, digesting all the lessons, minimizing the losses resulted from irregularity and amateurism. And we are fulfilling what this requires. However, we do not believe the lie “being revolutionaries without any price”, and we know very well that this perspective did destroy the revolutionary potentials before and will destroy it in the future.

***You pointed out that you took place in the Rojava revolution both as an internationalist force and a Kurdistanian force. Naturally, the internationalist side has been a more apparent, prominent and much-discussed side in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. As a Kurdistanian force, what was the meaning of this experience for the communists of Kurdistan?***



The main element of our presence in Rojava is our being a Kurdistanian force. We are the party of the working class of Turkey and Kurdistan. We are the party of Turkey and Kurdistan peoples' favors, demands and longings. For that reason, it is our revolutionary duty to be present in Rojava and other parts of Kurdistan, like Shingal in Southern Kurdistan. If we cannot organize and struggle in all parts of Kurdistan for now, it is only related with our restricted power today and the inadequate sides of our works. Our party remarks the unity of Kurdish people as an article in its program. So we do not think of Kurdistan as Northern in isolation, Southern in isolation, Eastern in isolation or solely as Rojava. We think of them separately, but also together as a whole. Our internationalist side, on the other hand, relies on children of various national communities such as Circassian or Arabic people's alongside those of Turkish people in the ranks of the party. From their perspective, looking at the matters with an internationalist spirit reality of their party means exhibiting an appropriate praxis against dominant national chauvinism and social chauvinism in accordance with proletariat internationalism spirit. As a party that approaches issues like regional revolution and world revolution in a Leninist way, this also means a call for revolutionaries, antifascists, progressives from all corners of the world to act with solidarity with the Rojava revolution, to sweat within the economical and social construction of the revolution.

Our party revised its Kurdistan organization with a new approach after its 5<sup>th</sup> congress. Thus, this is closely related with our presence and struggle in Rojava. Today, our party has a Kurdistan organization and so, under its administration, there is a Bakur (Northern) Kurdistan organization and a Rojava organization. As our struggle grows, undoubtedly, this point of view potentially consists of

organizing a work which looks at the matters with the needs and revolutionary duties of other parts of Kurdistan.

***Well, how can the revolution in Kurdistan advance, what dangers are there in front of its progress? Where do you put the struggle in Turkey in terms of regional revolution?***

Considering the denialist-colonialist Turkish bourgeois state, the colonialist Iran state, the Southern Kurdistan administration which makes reactionary alliances with the regional colonialists, also US imperialism, which follows the line of choking the national democratic movement unless it is bowdlerized and NATO's policies and aims. The revolution in Kurdistan can be developed outside all these enemy fronts, within the struggle against them, despite their presence and by destroying the boundaries they put. The Rojava revolution is the most obvious indication of it. Lessons in the last 5-6 years of period have proved that revolution in Kurdistan can't progress by staying in defense and it can't win victory by making different types of deals and alliances with the states of the region. Making use of the conflicts between imperialists or regional reactionaries and making conditional, partial, temporary compromises lay in the nature of political struggle. However, these have to be in accordance with a clear target. That clear target is letting Kurdistan have the victory either by a movement of powers from all four parts of Kurdistan or by a unified struggle with other peoples within all four parts.

National liberation became unachievable without social salvation. Getting out of imperialist system must be inevitable. This, uniquely, was defined as the "third way" in Rojava. But, even the victory of third way in its own logic means getting the power. Thus, it has to be opposed to the colonialist Assad government regime which leaves Syrian people without politic freedom, opposed to Turkish bourgeoisie's colonialism, to ISIS gangs or sovereignty policies of NATO and

Russia in Syria. You can't walk in balance with these till the end. Trusting its self-power which the leadership of national democratic movement often emphasizes, leaning on the struggle union with the regional peoples and opening the path of a social and political organization outside the existing states to gain competence and moving forward into this path are imperatives for the success of revolution in Kurdistan. Like the whole working class in the world, all the poor and all the peoples, the Kurdish people has the right of social justice and equality which find its meaning in socialism. Narrowing down to a simply national frame, as it can be seen in the name of Southern Kurdistan government, does not create happy results for Kurdish workers and poor, Kurdish peasants, Kurdish women and youth. For this reason, Kurdistan revolution has to develop hand in hand with the struggles against imperialist yoke on one hand and capitalist relationships' yoke on the other hand.

***What do the 1<sup>st</sup> Communist Women's Conference and foundation of Communist Women's Organization (KKÖ) reflect in terms of a threshold, accumulation and future aspect? What did your party bring in to women liberation struggle and laboring lefts' relationship with women liberation struggle? What have been the acquisitions of KKÖ for your party? What are the things that you aim to surpass in upcoming periods?***

Since the foundation of our party, its Marxist-Leninist comprehension about woman liberation issue has been deepened. Its perspective to see the revolution and also a new society is tied firmly with women liberation, has been brought to Communist Women's Organization partly in an evolutionist style and partly with ruptures. As much as the idea, that women liberation struggle and women liberation is not a substitute of socialist struggle, rather it is one of the basic elements and keys in the process of a classless society, takes place and grows in our party's



theoretical - ideological comprehension, its correspondences have politically and organizationally occurred step by step. The Communist Women's Organization is the most vivid and most meaningful sign of it. Surely, Communist Women's Organization is just a beginning. The most needed and desired progresses will be the Communist women's applying practices of a classless-genderless society viewpoint to party life, more importantly, our party's finding the genuine ways for women masses to liberate, appear as subjects and organize themselves within political struggle.

In the front of the laboring left, two aspects were ahead in the reformist and revolutionary organizations. While often consuming all the pretentious words about women liberation, gender equality, terminating all kinds of male dominance and the importance of all these, however not creating any correspondences to their words on woman cadres' taking leadership responsibilities of the struggle and not adding women cadres in party life or not taking any steps towards politicizing woman masses, turning them into political subjects and vanguards. All of these almost became the main characteristic feature of the first aspect. The second aspect, on the other

hand, was the aspect of seeing women liberation struggle outside the class struggle, seeing it as one of the side issues of class struggle. They were preaching about struggling for the revolution and waiting for the salvation that revolution provides rather than women's changing their situations by struggling or carrying out a struggle against patriarchy starting from today. Thus, it was the most vulgar approach.

Our party has interfered to both situations with its action. It made a transforming impact by struggling to all these reactionary sides, such as word and action inconsistencies of the attitudes of parties and groups which are mainly working in especially Turkey's regions, claiming that they are organizing on a class basis not on national basis, such as the stances of those who do not find engaging firmly with the woman liberation forces, woman liberation battle and consciousness in the struggle against male dominance appropriate to their being Marxist-Leninist or being Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. This impact has been going on alongside with not only transforming these reactionary attitudes, but also the practices of our party's enriching its ideas and transforming them in some ways.

You can find this progress in our understanding that gives our woman organization the first and last word right to decide about woman cadres or in the woman leadership concept. You can also follow our deepening in Marxist-Leninist comprehension and surpassing the understanding of seeing women liberation struggle as only a substitute force of revolution. So this means it does not have to stay only as a democratic women movement. Women liberation struggle, beyond the struggle of women's getting their democratic rights, has the potential to thrive as a main force to construct straightly the socialist society.

***When you especially consider the politic-islamist fascist palace junta backed ISIS massacres and state terror wave following the July 15<sup>th</sup>\* as limiting effects on mass struggle, what do you have in mind about mass organization and mass politics in your tactics of this period? You stated that politics have been performed mainly by military means and that we are in a period in which revolutionary violence will step to the front more in class struggle. Does the severe war result in backing off from the mass oriented struggle line, or will it do that in future times?***

Our political struggle aims at gathering big powers together to win bigger battles and take the revolution to victory. Other than this, we have never followed a perspective that narrows down to isolated clashes between state powers and revolutionary powers. We are bringing up the demands, longings and problems of the masses to the agenda of the struggle and so, we are trying to get the masses to take sides on this basis, organize in larger scales and mobilize to the struggle, if appropriate to say and make them subjects. Our organization style includes this, and also our struggle style does. Well, like legal structures may include hundred thousands and millions, illegal



and military structures can also include thousands and ten thousands.

(\*Translator's note: July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016 is the date of the failed coup attempt.)

In the end, we base on organizing masses in various fields and different kinds to improve the struggle. So, our perspective of mass struggle is not restricted only by legal and unarmed struggle forms. It is, of course also possible that ten thousands and hundred thousands can join to struggle as militia or guerrilla.

Leaving this one side, today, the need of economic and democratic forms of mass struggle or more politically involved ones have the major importance. It is a fact that the attacks which are based on the strategy ensuring people's wide-range forces to step back from the struggle by mass massacres had an impact. For instance, this had happened as weakening in the revolutionary rise in mass movement after 1977, May 1<sup>st</sup> massacre. Or we saw a different kind of break in Maraş. All of these had the intention of narrowing, weakening the mass struggle and preventing its rising. Today, massacres by ISIS have the same purpose and this has some effects too. The worry for life safety created a natural hesitation of the people who run to streets ambitiously before. Secondly, systematic state terror, custody, arrest, prison policy again made a

limiting impact on some level. In this, our party and other revolutionary parties have the sin by not creating a military fight for people's defending themselves against aggressive state forces. Because masses have an intuition, a standpoint. And that intuition, that standpoint makes them perceive the need of forms different than peaceful street demonstrations, different than even practical-legitimate street protests against the enemy's present methods. We can't ignore the share of incompetencies on this matter causing masses' hesitation. Moreover, we have to consider the effects of tactics, policies, discourse that push the masses back to the most reactionary defense line, that cause them to feel deeper worry for life safety and to avoid them stepping forward.

***Which situation produces this kind of discourse, policy and tactics for the subjects? What do you say about the masses stepping back to a defensive line, living in fear of life safety?***

2016 has become such a year that the parties and organizations with the understanding of struggling only by legal, peaceful means substantially left out of politics. And instead of vanguarding the masses, proposing tactics leading them, they entered a path that streaks the worries and fears of the masses, that spreads fear, anxiety, pessimism and hopelessness, that does not create a transforming and thriving situation. One part of this eventually reached to an exit seeking alliance with CHP (Republican People's Party). They have broken off from the politic centers of unified fronts like HDP-HDK (People's Democratic Party-People's Democratic Congress), which carries the combatant mass dynamics and moves forward with them, even though it can't deservedly deliver its pioneer responsibilities and duties, yet still puts itself forth as a contentious dynamic despite everything. Breaking off from these fronts pushed them partly outside of struggle. And still, in this period, it is unclear whether they will change their position.

Today, we have to tell the masses the necessity of being on the streets to defend and gain freedom, justice, and equality of people no matter what it costs. We have to push masses to carry their problems and demands on the street peacefully or mass violently, from the smallest to the bigger, legal or illegal forms by taking every protection measures. The unified democratic front is the most appropriate tool for this. Workers and oppressed of Turkey and Kurdistan can go out to streets around the unified front. What is important here is the unified front's administration's being determined, trusting masses, understanding that there is no way going forward by staying in defense with no cost. It is important that they should build their discourse, policies, tactics on this basis. When you did not resist enough against Hitler and did not pay prices, we already know what happens. Or when you choose the line of not paying any costs against Erdoğan after July 20th, when you choose not acting determinedly against the politic-islamist fascist dictatorship, staying in the defense, you may find yourself in a point where you must pay even higher prices, take even bigger dangers into account. One hundred, two hundreds, one thousand, ten thousands, one hundred thousands, millions of people, no matter what the size is, it has to be organized, that masses go out to streets around specific issues.

***How do you describe the place of workers in your ranks? Does your existence in the laborer neighborhoods create enough channels to meet with the class? Likewise, how would you evaluate your foreseeing and practice in terms of your political works in worker unions and workplaces?***

Our core belief that the working class is the vanguard of the revolution and the basic foundation of actualizing socialism, has always been alive throughout our party's history. However we have drawn a strict line against degrading the working class struggle into unionist struggle, we evaluate this as an economist

understanding. We say that the working class can hold its own emancipation as long as it is based on class consciousness.

This is the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and of actualized revolutions which was confirmed by life itself. In order to keep our bounds with the working class strongly -including the weaker periods of the party as well- we have kept our existence based on carrying out our political works and improving our organizational structure within the major industrial cities. In these cities, where the industrial proletariat is located, we can mention our progress in different forms and levels in different periods. We have been following the perspective of gaining working class in their living areas, factories and trade unions. By leading them towards embracing and actually defending the struggle of those from other classes and strata who carry the demand for freedom, such as women, Kurdish people, Alevites, etc., we have been giving effort to bring working class a consciousness of a political subject as being the vanguard of the revolution. Because this is the only way for the working class to become a vanguard within the struggle of gaining political freedom, that is the essence of our revolution. Our works within the factories have been differentiated in terms of their effectiveness in different periods. We have passed periods in which we've been quite widespread and successful, as well as periods in which we were weakened and decreased. Likewise, we can say the same thing for our works in trade unions. We have presented an uneven effectiveness in different years, moments and periods. In living areas, on the other hand, we have been in a much more continuous relation with workers. During all the periods in which we were inadequate and unsuccessful in this regard, we have led ourselves



to revolutionary criticism and sought ways to change the situation.

***What about the criticisms that say your works among the working class are weak?***

Today the factory-centered struggles are weak. This is a process that was driven by the reflection of series of developments linked with the imperialist globalization to the trade unions, as well as by the transformation of chronic mass unemployment into a form of terror, that widely restricts the factory-based struggles.

We can easily see that the unions' organization level within the working class is extremely weak and they are unable to mobilize the working masses out to the streets. This fact is quite understandable. The perspective for the working class to maintain the struggle only in factories, as if it is not able to carry out any other current struggle, is totally false. The working class has played an active role in the June uprising. Again, during the 6-8 October serhıldan (wide protests in Turkey and North Kurdistan during the Kobanê war), the workers, with a revolutionary and progressive conscious, have also been part of the struggle. This is the reality of this period. Criticisms about our works among the working class would be only a driving force for us, as long as they are based on the desire to bring class-consciousness to the larger masses of workers and to lead them to a struggle on a larger scale. But instead of that, if we speak about those

accusing us of being disengaged from the working class just by looking down on our work's weakness or lack of a political clout, of course we do not take them seriously especially while our party's ideology, theoretical perspectives and extend of political struggle are that much clear on this issue.

We are a party which has raised devoted revolutionaries carrying the sacrifice spirit from the ranks of the working class, together with preparing them to take on various types of commanding responsibilities at our party; starting from Erdal Balcı, through Ali Haydar Göçer, to Süleyman Yeter, Özkan Tekin, Hüseyin Kayacı, from Yılmaz Selçuk, to Serkan Tosun, Oğuz Saruhan, Şirin Öter and Veli Görgün... Within the forces marching in our cortèges, workers hold a significant part, also the worker and unemployed youth holds an important part within the frame of our main body at the laborer neighborhoods. But we have to admit that for certain political struggles, leadership is a matter of practice, not a theoretical-ideological one. In a particular moment, working class can't lead but instead students or women or an oppressed nation or a sect might do. That is to say, various social forces might pave the way for a political rising. This is a fact as much as the working class' historical and political role is a fact. Our party will continue its efforts for the working class to play its role and to fulfill its political responsibilities, will keep toiling to seek particular ways and means to organize the struggle of the working class under existing conditions.

***How do you evaluate the situation of the laboring left movement? How much have these structures, which emerged and shaped in the 1960-1990 period of freedom and socialism struggle, understood the new era and respond the expectations of revolutionary leadership? Are those, who claim to lead the revolution, able to transform themselves towards confronting***

***with the needs and expectations of the revolutionary progress?***

This question can allow us to enlighten only one side of this issue in general, because this parenthesis of 1960-90 means a lot for the international communist movement. Because it was a period which conditioned many divisions, together with introverted approaches and mentalities deepening on these divided grounds such as the modern revisionism's coming to power, the blocking of LPA-CKP or the Cuban Communist Party's, in particular Che Guevara line's being a separate political focus. You need to consider the '74-90 period for the laboring left movement of Turkey and Kurdistan -excluding PKK- in terms of understanding the new situation and restructuring itself.

In the 1990's of Turkey and North Kurdistan in particular, a period has emerged, in which revolutionary spontaneity has reached its end and the revolutionary will has gained a new meaning in every respect, in which developing mass movements don't develop spontaneously anymore, but on the contrary with the will, effort, action, sacrifice and braveness of the vanguard, a mass movement increased. In other words, after the period of a revolutionary spontaneity started in '74, the necessity to overcome its organizational forms and its whole mentality was arisen. So we have to consider this issue also from this aspect.

If we think of both two aspects, we can see tendencies which try to understand the new conditions of the world, as well as the ones that are indifferent to them in the name of consistency. To be more concrete, first of all, apart from the Cuban government's self-protection struggle, there was no longer any socialist power left or any power claiming socialism.

Secondly, the conditions of realignment around some particular parties and countries had disappeared. This situation, had created new outcomes in different corners of the world. We

saw those who had been dragged into liquidation among the revolutionary parties of yesterday or those who were trying to find a new way within yesterday's modern revisionist fractions. We saw both, those who have theoretically renovated themselves while trying to explain the formation-development-collapse process of socialism and also those who totally exhausted their hopes and became an add-on to the bourgeoisie. We have seen these examples also in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. From this angle, unfortunately the laboring left

remained limited in terms of their attempts to explain the new situation, new conditions of the world from a theoretical point of view, as well as to improve their politics, organization and ideological views by taking the reality of imperialist globalization into account.

Perhaps the conditions of the defeat of September 12 (the military coup happened in 1980), which broke the revolutionary will and restricted many powerful revolutionary structures from the past into legal and peaceful organization and struggle forms, have a share on this issue. Especially under those conditions, while feeling the pressure of getting distant from the idea of the revolution and its core thought that the revolution will be actualized by force, hanging on to old views without any question was considered as a criterion to be revolutionary by the parties and organizations, which were willing to demonstrate a revolutionary determination and to follow a revolutionary line. So we can say this also had a restraining effect. And there is no doubt the historical meanings have a share in this like, rather than giving a theoretical explanation together with ideological, organizational and political answers to existing problems, choosing to stay in certain patterns, despite tens of years



Yusuf Aslan, Deniz Gezmiş, Hüseyin İnan (THKO leaders)

passed over, describing themselves only with the '71's vanguard organizations such as THKP-C or TKP-ML or THKO\* and still trying to find a way within such descriptions have its shares.

(\*Translator's note: THKP-C: People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey, TKP-ML: Communist Party of Turkey-Marxist Leninist, THKO: People's Liberation Army of Turkey)

When you look at the laboring left in terms of moving forward, their understanding of political struggle, their relationship with women liberation struggle, the national liberation struggle of kurdish people, their association with issues such as the regional and world revolution, their confrontation policies or putting it more genuinely, their approaches to organization and struggle kinds, we can say that an evolutionary progress is dominant, in which the changes occur so slowly and only through when the reality presents itself so clearly, thus the developing determination and practice with surges are limited and weak. Our party was founded on the basis of the critics to all of these and since it is an outcome of a mentality revolution, it implemented apparent changes in all these matters, developed perspectives and built practices. But what is happening in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, as

well as in the region and in the world, is clearly reflecting the fact that the parties and organizations, which can not give theoretical explanations to the arisen problems, which cannot improve their ideological views and political lines, are losing their existential rights more and more every day and these facts of today are pushing them into a crisis.

***Right here, could you explain your party's position and role within the laboring left more detailedly?***

We have called the formation of our party as the Unity Revolution, the renaissance of the revolutionary movement, because it was able to respond to the realities of '90's and their needs by internalizing the past acquisitions and achievements of the revolutionary movement. The

22 years since then have proved that this definition was not wrong or unaccountable nor arbitrary. First and foremost, we have a distinguishable side within the revolutionary movement as a party that manages itself and constructs its future through congresses and conferences. And this is the same for our independent youth organization, which, despite all its limitations, has become almost a single example of it. Nevertheless, these do not make sense by their own. The ground on which they make sense is our party's political struggle understanding and style. Using all means and forms of struggle without depreciating any of them, mobilizing any forms of struggle and organization required by the political conditions and needs alongside with the vision and practice

to be equipped with those, constitute one of the positive revolutionary pressures of our party upon the revolutionary movement. There is an effect created by our party's views on legal and unarmed actions, peaceful and mass-violent actions, armed actions, its views on electoral struggles and perceiving all these as the channels for organizing the revolution and its acting with the awareness that it can derive a great revolutionary development by combining all of them. This influence can be seen within the revolutionary movement. Likewise, in terms of seeking the unique ways of confrontation in accordance with the needs of time which was taken into our agenda right after our party's foundation, starting from the front type of the revolutionary party and organizations which we had put forward in 1996 to the forms of today, up to our concept of united revolutionary leadership, the effects of our tendency to go beyond the mentality of the '74-90 period can be seen within the



revolutionary movement. Plus, we can say that we have created a revolutionary pressure on the left in the issues such as the association with Kurdish national liberation struggle and with its vanguard, as well as the relationship with the women liberation struggle.

***You have mentioned to build fronts. What is the framework of your critical analysis on the matter of building fronts about the laboring left movement's situation from past to present? What are your predictions about the future of the tendency and effort for frontbuildings, what can you say about it?***

In terms of growing, the mentality of confrontation, the seeds were laid into the ground with the '71's rupture, by showing the most progressive examples of revolutionary comradeship. THKP-C leaders and THKO's leading cadres escaped from prison together: THKP-C leader's put their life forward without hesitation in order to stop the execution of THKO leaders, THKP-C and THKO leaders' bloods melded with each other in Kızıldereli and then Kaypakaya's punished the murderers of Sinan Cemgil\* by seeing it as a natural task of revolutionary comradeship. All these examples had shined out in that limited period of time. Organizations which emerged after '74 did not have a contextual relationship with these. On the contrary, they grew and developed in a spontaneous mass movement and in order to expand their masses, they followed a terrible way of a fractionist competition. Within this atmosphere, neither any steps for creating a front against fascism, imperialism, or bourgeoisie had taken place, nor there had been created a culture of revolutionary comradeship, spirit and consciousness. In a sense, each group was the only Bolshevik group of Turkey and Kurdistan and did not even consider to have any kind of alliances with other groups, which they saw as petty bourgeois revolutionaries, they would take the power on their own by surpassing others until

the revolution. Due to this fractionist culture and ideological shaping of the '74-80 period, it was failed to follow a frontbuilding line against the fascist junta of September 12, or taken any successful steps. Without directing a clear criticism to the revolutionary movement and our revolutionary past, without comprehending the essence of the issue in this regard, a revolutionary rupture cannot be created.

*(\*Translator's note: Sinan Cemgil is one of the leaders of THKO.)*

***Then which way should be followed?***

Frontbuilding results from the need of a greater struggle. The continuing weakness of some parts within the revolutionary movement is that rather than seeking a way to respond the emergent need of a greater struggle, the need to unite peoples' forces, they keep on being stuck in dogmatic thoughts, that is, the formations of ideas outside the living world. Failing to understand that fronts can take unique forms in different countries and political periods, not moving from the frontbuilding goal but only being busy with its forms or expecting exactly the same conditions that have emerged at some time, these are all reflecting the lack of a theoretical comprehension and ideological shortness. Detachment from real life in terms of approaches to the struggle and organization forms, as well as to the confronts as an organization form, leads to a failure in surpassing the dogmatism over.

Passing through various experiences, the combatant sections of the laboring left of Turkey and North Kurdistan now have reached unique forms of build fronts. Now we can talk about a gained level in terms of having two separate fronts completing each other: one of which gathers the large masses based on legal and actual-legitimate struggle and other one which concentrates much more on illegal and military forms of underground struggle.



To develop the struggle, first of all, the leadership and main cadre frames of the parties and organizations which practice the politics of confrontation must be vanguard and determined. Secondly, we need to improve the culture, spirit and perspective of building fronts among the laboring left masses. If this improvement will be reciprocated by being determined in fighting against the backwardness and considering the same awareness in all of our educational work in one sense, the other and more important aspect of it would definitely be the actual successes of the fronts in struggle. As a matter of fact, with the success of the legal and practical-legitimate struggle field confront achieved in July 7<sup>th</sup>\*, we have seen the change among the masses in terms of their culture, desire and feeling about frontbuilding. The practical successes of both 'above' and 'under' ground confrontations will accelerate the realignment and transformation processes.

(\*Translator's note: in the general elections in July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015, HDP got approximately 6 millions votes in total)

***“Realigning between the state and peoples, the poor and the rich must be organized”***

***From the angle of your political strategy, “The path that will lead to the anti-imperialist***

***democratic revolution and the victory of this revolution can pass directly through open class-related and political contradictions like between bourgeoisie and proletariat, state and people etc., besides from these, it can also pass through a series of reactionary civil wars or civil wars rising over concrete antagonisms such as Turkish-Kurdish, Sunni-Alevite, secular-sharia follower which can be provoked and organized by fascist dictatorship”, what does this***

***intriguing diagnosis mean when you consider together with July 15<sup>th</sup> and the developments afterwards?***

While we were building a revolution strategy in Turkey and Kurdistan, while searching for a unique direction of the revolution, the cases were not only the natural contradictions like proletariat-bourgeoisie or big landowners-poor peasants, or the state-people contradiction which can be encountered in every country, but also there were the democratic and revolutionary dynamics directly within the political freedom struggle as well. Kurdish people, for example, or the Alevites, national communities... For example also the laboring officers under their specific conditions in particular periods. Or apart from all these, women, as a major vein. There have been these facts. We have faced a state which has been suppressing the demands of all these dynamics. There was a male state structure defining itself as Turkish and Sunni and declaring that it won't recognize any other language, belief or national identity. The practice of revolutionary struggle and the democratic struggle of the masses relying on decades resulted in these forces to stage in history as dynamics and to impose their demands and identities more strongly.

There were the counter-dynamics as well and the state tried to transform these counter-dynamics

into its own power, an opportunity to defeat the struggle of the masses. We have put them as antagonisms which cover the main body of the society, such as Alevite-Sunni, Turkish-Kurdish or secular - sharia.

Essentially, these are the advantages of the counter-revolution brought up by managing these conflicts and contradictions on a reactionary basis. The whole idea of our Party's suggestion was this: by driving the democratic content forward, this situation can contrarily be turned into forces for the revolution. That is to ruin the plans of the dictatorship completely by organizing these democratic dynamics to put themselves forward rather than putting the contradictions ahead by democratizing and revolutionizing the dynamics which were transformed by the state to be its own forces, such as the democratic content of secular, Sunni or Turkish dynamics. This has been our perspective. However, the state had always been in a counter-revolutionary position, created a ground in which peoples and laborers strangled each other, which the ones in power with their Turkish, Sunni or secular identity mistakenly think themselves as masters to others, and thus support the actual master, the fascist dictatorship and denialist colonialism.

Our party was drawing the attention to this point. And it was saying that the state is going to organize civil wars on this basis so it is necessary to be well prepared for these civil wars and as much as mobilizing the democratic dynamics for this sake, it is also very crucial to lead workers and laborers, which gather around the sovereign dynamic, towards a right attitude by organizing the realignment along not Turkish-Kurdish contradiction, but along the struggle between sovereigns-peoples, not Alevite-Sunni conflict but along the fascist-antifascist struggle, not secular-sharia separation and fight along the state-people and rich-poor.

***Then, along with July 15<sup>th</sup> and the developments afterwards, what did the***

***restoration process of the fascist regime confirm with regard to your political strategy, what did it signify?***

The society is still the same and the society's dynamics remain same, the forces of revolution and counterrevolution are also keep their positions, therefore these contradictions keep existing. But, as a result of the class struggle, what is happening today is this: the ruling ideology of yesterday was the one which identifies itself as secular and gathers around the kemalist ideology and there were large masses of people which are either politic-islamist, nor under a strong influence of religiosity, see secularism and religiosity as incompatible or react to countless formal oppressions in the name of secularism. Politic-islamists succeeded in accumulating the tendencies, feelings, and longings of these large masses of people around themselves and this time the politic-islamist ideology, its lifestyle and in this way, its political strategy to become sovereign, became dominant over the situation. Now, the ones who want to protect their positions are those who advocate the secular lifestyle, against the domination of religiosity and political Islam over everyday life. This time, the sides have switched. But all the other contradictions continue. Therefore, we have seen that our analysis of Kurdish and Turkish society, our strategy based on the diagnosis of the unique antagonisms of Turkey and Kurdistan apart from the basic class contradictions and our tactics that are related with those turn out to be on the mark. The political strategies and tactics assuming the problems regarding fascist dictatorship or the monist state structure could be overcome through negotiations and compromises, have failed.

***Under these new balances, what are the possible forms of realignment for the Alevites, for those who are sensitive about secularism and for the worker and the laborer masses under the***

***influence of the politic-islamists? And how will your party intervene to this?***

Today, what should be done is to be careful about the defeated forces and institutions with tendencies of a kemalist ideology line to use those who are against the politic-islamists and religious transformation of life, or in their words, “the religionists and secularists” antagonism's on a reactionary basis again. Certainly, large masses will appeal to the transformation of life into a politic-islamist way. These are the ones who identify themselves as secular. Their struggle can be transformed into a struggle against fascism, the politic-islamist fascist dictatorship and palace junta. But if this is done with an ambition to have alliances with secularists, with CHP or other secularists, then the idea of sovereignty will be reproduced. It is necessary to hold this issue from the viewpoint of working class and the oppressed, from the peoples. One dimension of this issue is, yes, the religion is the heart of the heartless world, this fact will be taken into consideration and thus a distinction will be made here with the bourgeois secularists. On the other hand, the sovereigns, whether they are kemalist secularists or politic-islamists, have tried to make religion the opium of the people and they maintain the same policy. Of course, an effective struggle against them will also be carried out. This is something that can only be accomplished by deepening and

improving the alignment between oppressor and oppressed, exploiter and exploited, poor-rich, state-people oppositions. The separation should be put forward through these forms: "are you siding with the destruction of nature or against it?", "are you siding with strike and struggle, and at the side to get your rights or not? ", "are you on the side of student rights, an autonomous-democratic university, a free scientific education in mother tongue, or against these?" "are you siding with justice or are you against it?" "are you on the side of the oppressor or the oppressed, of the rich or the poor"... we have to put the distinctions from these points and make the working class and the oppressed be sided against the politic-islamist fascist dictatorship, against the collaborative monopoly capitalism, against all the consequences of imperialist globalization.

***What are your expectations from HBDH (Peoples' United Revolution Movement), which you have described as one of the channels of confrontation? What is the possible direction of HBDH to progress and what are the opportunities and the problems? From the fact that every organization gains its self-existence right and enhances by solving some of the problems of the masses' struggle, what kind of problems of the struggle of working class and the oppressed in Turkey and Kurdistan would HBDH solve and enhance?***

The Peoples' United Revolution Movement is an organization which has to take responsibilities and duties of the defense and surge of the oppressed in the struggle between our peoples and the politic-islamist fascist dictatorship and denialist colonialism by using free means that are not restricted by law. The dictatorship has its army, police, semi-military civilian forces, informers and these are all fighting



against our peoples in order to protect and maintain the sovereignty of the bourgeoisie by every means they have. The Peoples' United Revolution Movement exists to pave the way of our peoples' struggle against these forces, to strengthen the unity of our peoples, to break the feeling of despair and raise the motivation. It will gain its existence right as long as it achieves these in a political manner. And that's why it has a wide struggle front ahead. Wherever the colonialist fascist enemies of our peoples try to suppress the masses and to destroy their vanguards through military and any forms of cruelty, either in the cities or in the countryside, there is the need for the Peoples' United Revolution Movement as a force to stop this. Thus, if it is considered as a legitimate peaceful leading organization that should carry out unarmed struggle or for the actual-legitimate struggle, or if the stick is tilted toward this side, then of course it would be a huge mistake. A very large number of masses also can fight in the ranks of HBDH. It can mobilize thousands, tens of thousands of people as militias in political struggle just as it can do it with urban or rural guerrillas. There are no obstacles for these to happen. If this is the case that HBDH is not successful in doing so, then the reason behind it would be about the limitations of its component forces. The problem is not in the organizational form itself as an underground front that is supposed to embrace and mobilize the masses, that is to say, its inappropriateness for this issue. On the contrary, it is well appropriate.

***What directions and which forms and perspectives should HBDH follow in order to meet with the masses?***

The basic condition for HBDH's actions to resonate with large masses is turning its face towards the masses. A struggle having no touch with the problems, aspirations and demands of working class, Kurdish people, women, young people, the poor, the unemployed, the Alevites and national communities can't turn HBDH into a

center of attraction. But, on the contrary, if it acts with a political vanguard style based on the wishes, problems and aspirations of the working class and the oppressed, then the usage of military forms, the forms based on the revolutionary violence will create a great influence. Those of committing mass massacres, spilling the blood of workers, peasants, women and young who have been carrying out a legitimate, peaceful or the practical-legitimate struggle, those criminals of violence against women or the sexual abuse of children, those who dismiss our academicians and many other progressive teachers whom are demanding peace, those signatories of various cruelties in prisons and countless fascist decisions in courts, those informers, etc... they are all in the desire and direction to form a civil fascist organization of the fascist dictatorship against our peoples. For this reason, we can expect The Peoples' United Revolution Movement to grow and make important contributions to the freedom struggle on its own ground.

***Lastly, let us ask what are the reasons to be hopeful about the progress of the struggle in the upcoming year.***

The politic-islamist fascist dictatorship is now facing with new contradictions surrounding it at Turkey-Kurdistan level and at a regional level. We can see easily how it fails to manage itself also by the developments happening in these last months. They demonstrate this fact that they are unable to manage the situation with what they call the parliamentary system anymore, through their attempts of ruling only with the orders of Tayyip Erdoğan, of the fascist palace junta, under the name of statutory decrees which is actually by-passing the existing bourgeois parliament without any need to go for a constitutional amendment. Perhaps, the capital seizure which has been applied only to the national minorities in the history of the Turkish bourgeoisie is now happening in the inside-fight quite widely and openly. The violence in the counter-revolution's

internal fight is in its highest level of at least the last 50-60 years. And most importantly, the plan of "crush and dissolve" has failed. This plan, which was indexed to achieve a result within a certain period, could not go beyond anything apart from the fermentation of new upheavals and the flow of events between the two sides, between our peoples and the fascist dictatorship and denialist colonialism, began to enter into a violent battle line. They have failed to get what they expected and the factors for their defeat are getting more and more accumulated.

It's a transition period. In this transitional period, it is likely that the ruling powers will be dragged into the new conflicts, but more importantly, since unmanageability crisis will intensify by fusing with the structural crisis, the conditions will accumulate faster for them to get surrounded by social upheavals in which they find themselves without any control, only as a desperate spectator right in the center of major social earthquakes. The sovereign powers do not have a reality in a direction of convincing and calming the people down by responding their problems, demands and aspirations and thus they cannot dissolve the accumulated energy against them. On the contrary, there is a wide range of a dynamic against them which makes them worried about a possible rebel that might outburst anywhere, anytime. In a way, they are walking on a mine-field. Despite all their advantages, this is the truth. The explosive substances are accumulated in the heart of society very commonly, and they can set in motion even by a very ordinary cause. Examples to this might be trees being cut in the Gezi Park, or as we saw a young man firing his body in Tunisia. And just like how these examples have triggered huge insurrections by inflaming sudden burst of the explosives accumulated in the heart of society, this is exactly the case in Turkey and Kurdistan. Despite all its military superiority, the fascist dictatorship and denialist colonialism is not stronger in Turkey, Northern Kurdistan,

Rojava and South Kurdistan. This is one aspect of the truth to be hopeful.

Secondly, in spite of all these coup conditions, both the united front of legal, peaceful and practical-legitimate struggle field protects its existence as it has the necessary ground for greater leaps and the other united front that presents itself with revolutionary violence, illegal and military forms of the struggle has the ground to organize and enhance itself. Likewise, those who tend to struggle within the working class and the oppressed will be less likely to dissipate their energy and will tend to mobilize their energies in a way to achieve a current result. They will gather around the fighting forces more, which make politics with various means and forms of struggle, and they will be willing to struggle around the united fronts whose body is mainly formed by these fighting forces. The fascist junta failed to break the will-power of struggle for the political mass demands. It failed to construct a sovereignty that could organize the psychology of being defeated or and hopelessness. The millions in the ranks of the laboring left did not lose their desire to mobilize, to revenge and to gain freedom. They have taken a step back. They have positioned themselves in a place where they can look for the conditions to take the stage again. The dictatorship is moving with a purpose of not letting this step-back to be a ground for a leap with an effort to transform it into a dissolving base. For this reason, it is trying to organize and epidemically spread the idea and the feeling that the supremacy of military power cannot be defeated and the fascist state terror can last forever. In this direction, it is carrying out an unbridled fascist psychological war. However, under the conditions where there are vanguard parties and united frontiers of our peoples, they do not have the same opportunity to get a result like 12<sup>th</sup> September. The dictator and his fascist palace junta will face with brand new problems of so many different economical, financial and regional

developments, adding on new factors of contradictions between the masses. This should be considered among the dynamics of this period.

We are entering 2017 under all these realities and we carry a strong, resilient hope fed by real life. Of course, it would be utterly irrational to wait for the dynamics in the political struggle to spontaneously activate and achieve a result by itself, or to expect results against the enemy only by observing its desperation and dead-ends. The condition of success can be delivered by organizing the revolutionary and democratic dynamics of the society, by disseminating and practicing confrontation and by having the vanguards fulfilling their revolutionary, antifascist, anticolonialist and anticapitalist duties.

As a last word, I would like to emphasize that the hope is together with us. Hear is the vanguard's determination of revolutionary will, its love, faith, trust, dedication and spirit of sacrifice for the working class and the oppressed. Here lays the

desire and demand of our peoples for freedom, justice and an honorable life which is manifested in various forms. Here is the surge of building fronts which proves the survival ability of laboring left. Here lay the regional revolutionary developments. And here are the conditions linked with the unmanageabiling crisis that drag the sovereign forces into an armed internal struggle and indications of the economical crisis that carries the potential to explode the bridges between the masses and itself under the threat of the fascist politic-islamist palace junta. Our revolutionary optimism is the product of this soil and these facts. We will succeed. This is our promise to our immortals, to the working class and the oppressed whose right to have an honorable life and freedom has been forbidden, who have been prisoned to cruelty, poverty and a miserable life with pain!

## The Stage of Imperialist Globalization

### ***Internationalization Of The Production Process And Domination Of World Monopolies***

The Stage of imperialist globalization, which is different from the previous one with its distinctive qualities, is a new phase of imperialist capitalism.

After commodity and capital export, the production realization stage of capitalist cycle had also gained an international feature in this globalization stage.

Obstacles in front of commodity and capital circulation had been removed, they had been restricted to the not-yet-liquidated, limited remnants of previous period and to the unique fields which the level of capital accumulation had not yet allowed to liquidation.

The world market composed of single national market had been replaced by an integrated world market.

International monopolies and the biggest ones of those, the world monopolies, had taken the total control in the production, trade and capital export over the integrated world market.

Financial capital's sovereignty over industrial capital had become more apparent, speculative capital had gained a significant position inside the total capital movement and it had become one of the main methods of capital accumulation.

International monopolies and imperialist states had entered into a violent competition to take control over the integrated world market and a re-division struggle based on this competition.

Concrete basis of nation-states had dissolved. Contradictions inside and among nation-states had

aggravated. With regional integrations, this competition had become a general tendency.

Neocolonialism had been replaced by the yoke of financial-economic colonialism. Political and economic structures of colonized countries had been forced to change accordingly.

The stage of imperialist globalization also means a new big wave of expropriation. Chasm and polarization between rich and poor, oppressor and oppressed, colonialist and colonized, economical and social confrontation has deepened. The ranks of proletariat have been widened. Important changes have happened effecting the composition and struggle of working class, other oppressed class and segments' quality and their alliance relations with working class. Alongside the production process, labor's socialization at an international level has caused all the basic contradictions of capitalist production processes to gain an international character.

### ***The Level Of Internationalization In The First Period Of Imperialism***

The basic contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of property. This, also brings the result of developing the conditions that will overthrow the capitalist system, in its each step forward and each development move. Misunderstandings on evaluating the stage of imperialist globalization, mostly come from not being able to grasp the capitalist system's contradictions and developments dynamically and from the methodical mistake which expects consistency, sustainment and planned quantitative movement from the capitalist system.

Internal laws of capitalism work as tendencies. While one or many structural or current economic factors and current political factors affect in the direction of a law's working mechanism, at the same time one or many structural or current economic factors and current political factors affect in the opposite direction. Under the effects of these same and opposite kicks, capitalism's internal laws work not in a straight line, but dynamically. Political conditions, meaning class struggle's level, situation and results, constantly have effects on these laws' mechanism, influence and speed. However, as long as the capitalist system is not overthrown, laws also cannot be overthrown.

For instance, exceeding the borders of nation-states, internationalization tendency are neither a tendency opposite to the previous period nor a simple quantitative replica and continuum of its predecessor.

The first period of capitalism was the process of forming nations and national markets and compared to the feudal closed economic order, it corresponded to an incomparable socialization, a tendency of "world-wideness". Appearance of nationalization process when looking back from today is in the form of national fragmentation, but when looking forward from that day, it means the world-wideness ("globalization") tendency. The possible level of "world-wideness" on that day was only allowing to build larger economies in the form of nation-states/markets, but to protect the borders between these. In this period, commodity movements were international featured.

Of course, international activity of the capital has developed neither in a straight line nor under a single form. While internationalization of production process is constantly advancing forward as a tendency, its speed and form have varied under certain economic and political conditions.



Development of commodity export as the distinctive feature of the first period of imperialism, was a new threshold of world-wideness tendency.

Internationalization of production processes also started in this period. Continued with a low development speed until the crisis in 1929, declined in the depression period, later started to incline again and completely interrupted during the war period, this internationalization process accelerated after war.

After the 2. imperialist re-division war, there appeared a ground which capitalism could develop relatively consistently and fast, both as an obligation and an opportunity.

Factors like development of class struggle, rupture of one-third of the world from the capitalist economy and the world market's narrowing even more, uprisings in the neo-colonies, the political and ideological effects of socialist countries and communist parties in the imperialist centers brought results like concessions in the form of high wages and social rights in the imperialist countries, strengthening the tendency of alliances between capitalist countries and extension of these alliances in long terms, collapse of classical colonial system and establishment of new colonial relations.

Rebuilding chance and obligation arisen from the annihilation of large-scale fixed capital due to the devastation of war became the basis of a relatively stable and fast development.

USA imperialism took the lead of the process of reconstruction of the world capitalism and economical, political and ideological strengthening of capitalist camp against the socialist camp. Main capitalist unions were founded in this period. Monopolist state capitalism was developed. World capitalism was reborn through a steady fast development in capitalist centers and a frequent crisis-inconsistency characterized painful development processes in the new colony countries.

**'70's And Transformation Into The Stage Of Imperialist Globalization**

The basis of fast development between the years of 1950-1970's was the conditions shaped by the war devastation in the capitalist world and its limit was the level of capital accumulation on that day.

It was inevitable that this situation's bringing a new crisis to the agenda by reaching its own natural limits and logical consequences (completion of reconstruction, after emergence of a new level of capital accumulation, start to search for new development channels).

Throughout the conditions of 1950-1970 period, as USA imperialism extraordinarily developed, other imperialist countries' economies also gained

their power back and although not completely, but in single fields, they reached a competition level against USA capital. This, meant a narrowing in the conditions that could absorb the surplus capital.

Capital concentration and centralization in the hands of private monopolies had advanced, it had made the organization form of states' undertaking the investments, which previously single monopolies couldn't surmount, unnecessary, even a shackle. This, was the primary factor of liquidation conditions of monopolist state capitalism.

Under the conditions where absolute surplus value raising opportunities had narrowed due to some circumstances led by the compromises given to the working class in the capitalist countries, technological regeneration waves (automation-microelectronication) corresponding to raising relative surplus value exploitation by increasing the labor productivity, had accelerated the declination tendency of profit rates. This had obliged the necessity of a larger capital concentration, and because of that, removing the national borders in front of capital movements, in terms of either money capital or industrial capital.

Bretton Woods financial system formed after the war, had become a tie restricting the capital movements. The need of internationally organizing the activities of big banks and stock market which is one of the regulators of the financial movements and economies organized at a national level had emerged.

To compensate the congestion of monopolist capital, liquidation of social state and its acquisitions had come in view.

With these developments, stagnation in the world economy in the beginning of '70's and overproduction crisis in 73-74 had burst out. Now, liquidation of the form of world economy which had been established after the war had become compulsory.



Economy policies driven by monopolist state capitalism started to be abandoned. Structural adaptation programs which allow a more dense pillaging of new colony states was developed, necessary conditions were prepared by flattening the growing revolutionary and democratic movements by organizing military coups in these countries. By liquidating the tight financial regime formed in Bretton Woods which was indexing the world's money to dollar and the dollar to gold, functions of IMF was revised. Capitalist state property was sold off by privatization in the name of neoliberalism. Looting of working class' social and political acquisitions was embarked, it was resorted to increasing the absolute surplus value by lowering wages and extending the working hours. With the liquidation of national obstacles in front of capital movement, production moved to places where it could reach low-cost labor.

Modern revisionist bloc's falling down at the end of '80's and in the beginning of '90's and China's opening to west capitalism accelerated this internationalization process by widening the world market.

### ***Internationalization Of The Production Process***

One of the distinctive features of the stage of imperialist globalization is after commodity circulation and capital export, together with the internationalization of making production too, all phases of capitalist economy's gaining an international character.

The elements that has gained an international character in the beginning of the imperialism period were supplying raw material, commodity trade, realizing the profit. Between the years of 1950-70, an increase in internationalization of production processes had occurred, it became an obvious tendency since 1970's and in the '90's, it transformed into a characteristic feature of world capitalism.



Capitalists, to secure a maximized profit and to compete with other capitalists, try to compensate the declination of profit rates due to technological innovation in industry (developed with a purpose of raising the relative surplus value) first, by increasingly directing their capital to speculative capital movements which create higher profit rates; second, by raising the profit rates through the way of increasing the exploitation of absolute and relative surplus value; third, by getting a larger mass profit although the profit rates decreased. Sustainability of enlarging the mass of profit although profit rates are decreasing in industry depends on also enlarging the mass of invested capital mass. This, on the other hand, obliges a higher capital concentration. Capital concentration, on contrary, deepens the mentioned tendencies. Thus, these tendencies raise the acceleration of centralization and intensification by feeding each others.

Such a large-scale capital intensification, only and only obliges removing the obstacles in front of the financial capital's movements both in the form of money capital and industrial capital and enabling it to have a freedom of international circulation. Because today, the level of monopolist capital accumulation has reached its national economy limits and exceeded it; the capital, has intensified

as much as it could under conditions which production and capital movements are organized on a level of national markets; there has emerged a colossal amount of capital gathered in a very few hands; it has reached such volumes that larger than these amounts cannot be intensified within the national borders (Major world monopolies' single economic sizes have become bigger than total economic size of many national-states). Hence, such a scale of capital movement, cannot fit into national economies in terms of quantity. The quantity threshold where it cannot fit anymore, thus, forces a new quality. This new quality, is internationalization of capitalist economy at all levels.

In short, current level of monopolist capital accumulation makes the production which is incomparably large-scale with the past periods, possible and compulsory; and with a more backward productivity, it becomes impossible to assure a maximized profit and to sustain competency.

Internationalization of production, is conditioned by monopolist capital accumulation level's obliging a larger-scale production for a larger mass profit alongside with the need of raising the exploitation of absolute and relative surplus value. Capitalists, start seeking ways to increase the exploitation of absolute surplus value by reaching low-cost and flexible labor and ways to increase the exploitation of relative surplus value by shortening the capital cycle, even firstly shortening the circulation time (for the sake of increasing the realization speed of the surplus value, transferring some of the surplus value to intermediary capitalists). Besides, under conditions where financial capital movement picks up a great speed, the need of neutralizing the local congestions and crisis occurring during the capital cycle, by a production-circulation system which minimizes the overproduction-resulted stock accumulation, also conditions the tendency of organizing

internationally. Consequently, there emerges an international production organization based on many small or relatively small supplier firms bound to big monopolies.

Production's happening on an international scale, spreads to weapon production, machine production and technology-intense products' production as in the first place, even to some light industry fields.

For instance, Germany-based Mercedes-Benz monopoly's production of a single E-class car, occurs by crossing from countless country. Various types of cable sets of such kind of car are produced in Mexico, Portugal, Austria, Slovenia, Bulgaria and South Africa. Its exhaustion pipe is produced in South Africa, circuit cards in Malaysia and Philippines, wooden parts in Romania, windows in Canada, horn systems in Spain, metal plates and air-cushions in Italy. Cooling and heating systems come from France and sound systems come from USA. Many other parts come from Japan; air-conditioners, radio and CD-player, integrated navigation system...Lots of sub-products ranging from all the screws to chemical substances, on the other hand, are produced in lots of other countries. For example, microchips needed for sound systems coming from USA are supplied from the producers in China, Taiwan and Malaysia. Such that, before the automobile is got ready for traveling, its components have already traveled as much as tens of times world tour. In one of the 26 countries where all these are assembled, and technologically most advanced one, "motherland" Germany, in Mercedes-Benz facilities, one E-class automobile goes out from the band in every 1,5 minutes. Mercedes' taking an automobile from the band in 1,5 minutes, its making such a fast and mass production with this amount of capital, however surplus value's being realized in the market swiftly, these are only possible with this organization style spreading to several countries<sup>1</sup>.

Is internationalization of production, a conjectural, singular, reversible, quantitative phenomenon? Moving forward from this example, is it possible for Mercedes-Benz to return its own national borders?

In our example, Mercedes-Benz's stepping back from the level where it can produce an E-class automobile in 1,5 minutes, means its losing competence chance with other automotive giants like Ford, VW, Toyota and becoming a sub-company of one of these by gradually getting swallowed by them. Which means, *as long as all other conditions remain same*, there is no reason to push it to lower the production speed in terms of capitalism.

Well then, is it possible for it to maintain the same scale of production with the old style organization? Theoretically, it is possible but in these conditions, it has to undertake a way more larger amount of fixed capital investment (almost, as large as the supplier's total fixed capital investment, so multiple times larger than now) on its own. Although Mercedes-Benz's being already one of the biggest world monopolies, considering the capital movement's directing its current amount to these expenses, it is clearly understandable how practically impossible to make a transition to such a situation for either that reason or another. Moreover, such a grand scale of capital investment, again, *as long as all other conditions remain same*, will bring along an increase of organic component of capital, meaning declination of profit rates, by growing the share of invariable capital. When fixed capital remains same, profit mass will decline incredibly; when it increases, then profit rate will decrease greatly.

In this current production organization, world monopoly, in a way, is operating the fixed capital which it hasn't invested in the end. Sub-firms' realizing the surplus value depends on the world monopoly. Its customer is that and/or one of the very few of that kind of world monopolies and its



production is indexed with these monopolies' purchasing situation. Main monopoly's probability of breaking the prices is high and sub-firm's competence chance is weak. Technological difference (capital productivity difference) gives birth to a result that a major part of surplus value is snatched by the main monopoly.

At the most bottom of this international production chain, there stands a worker, let's say producing a microchip or a screw, who works for a capitalist business which is technologically lowest and most backward one (where capital is the least productive/where organic component of the capital is the lowest). Exploitation of working class, flexible, sub-contracted, insecure working conditions of labor power and its cheapness conditions are such inclusive that main firm's taking a much higher share of the surplus value than the owner of the fixed capital who itself employs that worker (producing a surplus value high enough to cover the firm which the worker is working, all the capital shareholders constituted of intermediate firms and main firm and also all the shareholders who travel the intermediary products between them), is possible. The general law of losing the profit to technologically advanced business owner by letting it take an extra profit, in the process of realizing the surplus value expropriated in the technologically

backward firm/transforming it into profit in the market, in these conditions, works in the form of supplier firm's losing it to main monopoly (For example, in the whole process of production of i-phone which is composed of 1875 parts and most of these parts are produced in China by Chinese and Taiwanese originated capitalists, bigger share of expropriated surplus value stays at the USA originated main firm. Having a 178,96 dollars of cost price, i-phone telephone's last consumer sale price is 700 dollars in USA on average.)

Thereby, when looking at the main firm over its last assembling establishment, organic component of capital is high -technologically dense- but the market price of the product is much higher compared to this. In the end, with a very low invariable capital investment (investments needed to organize the last assembling phase and investments on international delivering the parts to assembly centers and the products to markets), main firm exploits numerous workers in high exploitation conditions. Organic component of capital which seems to be very high when looked from the last firm's base, is actually much lower when looked from the whole cycle, and depending on this, not only the profit mass, but also the profit rate, is too high to achieve with the old style production organization.

This result, is only possible under integrated world market conditions where all the obstacles in front of movements of capital and commodities, except for labor power (with a style which world monopolist capital becomes privileged) are removed, where labor power commodity is restricted maximally, where the law of averaged profit, thus wage, price, and profit are realized on this basis.

Let's say, capitalist is willing to make such a large-scale fixed capital investment or it is obliged to this due to a complex mixture of conditions like crisis or world war. What will be the situation for the revolving capital elements?

How much is this regression possible and sustainable?

Firstly, let's consider labor power. This is also the variable component of capital. If the monopoly makes the current investment in its national board, Germany, it is impossible to find such a low-cost labor power. If we assume that all other firms are also in need of reaching the low-cost labor in Germany alongside with Mercedes-Benz (indeed if we consider that capital movement is regulated by competition law in the market and resulted from this, averaged profit law, very unique political conditions -like a revolution in low-cost labor paradise, South Asia- have to come together in order to occur such a tendency), German monopolies all together or most of them have to venture a big political crisis, because the corresponding wage obtained by adding the amount of revolving capital spent on circulation expenses and other expenses (the amount that is handed over to the suppliers from the total surplus value) to the averaged wages in the countries mentioned above, would still be extremely low compared to the level of wage in Germany.

Then, let's assume that old style production organization is maintained through capital export which was the decisive element of the first stage of imperialism, through establishing factories in one or more countries. In these conditions, both the struggle and organization conditions of workers to keep their wages at a certain level due to old style factory order would be more advanced, and the necessary fixed capital investment would be multiplied.

What is the situation in terms of the invariable part of capital? Since the organization of production is designated to be closest to the resources, to have the shortest circulation period and to be large-scale, in terms of supplying energy, raw material and component in today's organization style; due to circulation expenses' being the lowest in total, smaller national or international active firms' becoming dependent on

monopolies and their becoming kind of in competition to be swallowed by the monopolies, this is the production organizing style which is the most flexible and has the lowest purchasing prices.

Finally, in terms of stocking-marketing stages too, the situation does not change. In the conditions where 2 trillion dollars worth capital is processed in the stock markets, meaning the money capital is moving at an incredible speed; returning within national borders, would mean to venture stocking plenty of components instead of the stage of assembly process planned dependent on the realization speed in the market and the stage of component supplement planned dependent on assembling process like now; and even by not settling with this, to venture stocking the ultimate product which some part of it will be kept in the storages during the period of capital circulation, meaning that rotting lots of components and complete products in the storages during the fast capital movement under the threat of congestion and many crises which locally happen several times, instantaneous or durational, wide-spread and everyday.

The situation is no different in light industry. For example, the travel of one jean pants of Levi's brand originated from USA throughout its production process is like that: cotton is grown in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, turned into yarn in Turkey, after dyed in Taiwan and textured in Poland, together with the parts like knobs and grippers supplied from France, sent to Philippines for stitching. The last shape of it including packaging is formed in Greece and sent to world market<sup>2</sup> (to distributors in total of 160 countries).

No need to point out, when Levi's had started this business in 1853, including its raw material (cotton), the production had been completed in a single country (USA). Its producing in USA and becoming a subject to commodity export was followed by its becoming a subject to capital export with a style in which, again, a singular (or

serial) part of jean production is started and finished in a single country, meaning that its opening factories in other countries. Although separation of raw material production from manufacturing centers had spread throughout a whole capitalist imperialism period, its becoming a characteristic feature, was essentially simultaneous with new colony system in which some countries were forced to produce a single product. Each of these stages is the stages of intensification and centralization of capital, the realization process of production's advancing to an international surface. Today a production with such a scale, cannot be achieved within national borders. All production's returning to factories organized with the old style in a single country (in the Levi's example, to USA) or in multiple countries, is impossible unless Levi's gives up competing and accepts devastation or to be swallowed by other monopolies. Because it is not only a matter of increasing the number of produced merchandise. The matter is increasing the number of produced merchandise only under the conditions of accelerating the circulation of capital, increasing the exploitation of relative and absolute surplus value, raising the speed of circulation speed and sustaining a flexible production-stocking- circulation system which is not affected by the congestions in credit-money capital movements. In other words, with this amount of fixed capital investment, this is the order in which the labor power is as cheap as possible and the circulation of capital is the fastest in today's conditions.

All the mentioned factors force the capital to an advanced labor division and a move towards outside the central base, while strengthening the tendency of organizing internationally, counter-tendencies have only limited effects: like the labor price in the invested fields and political conditions defining this, big surges in the movements of money capital and financial and economical crises.

### ***Domination of International and World monopolies to World Economy***

International monopolies developed at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century have gained a general character and become decisive in the world economy. Biggest ones of those, have transformed into world monopolies and now is in a position of domination. The main body of smaller monopolies and non-monopoly economical businesses has become the supplier units to international monopolies and world monopolies too.

World monopolies, are the biggest monopolies which run their industrial, mercantile, financial activities world-widely, which have domination on the world economy and the integrated world market, which manage economic and politic institutions. World monopolies still continue carrying the stamp of a specific nation-state, however, since centralization of capital is also moved to an international plane through unifications and swallows, multi-national property and formations of international capitalist unions have become apparent (For instance, England-Netherlands partnered Royal Dutch-Shell). They lean their back on a specific nation-state in the inter-monopolistic competition and hegemony struggle in the end. But this is how it is only in the end. Progress of regional integrations, one or more imperialist states' domination in each integration, a general character gaining of how the international economic, political and social contradictions and positions in the clashes are performed; these are not independent from the world monopolies' multi-national character. This situation, at the same time, also means strengthening of limited numbers of imperialist states' domination on the integrated world market and world capitalist economy, deepening the inequality between imperialist states and financial-economic colonies. While national walls are now removed from being obstacles to capital movements, they

raise as high walls in front of working class and the oppressed in terms of deepening the social inequality.

Annual endorsement of the biggest 500 monopolies according to 2013 data, equals to 40 percent of world's gross product. Among these, top 100 monopolies have a production capacity worthing to 14,04 trillion dollars which corresponds to 18,8 percent of GP<sup>3</sup>.

A comparison between the major capitalist countries' gross domestic product and the biggest world monopolies' endorsements is enlightening about these monopolies position in the world economy<sup>4</sup>.

According to this, among the 50 biggest economies, there are 8 companies and 42 countries<sup>5</sup>. And among the 100 biggest economies, there are 40 companies and 60 countries.

The annual endorsement of Royal Dutch-Shell monopoly, only, corresponds to 58 percent of Turkey's GDP which is ranked 19<sup>th</sup> worthing to 822,1 billion.

GDP of the rest of the over 100 countries, are not as high as a single endorsement of the 40 monopolies which make to the list.

37 million firms all over the world, are manufacturing components for the 43.060 monopolies, among these, based on the needs of 1318 of them, the production is carried out. And among these 1318 big monopolies, only 147 of them hold 40 percent of the total property of all these companies and become the centers of whole production chain<sup>6</sup>.

International monopolies control at least 20 percent of world's production and 70 percent of world's trade. Thousands of businesses whose all productions are indexed for supplying components to these monopolies, are not counted in these numbers.

Sovereignty of world monopolies, means a grand expropriation and beggaring.

The richest 1 percent's share inside the world's total wealth has increased from 44 percent in 2009, to 48 percent in 2014. The average wealth fallen to each adult member of this section was 2,7 million dollars in 2014. This share is estimated to exceed 50 percent limit in 2016.



The 46 percent within the other 52 percent, on the other hand, is inside the richest 20 percent. The 80 percent of world's population is sharing 5,5 percent of the total wealth.

Even more, 85 richest people's total wealth equals to total wealth of 3,5 billion people forming the poorest 50 percent! Regarding the speed of intensifying and centralization of capital, this number was 388 people in 2010 as a reminder.

The confrontation is more apparent between imperialist states and financial-economical colonies. For instance, Africa, has 12,5 percent of world's population, but 3 percent of world's energy consumption. The share of USA in the energy consumption is, however, 19 percent<sup>7</sup>.

### ***Formation of Integrated World Market***

In the first stage of imperialism, world's economy was constituted of the total of single national markets. Centralization of capital was being realized within these markets and through taking over each of these single markets. At the center of the competition of imperialist states, there was standing widening the national borders of the obtained national markets or widening them by taking over the colonies (but, again organizing them as national markets).

Today, single national markets are integrated under the domination of world monopolies, an integrated world market is formed, capital movements, centralization processes of capital

happen on this integrated world market basis and with a greater speed. Competition between monopolies, is exacerbating between increasingly fewer number of world monopolies, it is developing in the direction of widening their domination on integrated world market by leaning back on the political powers of a specific nation-state and mostly economic integrations.

Through state apparatuses, international financial, economic and politic organizations (IMF, WB, UN), bourgeois law, military institutions and investments which are all completely redesigned with new international agreements; all social relations between imperialist states, between imperialist states and financial-economic colonies, between monopolies, between monopolies and states directly, and between monopolies-bourgeois states and working class-oppressed, are being reshaped and reorganized under integrated world market conditions and in favor of world monopolist bourgeoisie.

Realizing the surplus value, formation of wage, price and profit is being regulated on this integrated world market. The law of averaged profit functions not on single nation-states, but on the integrated world market. The interference opportunities of state apparatuses and international bourgeois law through taxes, customs, social spendings, price regulations and money management are narrowed due to their redesigning. Already, commodity export is there

in free competition stage, commodity export's not being able to enter into some markets, being under embargo is not characteristic; it is either temporary, or unique and limited. What has developed throughout imperialism stage and is turning into a characteristic feature in the stage of imperialist globalization, is liquidation of all the obstacles, like customs, taxes, etc., in front of the formation of commodity prices and profits. This is the meaning of removing all the obstacles in front of commodity circulation.

However, while the obstacles in front of the circulation of all other commodities are being removed, the height of the obstacles in front of the circulation of the commodity of labor power twists the averaged prices way above their values, and the averaged wages way below their values. Although the labor power replies the free circulation of commodities with a reflex of big migration waves to provide also their obstacle-free circulation in the market, because the national and regional fences stand in front of workers and the oppressed even more solidly, labor power circulates way more harder than the capital, and the price of labor power is not formed on average of integrated world market like the formation of the profit and other commodities' prices. Refugee bodies buried in Mediterranean Sea is a result of this clash.

Furthermore, the price of labor power -wage's- not being formed on average of integrated world market, but formed in its circulation area -actually in national frame-, causes big wage differences between the different countries of the world unlike the prices of other commodities.

Moreover, formation of free zones and direct control of international law and institutions due to accumulation of labor power in these pools present a more advantaged exploitation conditions to world monopolist bourgeoisie. Range of monopolist sovereignty enhances the privileges of twisting the commodity prices above the average values and the privileges of twisting the price of

labor power commodity below the average value, beside their advantages on the formation of wage, price and profit.

To all of these, in the stage of imperialist globalization, the level of increase in the productivity of labor' conditioning the chronic unemployment is added. Chronic mass unemployment also incredibly narrows the competition chances of labor. Flexible, sub-contracted, insecure working and unorganizedness, accelerate the declination twist of wages with the fear of unemployment. Under these circumstances, world monopolist bourgeoisie gains the chances to reach extremely cheap labor power in terms of integrated world market.

Although international organization of production and sharing the surplus value within these production chains between countless capitalists, through leaving the bigger share of profit to the main monopolies, centralization of capital, this is how it happens.

This is the basis of international production organization securing the flow of surplus value from labor-intense suppliers to technology-intense big monopolies with the extra profit and on condition of leaving a certain share to each shareholder during the stage realizing the profit.

### ***Internationalization of Money Capital Movements and Development of Speculative Capitalist***

Speculative capital movement's becoming a characteristic feature of financial capital, is another distinctive feature of the stage of imperialist globalization.

Internationalization of money movement of financial capital, has gathered speed in the process of restructuring of world capitalism under the leadership of USA imperialism during 1950-1970's period. Debiting symbolized with Marshall Aids, opening bank branches,

development of insurance companies and their gradual fusion with the capital of banks have become the solid forms of this.

In '70's, national walls in front of money capital movements have been removed all around the world starting from imperialist states, under IMF supervision with the decision of bourgeois states to balance the tendency of declination

of profit rates. Liquidation of Bretton-Woods money system was standing at the center of this development. The international competition between world monopolies, has made the regulative role taken over by big banks and states on a national scale, be redesigned on an international scale and be taken over by the stock market as the leading regulator of the movements of international finance monopolies and international money capital. Hence, there created a big international financial capital network which has accelerated the international capital movements greatly. There appeared big finance monopolies which involve all the major forms of money capital. Big industrial monopolies enlarged their finance departments. So, very large financial and industrial monopolies were gathered in the hands of same families. Financial capital, has gained a solid dominance over industrial capital. A growing amount of capital has slipped towards speculation movements.

In the previous period, although there was a tendency of avoidance from production, this had not yet gained a general character and the credits, debts, etc. financial movements, without creating surplus value, by easing creating surplus value (easing the industrial investments) had been taking shares from surplus value in return. It was related with production.

In the stage of imperialist globalization, speculative capital has gained a significant position. As can be seen in the data that 90



percent of profit coming from speculation is directed towards again speculative movements, not towards a broadened reproduction, it has torn apart from production process and actually, it has started stealing the transformed-into-money state of surplus value obtained during the production process.

Increase in capital's heading to speculation slows down the broadened reproduction.

### ***The Excess Capital Surplus' Becoming Chronic***

The level and speed of centralization and intensification of capital have increased so much in the stage of imperialist globalization that excess capital surplus has raised incomparable to the first period of imperialism. An increasing part of this capital does not return to production. Again, it turns its direction to speculative movements which offer higher profit rates and to redivision of what other competitors or smaller manufacturers produce. And, by centralization of an amount of capital which will not return to production, this, again result in gathering it in a few hands.

Before the imperialist globalization period, when the depression days were over and as excess capital surplus lost its effect after the rise of industrial production, excess capital surplus has become chronic in the imperialist globalization period, more distinctive in the '90's.

As the absolute factor of the increase in the excess capital surplus and its becoming chronic, is the speed and degree of centralization of capital, its relative factor is the narrowing of the conditions where excess capital can be absorbed or annihilated.

Both the inclination of excess capital non-returning to production quickens because of the acceleration of centralization of capital, and its declination (absorption or annihilation) slows down.

What can block the excess capital surplus' becoming chronic is a large-scale annihilation of capital. Crises and wars balances the excess over-production by causing the annihilation of fixed capital through big scale bankruptcies and big scale physical destruction. However today's circumstances make it very hard, but not impossible to risk big scale bankruptcies (under current conditions, a big scale bankruptcy which annihilates the desired amount of capital can happen in the form of devastation of some of the biggest monopolies) and big scale wars which can exceed the sizes of 2<sup>nd</sup> redivision war.

### ***The Political And Social Status Of Bourgeoisie***

In the free competition period of capitalism, what dominates the economical and political order is whole bourgeoisie. Bourgeois state organization, as being the state of whole bourgeoisie, is the

regulator of relations among bourgeoisie each other and between bourgeoisie and working class and other social strata, in favor of general interest of bourgeoisie.

In the first period of imperialism, monopolist bourgeoisie became sovereign over capitalist economy. Bourgeois state apparatus became the state of monopolies.

In the stage of imperialist globalization, there appeared world monopolies and world monopolist bourgeoisie. Single state apparatuses and economical and political institutions and structures which undertake the regulative functions of bourgeois state at the international level, entered in the service of world monopolist bourgeoisie.

In each period, although the state apparatus has represented the common interests of dominant bourgeoisie, it does not mean that there is an absolute interest partnership. In the stage of imperialist globalization, while the dominance of world monopolist bourgeoisie does not mean an absolute interest partnership, capitalist imperialist competition even extremely sharpens in this section, international institutions and single state apparatuses position as representatives against other classes and strata, and in the form of economical-political tools of the competition among each other. Single constituents of world monopolist bourgeoisie maintain the competition among each other by trying to raise their influence

levels on international regulative bourgeois institutions through leaning back on the power of nation-states and regional integrations which are under the governance of few nation-states.

Losing their concrete bases due to internationalization of production at all levels, nation-states function in a new form within this competition.



Bourgeois states are restructured considering the interests of world monopolies. The main subjects of this reconstruction are liquidation of state institutions through privatization, transformation of socially benefiting fields starting from education and health, into fields of capital investment, liquidation of state's control over commodity and capital movements or limitation of this control, making national central banks and decisive economical-financial institutions autonomous, and opening them to direct control of world monopolist bourgeoisie and international economic and political institutions.

In the stage of imperialist globalization, uneven and unbalanced development deepens,

competition between imperialist states sharpens, and become characteristic over regional integrations.

All basic contradictions of imperialist capitalism get severe and gain an international character.

Social and political revolution conditions experience qualitative changes and obtain new qualities. We will discuss the subjects of qualitative and quantitative progress of working class, its organization-struggle conditions, qualities of other social class and strata, and relations, contradictions and alliance opportunities between working class and these class and strata in later issues of our journal.

### Footnotes

1. Data from 2013. compiled from Fortune magazine and official website of Mercedes-Benz

2. Data is compiled from the official websites of Levi's company. On the other hand, noting that variability of sub-firms making production bound to monopolies, mainly 2013 data is taken into account.
3. According to Global 500 list of Fortune Magazine, total endorsement of the biggest 500 monopolies in 2013 was 30,3 trillion dollars, and total profit was 1,5 trillion dollars. Among these, total endorsement of the first 100 was 14,04 trillion dollars, and total profit was 820,7 billion dollars.
4. The Global 500 ranking of Fortune Magazine which prepared for the year of 2013 considering the companies' annual endorsements and the world's biggest economies list which was compiled by a research institution bound to Credit Suisse based on the GDP data of World Bank of the same year, were taken as data. But, this table referenced in the researches by both bourgeois economists and globalization antagonists, is not claimed to satisfy the title "world's biggest economies" in reality. While GDP and company endorsements are not normally comparable data, this kind of calculation is mostly based on double-counting some of the data. Still, relatively considering, it is intuitive about the economical effectiveness of international monopolies.
5. However endorsement and GDP differences both between imperialist states and financial economic colonies, and between imperialist states and international states are enormous ( In circumstances of obtained GDP by USA is 16,76, by China is 9,24, by Japan is 4,92, by Germany is 3,73, by France is 2,8 trillion dollars;n the first company made to the list in the rank of 27<sup>th</sup>, Royal Dutch-Shell, partnership of Dutch and English has endorsement worth of 481,7, USA originated Wal-Mart Stores at the 28<sup>th</sup> rank has 469,2 and USA originated Exxon at the rank of 29<sup>th</sup> has 449,9 billion dollars.
6. Data, have been taken from the research of Zürich University prepared for Credit Suisse in 2011.
7. These data, have taken from the report of Oxfam dated to January 2015. Estimations of 2016, were calculated by Oxfam based on the data of 2013 and 2014 of Credit Suisse Global wealth Datebook.

## **Financial-Economic Colonialism**

Colonialism is the political and economic occupation of a country by a state or a group of states. Colonialism existed before capitalism. The first examples that come to mind are colonialism in the slavery of the Roman Empire, as well as the colonialism of the feudal Ottoman Empire. In the societies before capitalism, the main form of colonialism consists of binding a country to tribute by means of military occupation and political rule.

In capitalism, however, colonialism gains a new content. To annex the conquered country also economically, a capitalist state, which forced another country under political domination, must break its traditional economy and structure it in such a way that it can be exploited and robbed,

### ***The Different Forms of Colonialism***

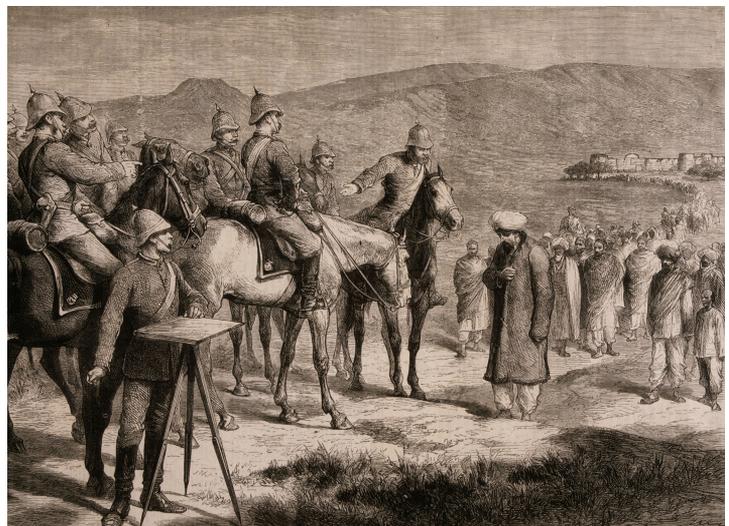
#### ***1- The Classical Capitalist Colonialism***

The history of capitalist colonialism extends to the years in which the bourgeois countries, with more or less ruling capitalist production relations, have emerged. The Dutch and subsequently the English colonialism are typical examples of it. The spread of capitalism in Western Europe, progress in transport technology and new trade routes have led to the colonization of the American continent and India. The military conquerors carried out the population and capital flow from the conquerer land immediately after conquest. The resources and wealth of the conquered country were plundered, domestic and foreign trade were taken over by the conquerer land.

The basic characteristic of classical colonialism is the political and economic leadership of the conquered country by the conqueror state. Of course, this does not mean that from top to bottom all governing bodies are taken over by individuals of the colonial state. It

is not possible to colonize without creating a native collaborating caste. There are two forms of classical colonial leadership. Firstly, a part of the population of the colonial country can be settled over and build a colony to lead the conquered land and its native peoples. Secondly, a small group of occupiers can exercise the leadership through a collaborative native interlayer. Australia, New Zealand, North America and South Africa belong to the first category. India and some other African countries belong to the second. In particular the English colonialists were specialists of the second category. They have led India with a small number of leading, official cadres. It is obvious that they could not have done this without a collaborative layer.

In the imperialist stage of capitalism, a few large imperialist states have divided the rest of the world. Almost the entire continent Africa was divided among the colonialists. Southeast Asia has also been split. Classical colonialism has become a basic form of imperialist expansion. The other capitalist states have fallen into a disadvantageous position in the colonial division. This inevitably led to a multiplication of the



colonialist wars and ultimately to world wars that broke out for the new division of the world by the imperialists.

#### ***2- Semi-Colonialism***

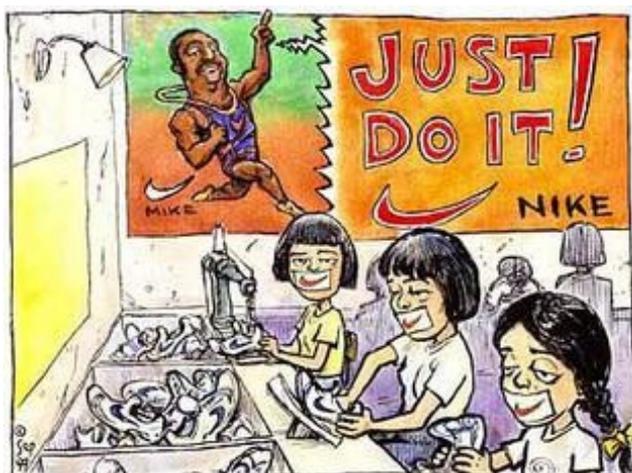
For some states, the power of imperialist states was not sufficient to conquer them, or their division for sharing would not have corresponded the interests of the imperialists. China and the Ottoman Empire are two typical examples of this. These states could not be turned into classical colonies, but became semi-colonies of the capitalist imperialists. Semi-colonized states are officially independent, but in turn they are under the command of one or a few capitalist-imperialist states.

The capitalist-imperialist states build alliances with the ruling classes of these countries, which have usually feudal character. The economic, financial and military dependency reaches such a level, that the leaders became marionettes of the capitalist imperialists.

In many respects there are similarities to classical colonialism. The imperialists do not rule the country directly, but, by force of their capital, they receive privileges for the exploitation of the wealth above or below the earth, like a colony. They open up new markets for their own goods, which destroy the traditional products of the region. By creating a layer of rampant subcontractors and traders, they form their social supports. They tie up the state administrators totally to themselves with the given credits.

### **3- Neo-Colonialism**

The development of the movement of the working class and its revolutionary impulses, the



revolutionary resistance of colonized or semi-colonized peoples and the formation of the USSR have shaken the imperialist monopoly of colonialism. Some of the oppressed peoples have freed themselves from the colonialist yoke. After the second imperialist re-division war, fascism was defeated, which encouraged the colonized peoples. Many countries have crushed the colonialist yoke despite all the cruel oppressive measures of the imperialists. Vietnam and Algeria are two main examples of national liberation struggles. The imperialists, who had understood that they could not prevent the passion for independence, have withdrawn from some areas and afterwards recognized independence. Thus the imperialist monopoly of colonialism was destroyed at the end of the 1960's.

In countries where national liberation has not been linked to social liberation and the struggle for independence has been won by the bourgeois class, capitalist development has taken place. Even though a bourgeois national liberation was obtained in these countries, the capitalist development had remained very far behind, the accumulation of capital was still weak, and as weak as the bourgeoisie, the working class was weak. These countries did not have a modern industrial infrastructure and the majority of the population were farmers. This is why it was not possible for an independent economy to develop for those who sought a bourgeois development.

Whether under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, or under petty bourgeois leadership, it is inevitable that the backward capitalist countries in which bourgeois development occurs, depend on imperialism. Money, commerce and industry accumulate in developed, capitalist countries. The possibility that a backward country creates a leap into the imperialist block in the stage of capitalist monopolization is historically overcome. The bourgeoisie, which would end the rule of colonialism, was forced to turn to the imperialist colonialists to stay on their feet and

enrich themselves. The imperialist colonialists, however, brought about conditions which kept these countries dependent. Thereby these independent countries were dependent on imperialism through thousands of financial, economic, political, military and diplomatic connections. Just like their economic structure, the political structure was adapted to the interests of the imperialists. This is the status of the neo-colony.

### ***The Difference Between Neo-Colonialism and Semi-Colonialism***

Capitalist imperialism collaborates with the regimes, for this reason also the rulers of the countries, that it has made to semi-colonies. The rulers are usually feudal class members. With these collaborative feudal classes, the imperialists form an alliance. Thus, in neo-colonies the rulers are usually those who destroyed the political rule of the imperialists and their collaborators, or those who took the lead, whereby the imperialists were forced to resign. These are bourgeois layers who have taken the path of bourgeois capitalist development. This is why their main purpose is not the preservation of feudal rule, as it is customary in half-colonies, but the stabilization of class rule by advancing in the "capitalist development" path.

In semi-colonies, proliferating subcontractors and traders are the local elements, which mainly support imperialist expulsion. In neo-colonies, on the contrary, the bourgeoisie has got own interests. Without the development of national industry and trade and without the expansion of the internal market, it is not possible for this class to survive. Instead of a group of proliferating subcontractors and traders, a class that has a certain capital power occurred and tried, even if it is slow, to develop an industrial infrastructure. This class is gaining more and more power. Similarly, the basis of a middle bourgeoisie emerges in the enlarged internal market.

In colonies and semi-colonies there existed or emerged the layer of a national bourgeoisie that opposed the imperialist rule. The contradiction of some parts of this national bourgeoisie with the imperialists gained antagonistic character after some time. It could become the basic political goal of this national bourgeoisie, to put an end to the imperialist rule and thus national independence. The national bourgeoisie of yesterday, which was against the imperialist domination, now develops after the seizure of the rule in the new phase of colonization, becomes a monopolist bourgeoisie, which collaborates with the growing imperialism.

The "national" bourgeoisie of yesterday divided into two main layers of the middle and monopolist bourgeoisie and their interests differentiated. Their political inclinations were inevitably changing in accordance with their economic interests. The middle bourgeoisie had a tendency to relatively restrict the monopolist bourgeoisie and the imperialist hegemony, to pursue 'national development' and a bourgeois-liberal program which included a land reform. The middle bourgeoisie had objectively no anti-imperialist character, because the national market can not expand without the imperialist market and the 'national development' interrupts after a period of time. For this reason the goal of the middle bourgeoisie differs from the one of the old national bourgeoisie. Their goal is not to end the imperialist rule, but to limit it relatively.

### ***The Decisive Influence of Political Confrontation To The Process Of Neo-Colonialism***

The law of unequal development in capitalism and the extreme accumulation of capital in imperialist metropolises have led to, that the countries which gained their independence from imperialism, have once again come to the agenda of imperialism. But after the founding of the USSR, the concomitant political confrontation

was just as decisive. It can be said that the political confrontation became even more decisive for some countries after the second imperialist re-division war.

Regardless of the economic interests of the ruling bourgeoisie, the rulers of these countries have been chiefly aiming to get under the protective shield of the imperialist bloc, led by the USA against the "danger of communism." This political confrontation has accelerated the phase of neo-colonialism. The economic order and political regimes of these countries have adequately restructured this acceleration. The military coups in many countries were result of this necessary restructuring. The coups in Iran, South Korea, Turkey, Indonesia, Greece and Latin America are examples of this.

### ***Some Characteristic Features of Neo-Colonialism***

First it was the goal of the colonialists to rob the wealth under and over the earth's surface of the conquered countries and expand the market for the merchandise trade. In the stage of imperialism, capital export has gained importance.

Capital export means to transfer the accumulated over capital of a country into the foreign market, in order to gain added value in the most effective and decisive way. The unequal development in capitalism reaches a new level in the stage of imperialism. On the one hand there is capital, which is looking for investment areas, next to the countries with very few capital, in which the inequality is deepening. On the other hand, the world market is divided among a few large imperialist states. In classical colonialism, it is the same hegemonic country that realizes the economic occupation and has political power in its hands. In semi-colonies and neo-colonies, the local collaborative class is a tool. The political and economic dependency is not a direct but indirect one.

In neo-colonialism, the most important forms of capital export are the debts of the states, direct capital investments and investment in securities. In these countries, the capitalist development has been left behind, which makes investment in securities unimportant. Private debt from abroad is also relatively small.

Two prominent forms of capital export are state debts and direct investments.

The states that give the credits impose conditions for the use of these loans. Under the conditions imposed by the creditor countries, borrowed loans are generally invested in military funds and other end products purchased from these countries. These loans are used to pay interest on debt.

Direct capital investments are used more for raw material production, trade and light industry. Investment in the heavy industry is very low. Direct capital investments are already beginning to build up, expand and deepen the dependency.

The imperialist states and monopolies do not want to export their modern technology. That is why technology is one of the means by which the countries are held under a yoke, because they do not themselves have these technologies. For this reason, obsolete technologies were transferred to neo-colonies in order to use it as a means of production of overvalue. The automobile production and production of white goods are exemplary. These technologies are no longer used in the countries previously used, but are still used as a means for monopoly profits in neo-colonies.

This gives us another characteristic peculiarity of neo-colonialism. National markets were protected with high customs walls. An economic order called import-substitution has established itself. Foreign capital was introduced with the help of collaborating partners. High customs walls afforded both the collaborating bourgeoisie and imperialist capital high monopoly profits in the national market. Currency trade was either

prohibited or subject to strict control. Laws for the protection of domestic money have been issued.

The special role of the neo-colony state for capital accumulation and the expansion of the national market has to be underlined. Because the accumulation of private capital was not sufficient, the state took a larger place in the economy. High capital investments, such as infrastructure construction, were carried out by the state. Large capital developed in the shadow of the state and with help and incentives of the state. All possessing classes are fed from top to bottom by state funds. The state's activities in the economy required a strict, central, political system. This centralization was in accordance with the interests of the imperialists, as it facilitated control over the neo-colonies.

Another characteristic feature is that, in the capitalist world, industrialized countries are distinguished from agriculture and raw materials. The industrialized countries represented the cities, while the others represented the villages. The main function of the villages was to satisfy the needs of the cities by procuring favorable agriculture and raw materials. With this division of labor, productivity was brought to the highest level and for the most favorable export goods, neo-colonies were specialized in the production of certain agricultural products or raw material production. For example, once 70 percent of the exports from Brazil and 79 percent of the exports from Colombia consisted of coffee. 88 percent of Cuba's exports consisted of sugar, 88 percent of Egypt's exports consisted of cotton, 58 percent of the exports of Malaysia consisted of rubber and Bolivia's exports consisted 76 percent of tin. 50 percent of Ecuador's exports consisted of cocoa, while 43 percent of Mexican exports consisted of oil. This one-sided economic development deepened the dependency. For the countries that are bound to a product, a price drop of these basic export goods in the world market meant destruction and the only way out of this



crisis led to new debts. Common apparatus of the imperialist states and monopolies, such as the IMF and the World Bank, lent the loans to strict conditions. In the countries which did not accept these conditions, military coups could follow.

The development towards capitalism was relatively slow in the neo-colonies due to the restrictions on international capital circulation, the low level of capital accumulation in the country, the limitation of industrial investment on the production of mainly consumer goods and the compulsion of agriculture and raw materials exports.

As it can be seen, the stage of capitalist imperialism has produced various forms of colonialism.

### ***The New Stage of Imperialism, Imperialist Globalization and Financial-Economic Colonialism***

In the stage of imperialist globalization, a new type of colonialism has emerged. Neo-colonialism was the product of conditions in which imperialism was forced to take a step back and to realize colonialism on detours. Strengthening national liberation struggles, the tendency of national development and the division of the world into a socialist and a capitalist block were among the most important subjective factors that restricted capitalism. When the Soviet Union succumbed to revisionism, the reality of "two blocks" has not changed. Even if the road to capitalist development has been pursued, the rule

of the imperialist economy and politics has been limited. Objective factors for the limits of imperialism include the 'national development', insufficient transport and communication technology, or the fact that monopolistic capital accumulation has not yet reached the level of conquering the world.

The monopolistic accumulation of capital has thus reached a point that it was no longer possible to continue the accumulation with the prevailing capitalist world order. The "two blocs" and neo-colonialism bordered the monopolistic capital.

As the objective boundaries have been overcome, the monopolistic capital has attacked the subjective boundaries with all its might. The progress of transport and communication technology has also made things easier.

All the barriers and obstacles that prevented the free movement of the capital had to be lifted. Capital had to penetrate into the country of its choice as much, as often, and in the way they wanted to, in order to disappear with the profit it has striven for. Wherever the labor force was cheaper, wherever there was more potential for market expansion, there should be free flow.

### ***The Difference Between Financial-Economic Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism***

This inevitably led to the fact, that economic and political systems of neo-colonies had to be restructured and the colonies had to be prepared for the direct conquest of monopolistic capital. The existence and strict control of the state within the economy had to be weakened. The walls for the entry and exit of the currency had to be reduced to a minimum. The subsidies in the agricultural sector had to be lifted. The price of labor had to be kept to a minimum.

All this meant a new type of economic and political annexation. Through privatization, the

economic reserves in state ownership should be transferred to monopolistic capital. While the central banks were privatized, they have been placed under the control of the imperialist financial institutions. From now on, foreign capital should enter as much and as often it wanted into a country. The imperialist monopolistic capital became henceforth an inner element. Its market relations could determine the value of domestic money or the bank rate. The more foreign capital flew into the country, the more favorable the foreign currency, the domestic money gained in value and the bank rates declined. Once the foreign money quickly left the country, the foreign currency became expensive, the domestic money lost in value and the bank rates rose. Because capital is concentrated and centralized in the hands of world monopolies, they also have control over the world market. Through various speculations and rapid entry and exit of the capital, they were now able to make radical shocks in one country.

Instead of 'import-substitution', the export-oriented economy took its place. The financial-economic colonies were henceforth the production and distribution bases of world monopolies. These countries were among the factories of the world. Production and infrastructure were built according to the interests of the monopolies. But the monopolies could at any time switch to countries where better conditions prevailed. Such a retreat could easily lead the country's economy into a crisis. At the same time, this situation led to the intersection of the interests of all the elements of the exploiter-bourgeoisie with the interests of imperialist monopoly capital. The capital oligarchy has merged with the imperialist monopolies; from the bottom upwards, the entire exploiting bourgeoisie has been attached. The withdrawal of foreign capital can also crush the middle bourgeoisie, which has become its supplier and subcontractor. When the export came

under the control of the international monopolies and their local partners, the internal market was left to the management of the autonomous companies which are ruled by the monopolies. The real commanders of finance, production and commerce are the imperialist monopolies and their partners.

The agricultural sector was also directly exposed to the international exploitation of capital. The small and medium-sized agricultural enterprises, important for the economy of the neo-colonies, were destroyed to a large extent. A part of small and medium farmers became workers without the support of the state, under the ruthless conditions of the market. Another part became dependent producers of agricultural monopolies.

Under these new conditions, the capitalist development of financial-economic colonies is more rapid than in neo-colonies. Even if this is dependent on the imperialist monopolies, industrialization increases, the level of workers and bourgeoisie is intensified. The distribution of the world in the form of cities and villages is overcome, the vast structure of the raw materials or the agricultural products of the export have changed, and in general the export is no longer predominantly linked to a single product.

Today, the financial-economic colonies are mostly no longer agricultural or commodity countries. Many of them have risen to industrialized countries. Their export mainly consists of industrial products. But the industry of these countries is under the control of international monopolies. The actual technology is in the imperialist country, where the monopoly capital belongs to. This is why the most liquid part of the surplus value flows to the imperialist monopolies. The exports of the financial-economic colonies consist largely of the products that the world monopolies have produced in this country. In fact, they are not the countries which make the exports, but international monopolies. For example, the products of the monopolies of the USA and

Europe, such as the brands Puma, Reebok, Adidas, Nike, H&M, GAP and Levi's, are produced the cheapest in Bangladesh and in Cambodia. In Cambodia, more than 350 thousand textile workers work under heavy and unhealthy working conditions, earning \$ 60-100 a month. The products are exported from here to the world market. Even if "made in Cambodia" is written on the product, the actual owner of the product is the exporting international monopoly.

### *Washington Consensus*

Some important impulses can be enumerated for the transition to the stage of imperialist globalization: the world monopolies have become a decisive force, which is a result and expression of the new level of capital accumulation and centralization; thus, the average profit margin has fallen and together with the "oil crisis", these three reasons have resulted in an extreme capital surplus. The profits in industrial products of big capital fall, which is why it plunders the accumulated value, funds and wages through financial capital.

In the end of the 1970s, the restructuring of the capitalist imperialist system has accelerated in this direction. The G7 Summit, composed of the leading imperialist countries, and the principles defined as Washington Consensus in 1989, were imposed upon the workers and neo-colonies, like revelations. These principles form the manifesto with which the neo-colonies should be transformed into individual financial-economic colonies.

These "principles" were as follows:

- 1- All the restrictions towards foreign capital shall be removed and freed.
- 2- Customs barriers shall be lowered to the lowest or nullified and trade shall be freed.
- 3- State owned economical enterprises shall be privatized.



4- State's expenses shall be limited, many state services (health, education, etc.) shall be opened to private capital investment.

5- Interest rates shall be freed.

6- Restrictions towards foreign currency incoming and outgoing shall be removed, currency rates shall be decided in the market.

7- Under the name of "tax reform", taxes on capital, especially foreign capital, shall be lowered to the lowest or nullified; indirect taxes shall be increased under the name of "spreading taxes in the basis" and the burden shall be saddled to the laborers' back.

8- Rules about the capital investment and circulation shall be lowered to minimum.

9- "Financial discipline shall be sustained", so state budget and expenses shall be organized and planned according to the needs and interests of the foreign capital; payback of the debts to the foreign capital shall be guaranteed and prioritized.

10- Property rights shall be taken under guarantee. The exact meaning of this is "banning the nationalization".

Only these ten points are sufficient to show that the neo-colonies are subjected to a political and economic annexation. In the stage of imperialist globalization, monopolistic capital itself is an occupying force which forces its colonies to act according to these principles and rules. Constitutions and laws of the countries are altered accordingly. The last word have the imperialist monopolies, the imperialist states, and the

international institutions, which have the task of acting according to their interests.

IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization are the international troika, which has the task to restructure the colonized states with these principals. The economic and political occupation by these institutions is guaranteed

under the name of "Structural Adjustment Program", "Good Adminstrating" and "Free Trade".

### ***Economic and Political Violence***

It would be an illusion to assert that financial-economic colonization always happens peaceful. Moreover, we must emphasize that economic and political violence, as well as military attacks and occupation are predominant. There is no doubt that in the interests of the collaborative monopolistic bourgeoisie, neo-colonies have to be transformed into financial-economic colonies. That is why this class readily participates in the colonization. The same can not be said for the state government. The restructuring of the state will take away many of their privileges. For some parts of the middle bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, financial-economic colonization entails destructive consequences. With the loss of many profits, the working class with the other laborer layers becomes a main potential of opposition force. Blackmailing and menace are the main forms of economic and political violence. Countries which do not agree in some respects are equated with this method. The sudden rise of "hot money" is a practical form of blackmailing and menace. Loan credits, direct capital investment in other countries, the distribution of notes in the name of international institutions and embargoes are among the forms of economic violence. For example, the prices of foreign currency are increased by a serious decrease in the flow into

the foreign exchange. In order to stop it and let the foreign currency rise again, bank rates have to be raised. For this reason alone, billions of dollars from the colonized countries are deposited in the cases of financial oligarchies. The debt of private capital, including that of banks, is largely based on foreign currency. The sudden and lasting rise in the foreign currency price can increase the debt in one fell swoop. The increase in the bid price increases the credit and production costs in the country. Even simple waves are sufficient to strike a blow to the bourgeoisie and its countries. "The way out" is the "structural reform" which is forced by the international imperialist institutions. If the resistance continues, the "crisis" is at the door. Undoubtedly, the crises are not artificial, but instead of helping, the imperialist institutions enter the swamp as soon as they resist. "Crises" are the safest way to take delivery of something. Thus, it is possible that laws that have not been passed in 15 years are passed as "15 laws within 15 days". Once the crisis begins, dependent countries quickly strike the bottom. If it is not a world economic crisis, the constant capital of the crisis country becomes "the commodity of a sinking ship" and is seized by the imperialist monopolies. This acquisition of ownership was slow in earlier times, but accelerates today. Local brands become the property of international monopolies and the domination of the monopolies strengthens itself. The South-East Asia crisis of 1997, the successive crises of Latin America and the crisis in Turkey 2001 are some examples of this.

Despite all this, hate campaigns, intelligence provocations, coercion to change government, military coups and military occupation are being pursued and applied to countries that do not want to accept the status of the financial-economic colony. These are some forms of political violence. Many examples of these forms of political violence can be enumerated in the world history.

In Venezuela, for example, many forms of political violence were applied simultaneously. The progressive, populist forces under the leadership of Chavez have resisted financial-economic colonization and have been declared "enemies of freedom and democracy". Oil workers and students were used for provocations, followed by a military coup.

The occupation of Iraq is an example of the highest form of political violence. Another example is Syria. The two countries have given free access to international capital. In certain areas, however, there was still "national control," while imperialist capital demanded complete submission. This is the real reason for the occupation of Iraq and the imperialist interference in Syria.

It can not be assumed that the imperialist states want to remain permanently in the occupied countries. This is both expensive and unnecessary. Their aim is to transform these countries into financial-economic colonies, thereby integrating them into the system of imperialist globalization. When this is accomplished, there is no reason to continue the occupation.

In some countries of the former USSR or in the states in its hinterland, governments have been brought to power by the imperialists. Together with them and with the colonial regimes under protectionism, which resulted from the decay of the old Yugoslav republic, the imperialist wants to



integrate these countries into the system of imperialist globalization. In the end, almost all of these countries are now integrated into the system.

### ***Regional Integration and Financial-Economic Colonialism***

One of the special features of the phase of imperialist globalization is the regional integration. Even if they are economic integrations, they also involve political integration in many respects. One or more imperialist states constitute the hegemony of this integration. The other countries which are weaker compared with then become financial-economic colonies. Many countries in the EU, NAFTA and ASEAN are in this condition or have been brought there. For example, Estonia, Lithuania or Croatia are real financial-economic colonies of the ruling states and imperialist monopolies within the EU. In these countries, most of the banks are the property of the international monopolies. Its central banks are subcontractors of the ECB. The growth of industrial production and exports is largely under the control of international monopolies. In reality, the situation in Greece is not very different. In Mexico or the Philippines, there is no other situation. Of course, it would be wrong to say that they are all the same. But the differences are quantitative. Qualitatively, however, is that they are under the financial-economic rule of the international imperialist monopolies and states.

### ***The Rearrangement of Classes***

The relationship between the imperialist states and also the order of the classes has changed with the financial-economic colonies compared to the previous phase of the Imperialism. The imperialist monopolies have turned indirect rule into a direct one. The imperialist monopolies are no longer "secret occupiers", but settled directly into the financial-economic colonies. This settlement is secured by international laws and institutions. The financial oligarchy of the past has been fused with these monopolies and the international

monopolies have merged with the domestic capital oligarchy, moreover, they are decisive elements of these oligarchies. The rest of the bourgeoisie will be part of this financial oligarchy. This is why the entire bourgeoisie is shaken, when the exterior capital flow ends or there is a drop in exports, because the whole local bourgeoisie is connected to the imperialist capital.

Of course there may be middle-classes swimming against the stream, but usually it is a transitional period or bourgeois who lost their old positions.

From the viewpoint of the laboring classes the situation has changed. The liquidation of small property owners and proletarianization has accelerated. A large part of the public services were market, which has increased one of the factors influencing proletarianization. Today the financial-economic colonies are identified more with proletarians and cities.

### ***Contradiction of Oppressor and Oppressed, Instead of The Oppressing-Oppressed Nation Contradiction***

In the new stage of imperialism, the workers and laborers in the imperialist countries are increasingly losing their privileges of the oppressive nation. With the abolition of the limits, the capital has raised the profit from financial industry and trade to a maximum. In these countries, armies of cheap laborers have been gathered, so that the workers of the imperialist countries can not even secure their former profits. Wages have declined, social rights are denied. In the imperialist states the working class is no longer part of the 'oppressive nation'. All the cream skinning of imperialist exploitation abolishes the monopolistic bourgeoisie and its adherent bourgeoisie. What remains to the workers, however, is even more impoverishment. That is why the relationship between imperialist countries and their financial-economic colonies is no longer that of an "oppressive nation," but of an

oppressive bourgeoisie. In financial-economic colonies, the imperialist monopolies, together with the bourgeoisies of these countries, benefit from the freedom of movement of capital, while the working class is becoming impoverished and unemployed.

That is why we can't speak of an "oppressed nation" on this front, but of oppressed workers, laborers, and other oppressed people. Instead of "workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" as the main slogan of this period, '**workers of all countries and oppressed, unite!**' takes its place.



# Imperialist Globalization and the Nation-State

## *The Nation-State,*

### *Product of Capitalism*

Free competitive capitalism period, became a period, in which bourgeoisie had founded nation-states in Western Europe.

Getting “sovereign” by economically building up, the bourgeoisie wanted to consolidate its sovereignty by taking over the political power. Inside, it tried to provide this in a struggle with feudal aristocracy, the former order's sovereign class. Also, it was struggling against the rival bourgeoisies to become the master of its own market, unrivaled dominant force. It can be said that, nation-state, was historically born from this twofold struggle of bourgeoisie as the new rising exploitative class. Bourgeoisie combined the historically formed territorial sovereignty with the concept of “nation”. While “nation” was being the legitimizer of the territorial sovereignty area by drawing the border of it, bourgeoisie as the nation's sovereign class was declaring itself to be the leader of the nation, defender and protector of its rights. Crowning its economical sovereignty with political sovereignty, the bourgeoisie declared the land piece which was seized as much as its power afforded, and where one or more national community had been living as its sovereignty area, made it its own national market by putting borders and customs, created a common country based on the citizens' law, by unifying the language, forming the national language and cultural unity. Its purpose was to strengthen its dominance by taking this country (here, it can be read as this market) under

protection against its opponent bourgeoisies from outsider-other nations, to achieve the most appropriate conditions for developing as a class.

“Nation-state” was the development program of bourgeois class staging up into history scene. It was spread from Western Europe to whole world. History, was marking the first period of the evolution of national movements.

Bourgeoisie, also led building the primary elements of national unity according to its class purposes. On nation-state wide, it was already developing the economical relations in the nature of its own financial benefits. From the top, by means of the state power, it was eliminating all the obstacles ahead of the development of economical relations. On top of economical relation's basis, national language unity and common spirit formation were being accelerated by the state. Thus, the bourgeoisie was improving the ideological and cultural conditions of stepping up as the vanguard force of the nation and convincing other class to it. As bourgeoisie was overthrowing the feudal sovereignty for this purpose, it wrote in its banner, the common national good of all classes of people, starting from the peasantry. Corresponding to this, it raised this slogan: “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!”

Because bourgeoisie could only overthrow feudal aristocracy's power by taking the support of these classes.

Whatever it says in words, liberty for bourgeoisie, in reality, was the liberty of property and the goal was to obtain a sacred immunity for the bourgeois property. Equality meant ending the private,

feudal, religious privileges of individuals and classes, it was the equality of citizens in front of the state.

Consequently, as a sovereignty apparatus of bourgeoisie, the nation-state cleared the way for the development of capitalism and forces of production by liquidating the feudal aristocracy's sovereignty and feudal relations, provided a big push for the development of capitalism.

Parliamentary republic (or constitutional monarchy as a form of it), became the prime form of nation-state.

Solidifying in the parliament, formations such as the principle of representation, the right of general voting, equal citizenship produced a social legitimacy for the bourgeoisie's class sovereignty, served for adopting the bourgeois class' state in the people's masses under the national shape and taking their support. Bourgeoisie took these forms from the city-states which they first emerged in the history. It applied democracy as the bourgeois historical type of it. It made democracy a tool to bound the people's masses to its class' state. However, let us emphasize, under the bourgeois nation-state, the right of general voting, peasantry's reaching land and freedom could substantiate only after people's classes' taking initiative and advancing during the bourgeois revolutions and afterwards.

Nation-state was the bourgeois state. *“This 'power' called state, like other exploiters, primarily, depends on the prisons, special armed man detachments, etc. under their control.”* (Lenin)

While still in the bourgeois revolution processes, those who wanted freedom, demanded collective property and equality of rights, women, vanguards of the women's liberation struggle were punished with death penalty and prison.



Especially as the menace coming from below rose, it resorted mass massacres against the working class and other oppressed. It was one of the most typical examples, it didn't hesitate to massively slaughter the rebellion workers remarking their independent class interests in 1848 uprisings which carried the bourgeois revolution forward again in France.

### ***Nation-State In The Imperialist Period***

*“Capitalism, during its development, shows two historical tendencies about the national question. First, it is the awakening of national life and national movements, struggle against all kinds of national oppression, creation of national states. Second, it is the development of all kinds of relations between the nations and inclination of it, dashing the national fences and creation of international unity of capital, generally, economical life, politics, science, etc. These two tendencies form the capitalism's universal law. In the first period of the development of capitalism, the first tendency is dominant, the second tendency is the feature of capitalism which is immature and heading towards a transformation to socialist society.”* (Lenin, Self-Determination Right of Nations, 6<sup>th</sup> Ed., p. 22, Sol Pub.)

Intensification and centralization of capital resulted in monopoly. Monopolies' getting dominant, capitalism as a system transformed into

monopolist capitalism, at a later stage of its development, monopolist capitalism raised up to the stage of imperialism. It tied all “national economies” to each other like the rings of a chain. The imperialist world system was formed.

In the period of free competition, bourgeois nation-state was the guardian of the bourgeois class' common interest. In the monopolist capitalist stage of imperialism, on the other hand, bourgeois nation-state became the guardian of monopolist bourgeoisie's power and interest, which was the rising sovereign class of the monopolist capitalism, it became a class sovereignty tool of monopolist bourgeoisie.

From now on, bourgeois state, was monopolies' and monopolist bourgeoisie's imperialist expansionist nation-state.

Each imperialist state, is the expansionist and world-wide sovereignty seeking tool of monopolist bourgeoisie which are monopoly groups realizing the production within that imperialist nation, financial capital groups, etc. Colonialism was the leading form of this sovereignty. As the big imperialist colonialist states were taking the places of past military empires by overthrowing their political sovereignty, they also made the colonialism which was limited in their predecessors, a world-wide phenomena. Colonialism's becoming a world-wide phenomena, is one of the basic qualities of capitalist imperialism.

Vast majority of world's peoples were under the economical-political-military sovereignty of a bunch of colonialist states. Constituting the bigger share of world in terms of population and land, colony nations were deficient of self-governance and self-determination right, they were stateless.

Semi-colonized nations have their own nation-state on the surface. But, they were economically and militarily dependent on imperialist finance capital groups. Former military feudal imperialist big states became subjected to

shaping dependency of imperialist sovereignty relation. Even, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was fallen, as a solution to national question, new multinational and single national states were founded.

Ottoman and Russian empires were overthrown, too. Russian Czarship was overthrown by revolution. Soviet Union and some bourgeois nation-states were founded.

Countries under the sovereignty of overthrown Ottoman Empire entered under the colonialist yoke of imperialist states.

In the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, evolution of national movements experienced its second period. Colonized nations liberation revolutions against the imperialist colonialism rose following the path opened by 'the October'.

Big victory of antifascist revolutions accelerated this even more. Colonialism went collapsing.

Imperialism responded to this by developing the new colonialist system.

New colonialist sovereignty of imperialism was a world system in which “independent” nation-states were held under control by a new kind of dependency to imperialist states in terms of finance, economy and military.

After the II. imperialist re-division war's ending, new colonialism became dominant in the imperialist world.

New colony countries politically own their “independent” bourgeois nation-states. Yet, like emphasized, they had financially, economically, militarily new kind of dependence relationship with imperialist states. This new kind of dependency for sure were different than classical colonialism and half-colonialism. Unlike the colonies, they had political independence, unlike the feudal sovereignty in the half-colonies, bourgeois class' sovereignty which was applying the capitalist development program, was formed.

New colonialism came in view within the process. At that period, there was a chance to progress in the bourgeois national developmental path without completely bounding to imperialist system. The reality of two camps, gave a chance to make political maneuvers as can be seen in the “nonaligned” movement which emerged under the conditions of power balance between the socialist camp (later revisionist camp) and the imperialist world. Only, whether they hit the road for the sake of “nonalignment” or “national development”, they are not fully independent from imperialism. Still, they were trying to stay away from the imperialist world system at some level and there were objective conditions for that. But it was inevitable for these countries advancing through capitalist development to integrate with the imperialism's new colonialism.

In this period when the integration of world capitalist economy was kind of getting prepared, actual circumstances became more conflicted compared to narrow borders of nation-state during the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, private property was maintaining the world's political system which was contradictory with the material basis in the form of imperialist and new-colony nation states.

As the Communist International's program from 1928 emphasized, in the imperialism stage, *“productive forces...have been (were) developed exceeding the borders of imperialist states and obligating the economy's organizing at an international scale covering the whole world”*. (Communist International, Documents, Belge Pub., p. 136)

This situation, was more obligatory especially in the new colonialism period.

### ***Nation-State At The Imperialist Globalization***



*“Bourgeoisie, by exploiting the world market, gave a cosmopolitan character to each countries' production and consumption. By deeply bemoaning the reactionaries, it wrested the national base from the industry's feet on which it was standing. All formerly built national industries were devastated and still are everyday. They were pushed from their places by the new industries whose establishments were a matter of life and death for all the civilized countries, by the industries which were processing not the local raw materials, but the ones brought from the far-most regions, and whose products were consumed not only within the country, but every part of the earth. (...) Instead of old local and national closeness and self-sustainability, we can see that multi-directional dependency was taking place.”* (Marx-Engels, The Communist Party Manifesto, p. 25-26, Sol Pub. 1<sup>st</sup> ed.)

Marx and Engels, put forth how the purchase of raw material and commodity export were irreversibly internationalized in such an early time like 1847. As if they saw the capitalist internationalization's today from yesterday. In the stage of imperialist globalization, internationalization of capitalism reached at its peak.

In the stage of imperialist globalization, high internationalization of production and economic integration were abolishing the material basis of nation-state. The basic practicing conditions of the process of production and circulation, the process of production and realization of surplus

value within certain limits were abolishing, capitalist cycle was getting independent from the wholeness of the land which is one of the basics of nation-state.

Economic integration process and high level internationalization, in reality, cannot engage with the national borders, they compose the integrated world's economic system based on all national economies reciprocal "dependence". It requires an "international state" form which plans the internationalized social production together and removes the obstacles against the development of production forces.

Nevertheless, elimination of the material basis of imperialist capitalist economy's organizing within the nation-state's borders, does not mean the elimination of nation-states under the capitalist conditions. On contrary, this threshold which the social character of the production had reached, made the existence of nation-state in various forms obligatory due to properties' private ownership. The main contradiction of the capitalism, continues to exist with the evolution of the nation-state. Imperialist capitalist order, stands in front of the production forces as an obstacle as much as the socialization level of them lets it. The obligation to sustain the nation-state whose material bases were abolished due to the private ownership of the properties; as much as the socialist production's concrete grounds' maturing under this socialization conditions, it sharpens the contradictions even more, deepens the circumstances of political revolution leading to socialism, the conflicts between the exploitive classes and exploited, the oppressors and oppressed, it melts the objective ground of middle bourgeois and other intermediary classes (starting from national independence-national development). As the nation-states do not melt away, imperialist competition among the states exacerbates, the struggle between monopolies and monopolist states each other and between the monopolist bourgeoisie and the oppressed and

exploited exacerbates. Regional integrations, become a general tendency to exit from this congestion resulted from the basic contradiction of capitalism.

In other words, a capitalism without nation-state is impossible. Surplus value is generated at the factory, but realized in the market. Acquired by the exploitation of the workers, how the surplus value's being shared among the bourgeoisie and transformed into profit, mandates a new robbery which will happen in the market. This compulsion is still embodied within the nature of commodity production: production for exchange, from the beginning, potentially contains the production anarchy. The competition law which is the elemental regulator of this production anarchy in capitalism where the commodity production has gained a general character, regulates the realization of produced surplus value as profit. Capitalism's main functioning laws; enforce another capitalist's existence for a capitalist and entail the polarization of these in different forms, while in other forms, they are unifying. To produce the surplus value, to realize it in various forms, to have a meaning of capital flow, different economic structures and states protecting these have to exist. Just like it is unthinkable of an inter-monopolist competition order which is not based on a structure of countless bourgeois suppliers and middle-small bourgeois producers, it is also unthinkable of an imperialist capitalist order without a political organization of nation-states and hierarchy of nation-states.

The level of intensification and centralization of capital, the development level of production forces and the level of socialization of production reach a quality level in which the world does not need to be politically divided, it provides economical integration and while it generates a political integration tendency, private property necessitates re-division again and again.

As the integration increases, imbalance-inequality also increases.

Imperialist states, the competing representatives and protectors of world's monopoly groups; appraise this material basis through integrating other countries' economies under their sovereignty by using financial/economic and military forces, each one of them for their own hegemony, they do and still are doing it.

Capital's and property's remaining private character, makes it inevitable that international monopolies and biggest one of those empower -rather than protect- the imperialist nation-states of the countries where they were born. Not only to protect their capital export and raw material areas, but also to guarantee the free flow of capital, to secure the zones where they realize the surplus value, where they have properties, world monopolies continue to depend on the bourgeois nation-state. Apart from these, it is obvious that, under the conditions in which the inequality grows extraordinarily, to suppress the uprisings of the workers and oppressed, bourgeoisie needs a much more powerful "security and control state".

Today, imperialist nation-states are much more enforced to be giant politic-military apparatuses of the competition over the basis of world's economy and the world hegemony, than the beginning period of imperialism. Moreover, even, the small imperialist states of the beginning of the last century, could play roles in the imperialist re-division wars beside the imperialist alliance groups and could find an opportunity to establish their own hegemony through colonies.

In the stage of imperialist globalization, next to the world monopolies' and groups' big military politic colossal state apparatuses, small imperialist states can only take part inside/beside of these grouping without playing an "independent" role. They cannot play a role which they chase their imperialist interests

on a world-wide scale, which they join the world hegemony "independently".

In the stage of imperialist globalization, for the sake of maximum profit of world monopolies and groups, imperialist states which are the representatives of them, are the iron and fire machines which they mount on the world economy and ride it running.

On the other side, with the high profits obtained from the colonies in the past, giving the concession of social rights to working class against the socialism struggle, the imperialist state, today, is taking these concessions back. It mobilizes all of its facilities in favor of the world monopolies' service, for the financial-economic-military needs to outmaneuver in the severe competition of the integrated world economy. Because regressed world monopoly, is not only regressing, also collapsing against its rival's power. For this reason, the imperialist countries' administrates' telling to the workers "if we meet your demands, there won't be a chance to compete" is not wrong. Under the circumstances where production and trade are carried out world-widely, costing prices' formation world-widely is also inevitable. A monopoly using lower-cost labor power in anywhere of the world can outclass the others. Because of this, lowering the labor costs and



liquidation of social rights became a general phenomena.

### ***Financial-Economical Colonizing And Nation- States***

Rising from the path opened by the October revolution, anti-imperialist democratic and national liberationists revolutions, caused the colonialism to collapse world-wide. Imperialist system, in these conditions, was obliged to the relations of new colonialism.

High level of internationalization of capital and production, simultaneously, occurring conditions with the collapse of Soviet Union centered revisionist bloc and the world revolution process' drawing back to the lowest point, brought the financial-economical colonizing corresponding to the stage of imperialist globalization.

Financial-economical colonialism, was shaped by greatly narrowing the new colony states' authorization for economical decisioning (on the basis of obedience obligation to the international bourgeois law) through restructuring them, by turning them into active tools of class interests of world monopolies, by giving their central banks under control of international financial capital and local capital oligarchy through the way of making the banks autonomous, by restricting the banks' politically local reactionary autonomy.

New colony bourgeois states continue to lose their national features by becoming the tool of financial-economic colonization and slaving political dependence.

States which resist to defend their peculiar regressive interests by behaving contrarily to this (Milosevic, Saddam, Esad, Kaddafi), are being taken down by the colonialist wars.

Imperialist states, are trying to surrender populist democrat or nationalist states and leaderships like Venezuela (Chavez), North Korea, Cuba, Bolivia, via methods of overthrowing with military coups

and war threats, and to integrate them to the imperialist world hegemony.

New colonies' capital oligarchies and bourgeoisies prime interest is on the side of the integration with the world monopolies. Because they want to grow their capital by taking a share from the surplus value realized in the market (although the rate of its share in the country's economy quantitatively declines). By drawing the direct investments of the world monopolies, they are expanding their capital with the shares resulted from being fason producers, trading partners, etc.

Although their dominance shares in the country's economy decreases, the benefit of increase in capital mass makes them fierce collaborators and more royalist than the king in protecting and defending the sovereignty of world monopolies and imperialist states.

Hence, these countries' bourgeois states undertake the function of being tools of financial colonization and fulcrums in the circles/politic-military guardians of global world capitalism.

Today, "nation-state" is the fulcrum of world monopolies and imperialist sovereignty, the politic-military tool, the protector.

This is the reason why the cliques autonomously behaving to defend their unique regressive profits inside the bourgeoisie of these countries and the governments insisting to maintain the old forms are enforced to be taken down by the imperialist states.

This situation points out that new colony states are completely losing their national qualities in the stage of imperialist globalization, yet as a nation-state in the imperialist system, they are being strengthened in terms of police and military force within the country and on the regional scale. One of the concrete proofs of this is ever-increasing army and police forces and budgets of "defense" and "security". Imperialist globalization, conditions not to liquidate the

nation-state system, but to protect it, because of imperialist competition's getting sharper. The global imperialist system can protect itself by policing-militarily strengthening the countries having different development levels and diverse national, cultural qualities via the capitalist nation-states unique to these regions.

Not solely the imperialist nation-states, but also the financial-economic colony nation-states need to be protected and policing-militarily reinforced. This is the reality of global imperialist era and this is done primarily for these reasons:

To protect the sovereignty and interest of world monopolies in the integrated world market. To secure the sovereignty of local capital oligarchies and bourgeoisies which have integrated with world monopolies. To supply additional military force in the competition of the imperialist power centers of the world exacerbating during the global imperialist era. To provide security to world monopolies' financial-economic colonization of each country. To protect the diversity of labor power market, to get the aggressive economic policies foreseen by the global imperialist system and the world monopolies applied. To suppress the uprising of working class and oppressed.

### ***Regional Imperialist Unities And Nation-State***

Today, economic regional imperialist unions, strikingly, are being developed. Imperialist states leading them, are trying to turn these unions into financial, economical, military trampoline board of outdoing the opponents in the world hegemony struggle and in the competition exacerbated in the global imperialist stage.

EU, NAFTA, ASEAN, Asia Infrastructure and Investment Bank and Shanghai Collaboration Organization are examples to this.

Germany and France, USA, China and Russia are the hegemonies and leaders of these unions. In other words, world monopolies' groups whose

interests are represented by these countries are the leaders of these unions.

As the most advanced example, EU is not only the trampoline board/habitat or the integration zone of German and French world monopolies. It is also the zone where these monopoly groups build the financial-economic siege while leaving the political administration mostly to the big imperialist powers of the regional union. This causes a change for the nation-state, actually originates the liquidation of national qualities.

This fact came into light with some concrete data during the world economic/financial crisis started in 2008. Council of Europe's and European Central Bank's deploying its officers to Greece and Italy as technocrat prime ministers, its dictating the economic/financial policies to be applied are some concrete proofs of this fact.

Regional economic integrations' progressing in the forms of more advanced political integrations is also within the possibility scope. EU, already consists of these kind of political integration from today. On the other hand, also inside these unions, their being a specific (for instance, NAFTA), or more than one (for instance, EU) capitalist groups'/nation-states' hegemony field and its shaping within the harsh hegemony struggles, cause the development of political integrations drastically slow and painful. However, in any case, even some of the economic integrations progress as political integrations or it changes its form towards the emergence of new multinational bourgeois state solutions in the regions where war/crisis factors intensively accumulate, the obligation of nation-state for capitalism is an unchangeable data.

Rising over the economic basis, while the political definition of the regional integrations is like that, ideologically, alongside the nation-state discourse, a more broad/regional, cultural/ideological "values" discourse's coming to the fore is the result of imperialist globalization's ground. As the

nation-state's bases are weakening like this, apart from the regressive-nationalist reactions which will be discussed below, the basis of gathering the working class and laborers, other oppressed sections under the “national flag” is widening to regional ideas and discourses.

Easternism/Westernism, clash of civilizations, opposition to Muslims, even like “Neo-Ottomanism” once AKP brought forth, production of more regional counter-discourses exceeding the national borders are resulted from this basis.

### ***Regressive Reactions In The Period of Imperialist Globalization***

Imperialist globalization's liquidation of the autonomy of nation-states tended to protect national and unique interests also unfolded some reactions against this.

Major ones of these are the ones raising the bourgeois nationalism under different names.

A longing for the conditions when there were more or less possibility for “capitalist national development”, moving from this, combining the reactions against the liquidation of national qualities causes regressive nationalism. This, can take different forms changing from country to country. For example, in multinational countries, chauvinism raised against the oppressed nations with the fear of separation is one of these. Formation of bourgeois nationalist fascist alloy in Turkey is an example of this. This tendency was also containing the reaction against USA and NATO at the same time. Despite the reaction against USA and NATO, chauvinist bourgeois nationalism called “ulusalcılık”, is characterized with the hostility to Kurdish and revolutionaries. *(Translator's note: in Turkish, to refer nationalism, the term “ulusalcılık” is preferred rather than “milletçilik”, especially regarding the nation-state based nationalism. The word “nationality” means “milliyet”, while the word “nation” means “ulus” in Turkish.)*

Nationalist Baath regimes, Omer El Beshir's Arab nationalism and molla regime's Iranian nationalism also have the similar regressive reactions. These, while having an autonomous attitude in the relations with USA and the Western imperialism and relatively “independent” policies, are actual dictators against the peoples and working class which they are governing.

Defending nation-state in the name of anti-imperialism, is clearly defending the reactionary dictatorships against the working class and oppressed. This kind of bourgeois nationalism and support to it became stiffly reactionary. In Turkey, nationalism (*ulusalcılık*) is practiced with the motto of protecting the progressive acquisitions of bourgeois republicanism, the nation-state and the republic, shortly with the idea of defending the nation-state against imperialism, but we know that it is carried out by defending the nation-state in the name of socialism.

Another type of it are panislamist movements. Although they confront with the US-imperialism on some occasions, they have antidemocratic, extremely aggressive and terrorist dictatorship policies against the people.

Bourgeois nationalist and religious ideological movements in this category, are trying to rest on the reactions against imperialist invasions, financial-economic colonialism, take these as their ground. Even, as can be seen in the examples of ISIS, Nusra, El Kaide, they are clashing some of the times against USA or this and that state's army forces which they see as an obstacle in front of their sovereignty goals. But, this does not give them an anti-imperialist, populist and democratic character.

The struggle against the occupation and military aggression of imperialist bourgeoisie, against the financial and economic colonialism is not only a struggle of oppressed nations anymore. It turns out to be the social emancipation struggle of working class and oppressed. This, is one of the

main results of imperialist globalization. And moreover, now, it is needed to update the emancipation goals of the struggle of the working class and the oppressed against imperialism, to progressively formulate them as compatible with concrete basis developed in the imperialist globalization period. Failing that, it will be fallen parallel with the regressive reaction against imperialism.

One form of progressive reactions against economic financial colonialism is materialized in the “populist patriotism” program and line of Chavez and Morales. This program and line's carrying a populist character and not satisfying with only the “independence” defense but aiming the regional progressive unions, are not coincidental. Its regional internationalist tendency, is the product of its being a populist democratic and progressive struggle movement. Populist patriotism program and line, can increase the strength of workers and oppressed, can empower their resistance, but still it is temporary, on its own, it does not have a future. Because, in the imperialist globalization conditions, it is not a matter of discussion that a policy which insists on the path of capitalist development, can get independence from monopolies, imperialist financial oligarchies; its rupture even for a short period is not possible. The most progressive application it can achieve, is to provide the usage of budget in favor of people, to put effort in taking social and economic precautions against poverty. Indeed, Venezuela or Bolivia, any other Latin America country, is in between the claws of imperialist financial oligarchy. Capital is under the insurance of this populist administrations with some restrictions in these countries too.

On the other hand, acting with the anti-imperialist-liberationists basic or practical programs, the progressive and revolutionary forces', including the FARC, tendency of upholding the Bolivarian continental unity flag is getting stronger. Or just as can be seen in the

Kurdish national struggles' improvement on the basis of regional revolutionary opportunities and towards the inclusiveness of region's peoples, it is also a general tendency that populist based national movements are developing attitudes which again, overcome the national borders -of course, with the power decided by their ideological stance- in the limited number of “classical” national questions taken over from the former periods of capitalism. Populist patriotism, is developing a tendency of transcending the national discourse and national projects with its direction to regional internationalism. This is also a product off imperialist globalization.

Imperialist countries' working class' yearning for returning to “national economy” in the struggle of protecting their social rights, their misunderstanding claiming they could protect their old life conditions with this way, is leading a chauvinist, bourgeois nationalist manner materialized in the hostility towards refugee workers, strengthens the fascist movements. In USA, in the past; citing to the tea boycott against the British colonialism, the Tea Movement, in European countries, massiveness of fascist parties and movements are based on this tendency. This tendency's concrete basis has almost entirely gone now. Today when the working class is removed from their position of benefiting from the advantages supplied by imperialist bourgeoisie in the metropolises, the movements aiming to retiring into the imperialist nation-state's shell, are defining the backward yearning and reaction, causing the reactionary fascist movements to create a mass ground.

Consequently, concrete basis led by imperialist globalization, results in a incompatibility of integrated capitalist world economy with the nation-states. World's working class' future governances, as the representatives of internationally socialized labor power, must aim an economy based on collective property and planning this together with international unities,

by that, must target to develop the production forces swiftly.

Today, world monopoly groups and imperialist nation-states are appraising this basis for their own world hegemony struggle. They turn the inequality of the nations accelerated by the law of uneven development of capitalism to a tool of their own sovereignty and regional aligning under their control. They take the other nations and bourgeois nation-states under the yoke of financial-economic colonialism. They throw the capitalist national development to the back of the history. Now is the time that the working class need to appraise the material basis of

internationally socialized labor power and internationally integrated economy by unifying other oppressed under its leadership.

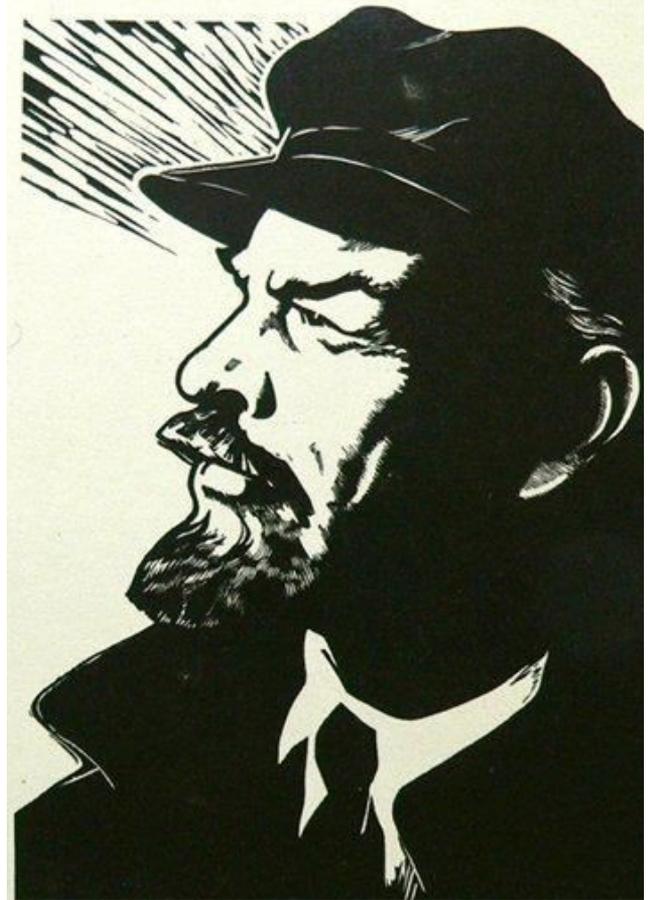
Having an intrinsically internationalist struggle since the past, the proletariat, while entering a warfare within the national borders in form and obligation, at the same time, has to transform this warfare, a regional one and a world-wide one too. This is the duty of the class conscious proletariat, to write in its banner that the union of internationalist federative, regional and world-wide proletarian states as a formation type, alternative to the nation-states.

## The Actuality of The October in Its 100<sup>th</sup> Year

"Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it." said Marx in Feuerbach's 11<sup>th</sup> Thesis. In this context, the October Revolution was the historical breakthrough of this action of changing the world.

In today's world where education and health services have been commodified, mass unemployment has become chronic, the most advanced products are the products of most brutal exploitation, the most barbaric racism has risen from the grave in the culturally most developed countries and imperialist plunder battles have become like beads on a string; the October revolution still is the symbol of a free and honorable life for the laborer and oppressed humanity, as well as peace, prosperity, solidarity and equality. Our planet earth is conceiving new Octobers, which will radically change its image of terrible inequality and injustice where only 1 percent of the population possesses more than half of total wealth, where on the other hand, half of the population does not even possess 1 percent of this wealth. Regarding this points, the October revolution is actual, more than ever.

Some may suspiciously question how the October revolution can still be current 100 years after it took place, and particularly, after the tragic collapse of the Soviet Bloc in '89-91. And this question may face the objection of many, either slightest ones by shrugging their shoulders or crudest ones with their swearwords. Or, for those who lost their revolutionary horizon and only have a 'literal' understanding of socialism, the October may only mean a nostalgic calendar page,



which is mentioned once in a year as a custom and mostly, on condition of keeping their distance from October's "extremenesses".

Let's put all post-Marxist, post-modernist or various post-garbage arguments which announce that preserving the aim of socialism is a sin after '89-91 collapse aside. But just as how much it is true that this collapse means a closure to a historical period of the struggle for socialism, it is as much as true that the October revolution is still symbolizing the emancipation path of the laborer and oppressed humanity, and continues to be a revolutionary enlightening source for the new historical period of the struggle for socialism.

The October was an historical event branding its stamp to whole century. With Eric Hobsbawm's words, it was the start of the "short 20<sup>th</sup> century" that was closed by the collapse of Soviet Union. If the Paris Commune was a kind of a snowdrop rising up from the whitenesses, then the October revolution would be a moment of historical leap, a



new breakthrough within the flow of history. To emphasize by referring Marx, it was the move of humanity “to exit from prehistory”.

Eastern European, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions entered from the historic gate opened by the October. It was this gate that transformed the age of imperialism into the age of proletarian revolutions. With all their successes and deficiencies, their victories and defeats, all those 20<sup>th</sup> century revolutions and socialist construction experiences triggered by the October, have prepared the conditions of actualization of socialism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. By taking Lenin as a reference, who was asking “*has it ever happened in the history that a new mode of production has taken root immediately, without a long succession of setbacks, blunders and relapses?*”, we can say that even if it reached a defeat at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the way that the October paved was a milestone for a new mode of production to root.

Couple of months before the October revolution, in April, Lenin was writing: “*Our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action, Marx and Engels always said, rightly ridiculing the mere memorizing and repetition of 'formulas', that at best are capable only of marking out general tasks, which are necessarily modifiable by the concrete economic and political conditions of each particular period of the historical process.*” It is this comprehension of theory as an action guide, which enabled Lenin to discover the genuine path of the October revolution.

Since Marxism is not a dead dogma or a complete and stable doctrine but a guide to action, the October revolution which made Marxism a worldly power, also can not be understood by being stuck with the analyses and viewpoints of its time. That is to say, the October is not a receipt or a template, neither it is a temple of revolution. What we need is the October's vivacious revolutionary essence.

In the October revolution and the experience of the Soviet Union, today's general theoretical and practical aspects of world revolution and socialist construction appeared. However, the practice of that time might be incomplete, or even wrong in some angles. Moreover, because of the aging effect of the historical flow, the practice itself might need to be overcome as well, even if it was necessary for its own period. If we hold it with a dialectic materialist perspective, our concern would not be having a divine loyalty to every practices of the revolutionary power of the October, but instead, being loyal to its living revolutionary essence, that is, to the cornerstones which are being embodied in the actuality of revolution today. Victory of the revolution and the construction of socialism will come true by stepping on these cornerstones, but definitely by finding new ways under new historical conditions. Plus, today's Octobers will achieve to proceed with even greater leaps, on the social material base that the imperialist globalization immensely brings up for the revolution.

It is neither possible to repeat the October, nor it is necessary. Changing status of the world, changing objective and subjective conditions of the revolution, different historical, social and cultural shaping of each country, and moreover, regenerateness of the revolutionary consciousness filtered through the experiments of socialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, compel every social revolution to discover their own unique paths. And for sure, development course of the world revolutions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will not be the same as it was in

the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But, the revolutionary essence that resides in the October will save its validity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, they are: the communist party and socialist revolution, the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, soviet democracy, liberation of the oppressed, abolition of the classes, collective property and planned economy.

### ***Prologue Of The Revolutions Of The World***

Actualized on the October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1917, the October Revolution was the star shell of the wave of world revolutions. The curtain of the First Imperialist War was drawn by the following revolutions which threw the 'glorious' crowns out to roll down in the streets within a series of European countries that became the weak links of the imperialist chain.

The October revolution was a historical moment that was grasped by the Bolsheviks through leaving their traditional perspective of revolution aside owing to Lenin's April Theses. There in the theses, the proletarian revolution which was thought to follow the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia was not tied up to the condition of a preceding socialist revolution actualized in Europe first, but on contrary, it was considered as a detonator for the European socialist revolution. Because, the Tsarist Russia, which seemed to be inadequate for the socialist revolution with its underdeveloped conditions of capitalism, was in the position of the weakest of the weak links with respect to its extremely sharp contradictions and growing class struggles that were conditioned by the imperialist re-division war. Thus, the October revolution broke imperialism from its weakest link. However afterwards, this wave spread from there, couldn't manage to leave behind another victorious rule of the proletariat in Europe and in couple of years, was suppressed by the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The world working class was split into two political lines. On one hand, there was the line of



the revolutionizing by force and building socialism through the proletarian dictatorship. Other pole was the line of waiting socialism through parliamentary and social reforms. The reformist worker's parties, which undermined and carried on the 2<sup>nd</sup> International, became the cursed firemen to extinguish the revolution fire in Europe on behalf of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary worker's parties on the other hand, founded the 3<sup>rd</sup> International. The global gain of the October revolution, The Komintern, was the central communist leadership of the revolutionary fight carried on each country, the unified commandment to set the world revolution, sort of a world communist party taking the united socialist republics of world in its programme.

The ability of the Soviet Union to survive and undertake the construction of socialism brought a new great social contradiction that became dominant over the whole world. Just as this contradiction between the capitalist states and the socialist state would become the basis for the Cold War, it would also bring consequences which can be traced by all world-historical events. Despite of the weakening and the abrasion of revolution's continuity, the Soviet Union was the epicenter of the workers and the oppressed from all countries, the agent of all progressive values and achievements of the humanity. Such that, it was this socialist stronghold of the October revolution again which saved the world from the evil Hitler fascism at the cost of its 26 million citizens' death.

In the historical conditions when the revolutionary wave in the world drew back and the

revolutionary proletarian power in Russia was left alone, the construction of socialism in one country became an unpostponable must and a genuine defense strategy of the revolution that Bolsheviks confronted. Even though this one country was actually a sum of a dozen of little republics with rich resources, the construction of socialism in Soviet Union had been bearing the inevitable restrictions raising from remaining within the borders of one country. Because ultimately, socialism's getting over capitalism was possible only if the international integration of the productive forces of socialism were actualized in a much more progressive level than of the capital.

After all, since the capital was still carrying its ability to carry out its historical function, which expressed itself in the development of the productive forces of labor, the imperialist bourgeoisie managed to prevent October Revolution's quake from destroying the European and American capitalism, as well as from the socialist revolutions to reach victories in some particular capitalist metropolises. Today in the capitalist society, which drags on an existential crisis due to the loss of that ability of the capital, along with the growing and sharpening contradictions between world monopolies and states, other contradictions such as capital-labor, state-people, oppressor-oppressed, became more violent and global than they have never been before. Today, the world's picture is not like it used to be, as where the imperialist bourgeoisie is

able to curb the working class of the western metropolises with portioning the incredible surpluses obtained from the colonial plunder and so the revolution would not only come out from where the productive forces are underdeveloped. In the capitalist world caught to an existential crisis, the capacity of the bourgeoisie to smoothen the contradictions through concessions and maneuvers are weakening to the utmost. While the path to move forward with reforms is congested, the revolution emerges as the only way. Thus, each country today is the potential weak link.

Unlike 100 years ago, today's capitalism is a social formation dominant over the whole world. The level of unification of the world market and of internationalization of the productive forces have created the *world factory* and the *world worker*. Even the farthest corners of the world are connected tightly with the progress of transportation and communication techniques. It was not possible even to imagine such fast organizing international action days mobilizing millions of people at the same time and with the same demands.

The imperialist globalization stage, which undermines the basis of concrete social conditions of bourgeois states to exist separately, is making the world revolution and a global construction of socialism more possible. Indeed, the socialist revolutions will one by one burst out in each country and follow an unequal development, but the unified character of it will be stronger and hence will not be so easy to prevent a revolution standing against the dominance of capital from triggering others in different countries. This means that, when compared to 100 years ago, the social material conditions get extremely strengthened for the establishment of regional democratic and socialist federations as a product of the accumulated objective conditions of possible regional revolutions, and for the socialist



construction which will progress through unified regional forms.

### ***The Construction Of Socialism***

As a concrete and current incident, the October Revolution was an attempt to actualize workers' and peasants' demands of peace, land and 8-hours-workday through overthrowing the existing power. But as a social and historical incident, it was carrying the perspective of collectivization of the private property, abolishment of the exploitation of the laborers and gradually extinguishment of the class distinctions by ending the capital relations. In that sense, the October was the proletariat's attack to the socialist construction.

For the proletarian power, the socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture were not only a question of a general socialist principle, but as Stalin put forward, these were matters of do or die. The possibility for the Soviet Union to survive and develop against the imperialist siege was depended on this fact. In this context, from the mid 20's until mid 30's, the Soviet Union had managed a huge social transformation in 10 years. By means of the solidarity and deep sacrifices of the working class, the economy had reached to an industrialized basis which depends on the collective property. Against various difficulties and sufferings, the partial form of the petty production in agriculture, had been reached to a centralized form, through the collective and governmental farms; the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In 1920, 80 percent of the population was consisted of peasants and craftsmen, whereas in 1938, the rate of the waged and salaried laborers in the population increased from one-to-tenth up to one-to-third. Between 1926-1939, rural population decreased 5 percent, whereas the cities doubled.

Unemployment was abolished. The rights of free education and free health-care together with social insurance and cheap accommodation for each



laborers settled. Those introverted communities living in the steppes of Middle Asia or icecaps of North-east under primitive conditions, gained a modern feature in 10 years by benefiting from all these rights. With a true cultural revolution, the society, which had an 80 percent of illiteracy before, was transformed into an entirely literate society which is also closely interested in art, literature and politics. All of these developments were the historical and revolutionary achievements of the October Revolution.

Millions of people living in USA and West Europe, which were suffering from the mass unemployment and poverty due to the general crisis in 1929, were admiring Soviet Union which had secured the employment, education, health, accommodation, and food. The success of the proletarian power was in fact quite simple: production for peoples' needs not for the surplus, economical growth; for the social wealth, not for the accumulation of capital; collective and centralized economy instead of a competitive market economy.

The October Revolution had shown the world that the bourgeoisie is just unnecessary. It proved that the economy can be organized without the capital relations, the organized forces of a centralized planning can overcome the blind forces of the market, and laborers that are dragged into poverty by the private property can share the wealthiness of collective property. The October was the construction of a free and honorable life for the laborer humanity. Those facts which seems that the revolutionary government of the October Revolution couldn't manage to extinguish the market entirely or bring the centralized planning to perfection and develop the productivity of labor up to a level supplying the needs of all people or transform the labor into joy, were all because it had been left alone with its own limited forces of production under the siege of imperialist capitalism. Nevertheless, actualizing that kind of a massive social transformation was the unique success of October Revolution marked in the history.

Lenin said :“no socialist would refuse to admit the obvious truth that between socialism and capitalism there lies a long, more or less difficult transitional period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the forms this period will take will be determined to a large extent by whether small or big ownership, small- or large-scale farming, predominates”. Thus, it is for sure that today's socialist construction would have different forms than it used to have 100 years ago. When it is considered in a global extent, we see that in an aspect, the market is being abolished by the monopolized capitalism itself. The productive forces which are being choked under the suppression of the capital, are in fact well developed enough to realize a production to supply the basic needs of everyone. Each world monopoly within themselves, is planning and organizing an economy which is equal to those of intermediate countries. This fact allows us to see that the capital itself is strengthening the social

basis that needed for socialism, the lower phase of communism. Technological developments happening in the fields of computer, informatics or the robotics are preparing the concrete conditions of a more developed mode of production, that is, transferring the productive power of labor entirely to the machines.

In that sense, to unite and collectivize the partial and micro production of peasantry and small artisans for the socialist construction will not need to follow that much painful and crinkled process today, where the monopolized capitalism itself actualizes this socialization under the sovereignty of capital in a destructive form of expropriation. A revolution wave seizing the capital of 500 world monopolies having a total annual return of close to the half of gross world product, would automatically collectivize the major part of the market and the private property together with restricting the realm of meta production and market relations

That is to say, today's world of imperialist globalization where the chronic extreme capital surplus does not meet with the extreme labor-power surplus, where the gap between poverty and richness deepens in a most cruel way, where the capital keeps on plundering the nature in an extent to destroy the planet, the need of humanity for socialism stands as an objective reality more than before, independent from whether the subjects of socialism have reached to a general consciousness or not.

### ***Proletarian Dictatorship and The Soviets***

The political power of the October revolution was the proletarian dictatorship. Revolutionary proletariat applied its power, its dictatorship on the exploiters and the parasites of the past society which it ended. Because the only way to transform the product of the labor into the common wealth of the society, thus by collectivizing the ownership of the production tools, the only way to get rid of the relationship in

which humans exploit one another was to forcefully suppress the resistance of the capital owner exploiting minority and their counterrevolutionary henchmen.

The proletarian dictatorship founded after the October became the revolutionary tool of the harsh class struggles between proletariat and bourgeoisie, socialist way and capitalist way, uninterruptedness of the revolution and defeatism of the counterrevolution. Revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat was identified with removal of the remnant laws of bourgeoisie or tsardom, equality of the workers and the oppressed, overpowering the counterrevolution laying eyes on its freedom and the civil war's reaching to victory, collectivizing the private property and giving an end to the class existence of exploiters.

State organs of the proletarian dictatorship were the soviets which had been born during the 1905 revolution in Russia and taking the stage again in 1917. The proletariat, headed not to take over the bourgeoisie's old state apparatus and use it, but rather to destroy it and establish a new state apparatus. The October was the worker and soldier soviets' taking over the political power. Having the dictionary meaning of council or assembly in Russian, the soviet was not only a Russian event. Because the councils featured as the rebellion and power organs of the workers, popped out in all the countries where the revolutionary fire set on during the same years, from Germany to Italy, from Hungary to Austria and to Finland. As a revolutionary power organ, the soviet was taking the basic organizational principles of the commune, which made the first trial of the proletarian power in Paris a half century before, as its guide: disabling the chosen political representatives' earnings being more than the average wage of a worker and being able to recall them at any time.

Soviet power became the realization form of proletarian democracy. Unlike the bourgeois

democracy providing a formal equality of the political rights, but in reality equaling the riches politically, the proletarian democracy made the workers and laborers the real owners of the new style state. Lenin was not talking about the armed workers taking place of capitalists and their officers for no reason. There, since the first days of the revolution, hundreds of thousands of workers and poor started to undertake the central works of the power and the local administrative tasks. Covering throughout the country like a web, and reaching the number of 60 thousand in the end, the soviets were also including the decentralized style in the political administration on local level. Soviet power gave life to a real democracy for the vast majority of the society, secured the freedom of belief, supplied the complete equality of rights of the nations.

Soviet system was carrying the nucleus of the termination of the governing-governed conflict. Because this model, had the skill of luring all the laborers to the state administration, thus putting the basis where the state diminishes down. However, the erosion of the functioning of soviets as the real power organs with time, their kind of transformation into side wings of the party which collected the governing power in its hands progressively and became identical with the state, these facts may be the compensation of overcoming the extreme challenges which the revolution faced. Weakening of the consistency of the revolution also found its response in narrowing of the field of argument and criticism freedom, which was the primary support of the masses' coming to power, and proletarian democracy's being deformed. Soviets' this historical adventure proved that the proletarian dictatorship also had to be active in creating the revolutionary subjectivity of the working class with the socialist democracy mechanisms as much as when it played such an active role in liquidating the exploiting classes with its revolutionary force quality.

Organization of revolutionary power constituted of assemblies on each level today is still the political model to conclude the social emancipation of the working class and the oppressed. Besides today, maturation of transportation and communication techniques this much, increase of the working class' not only quantity but also intellectual capacity incomparable to 100 years ago, far better possibility to strikingly reduce the workday time and save time for worker to join the politics bring the result that widest sections of the laborers now become more inclined and willing to take up the political management functions in the assemblies. In the situation where alternatives to the understanding of representative democracy are being produced along with the crisis of the parliamentary bourgeois democracy, organizing revolutionary power reflects the political will of the working class in more direct forms. Concreted in the soviets but also carrying the direct democracy seeds within, the representative worker democracy this time have the chance to turn into the direct democracy of the working class. The possibilities of less bureaucracy and more people contribution, achieving the slogan of "less state more society" has never been more aggregated. Under this same conditions, the level of centralization of capital and creation of world monopolies with the imperialist globalization is objectively contractionary for the proletarian dictatorship's movement area to use force, but it will as much as a shortener for it.

### ***Working Class and The Oppressed***

The October revolution, with the shortest definition, was the victorious move supplying the working class to take the political power. Condensed in the factories established in the capitalist islands in the middle of a immense sea of peasantry, gaining the experiences of tough class struggles in its short history and increasingly meeting with the Bolshevik's unique leadership ability of foresight, the Russian proletariat did not

only spearhead the February bourgeois democratic revolution, but also achieved to move on to the socialist revolution.

Constituting of only 10 percent of the population of the Tsarist Russia, the proletariat, in a way, owed the October victory to its alliance with the poor peasantry. And the proletarian power, as a first job, tended to guarantee the freedoms and equal rights of oppressed class and strata, oppressed nations and religious communities, oppressed genders and sexual orientations. The proletariat, thus, was defining the content of the mission of the emancipation of all oppressed in its own action.

Still, the proletarian power in Soviet Union had to live through and stand to the dramatic ups and downs, deep pains, tragic sufferings of the existence in a country of petty bourgeoisies. The difficulty and tension of collectivizing and centralizing the small and scattered peasantry production just to feed the cities, the revolutionary struggle waged for this was intense. The activity of the market based on the petty production of commodity, at the same time, was the source of the dominant color of the petty bourgeois person typology. Telephone central officers, industrial facility technicians, even middle school teachers were the members of an intermediate strata being an extension of the bourgeois class with their privileges compared to an averaged worker. It was possible to trail the conflicts between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie all along the revolutionary social transformation process.

Today the capitalism is sovereign all over the world and the workers are the most crowded class. The population of the cities has left behind the rural population worldwide. Imperialist globalization has given rise to direct consequences like broadening of the ranks of the working class to the utmost, narrowing of the angle difference between the physical labor and the mental labor, transformation of the yesterday's self-employed freelances into waged workers. The

working class of the imperialist countries, whose composition has changed by the immigration and whose internationalist character has strengthened and which has been losing its rights one by one after the neoliberalism razing the “welfare state” into the ground, has also objectively dissociated with the imperialist oppressor nation. In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there is a much more stronger working class in the world.

In the stage of imperialist globalization, the sovereignty of the world monopolies, the production and internationalization of the circulation of the capital have left the petty property owners in all countries face to face with the reality of fast dispossession and impoverishment. Middle classes have tended to dissolve, small tradesmen have dragged to extinction, peasantry have quickly liquidated and pushed to the ranks of the proletariat. Student youth have been deprived of the opportunity to move up the social ladder via education. While there is no wide petty bourgeoisie left behind unlike a century before, there has been no chance left for the petty bourgeois strata which is trying to survive currently to create itself a living space under the monopolist capital relationships. Imperialist globalization, has pushed the other oppressed classes and strata having contradictions with the order of world monopoly and bourgeois state, to share a common fate with the working class. Thus, the working class' gathering other oppressed class divisions which also lost its capacity to apply its independent class program as it has got weakened, around the program of socialism has been grown as never seen before.

Marx and Engels' motto of “workers of the all world, unite!”, with the transition of capitalism to the imperialism stage and its bringing the uprisings of the oppressed nations into question, had been changed to “workers and oppressed peoples of the all world, unite!” with Lenin's foresight. This motto, was the summary of the October in a sense. Today, the motto of the

imperialist globalization world has become “workers and oppressed of the all world, unite!”.

### ***Epoch of Women's Liberation***

The October revolution, recognized the right to vote and stand for election to the women, which was recognized in France 150 years after the 1789 revolution, since day one. While it immediately removed women-men inequality and all the laws giving men privileges, gender equality secured in the legal structure. Equal pay for equal work has been brought, marriage-divorce law remade.

Proletarian power's each step towards collectivization of the property was carrying the feature of attacking the historical basis of women's enslaving. Millions of women's attracting to the waged working and literacy campaign, relieving them from the religious pressure which was pushing them out of social life, were among the significant blows of socialist revolution against the male dominance. In 1955, half of the university students were women. Socialist construction process was including founding and spreading crèches, launderettes, eating houses, created the social basis for women to get out of the household chores' press. Lenin was saying “every women cook can get on with the job of state administration”. On one hand, bourgeois feminist movement's demands based on gender equality were included, on the other hand, women's liberation was perceived as the main component of the social liberation. Whereat the October became both the fruitful soil where sexual revolution's theoretical views sprout, and the historical passage for the practice field.

Accepting women's equal rights in every field, even ending the capital relations and exploitation did not mean yet achieving the women's liberation completely. Ultimate solution of the social gender contradiction requires both changing all the social culture filled with male dominance and wiping away all types of social labor division between men and women, and all types of family structure. The entrance of October to the sexual revolution,

could not prevent the settlement with the serious limitation of the women's taking decisive positions in the politics, gearing back from the freedom approach in the start towards LGBTI's or sanctification of the family which it undermined in the first place, with a "socialist" mark on it, to sum up, it could not prevent the male dominant understanding's slowly raising its head up again in the socialist construction. Still, with the vanguard ranks it created in women's liberation, the October revolution paved the steps of changing the patriarchal face of the world.

With the struggles they waged so far and the right they gained, the women, of course, have reached to a position way ahead of their place 100 years ago. However women, no matter how much it split apart from the personal dependence to men at home or at work, on social level, have become an object for the dominant manhood, their body has become a commodity being a topic of capital investment.

Today when women's gender identity is binded as the object of manhood on social base, when all the womanhood is commodified and presented to the plunder of the capital, for his reason, when the feminist program standing on the line of capital relations are expired, women's liberation struggle against the male sovereignty and the proletarian liberation struggle against the capital sovereignty have never been more integrated than before. As reaching to the limits of women's liberation in the order of capital, twofold character of the social revolution, meaning the unity of the proletarian revolution and the women's revolution, has crystallized. Now, a socialist women enlightenment and a women revolution aspect are on the stage which is internalizing the revolutionary acquisitions of the October, but criticizing and surpassing it.

This means, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, socialist revolution's developing also as a women revolution and the social basis' being realized by women's taking the vanguard in the socialist

salvation which will wipe away the gender inequality and oppression together with all of their roots, have ripened enough.

### ***The Solution of National Question***

The October revolution managed to transform Tsarist Russia's lands, a prison of nations, into a garden of freedom for the oppressed nations. The revolutionary power created by the October was not only the actualization of the common socialist perspective that links national liberation to the social liberation, but also bringing the genuine model of colonial nations' liberation into being.

For the communists, the principle of the right of self-determination of nations was meaning the recognition of the right of the colonial nations' founding their own independent states. In a land where there were more than 60 nations and national communities and where 130 languages were spoken, the Soviet Union had become a federation of the 16 union republics with equal status and the right to secede. Along with these federal republics, the political system, formed as 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions and 13 national regions, enabled the autonomy and the democratic self-governance of all national communities. The freedom of all languages and the education in mother tongue were secured, and the opportunities for each language to flourish were provided. This sovietic voluntary unity based on full equality of nations had shown the true path of liberation, the practical example of the most advanced attainment of national freedom to the other oppressed and colonial nations.

The rule of the revolutionary proletariat adopted it as a principle to support the struggles of the oppressed and the colonial nations in every corner of the world. By describing these struggles against imperialism as the main ally of the proletarian world revolution, Lenin was saying: "workers and oppressed peoples of all world, unite!". The national independence struggles, which were influenced by the solution of the October for the

national question and even were directly supported by the revolutionary power of the October, turned into a wave of national revolutions and independences of colonies that buried the imperialist colonialism in history. While capitalist imperialism had to recognize the transformation of former colonies into independent states, it found the way to render them again economically and politically dependent in neo-colonialism. It was no coincidence that some of the new states of the nations that gained their independence were clustered around the Soviet Bloc, or they maintained at least friendly relations with Soviet Union even during the Cold War.

In the stage of imperialist globalization on the other hand, which conditions all capitalist countries to be fully integrated in the same world market and world monopolies to become internalized into the economical-social structure of each capitalist country; anti-imperialist struggle is joint with the anti-capitalist struggle and objectively intertwined with it. Thus, while the extent of the national question is getting mainly confined to a small number of countries which are still under the colonial yoke or imperialist occupation, the path of the national capitalist development based on independent bourgeois state-formation is historically closed.

Today, national liberation for colonial countries can only succeed in remaining independent from imperialism if it is bounded to the social liberation and becomes part of the socialist world revolution. The eroded social material basis of different nations' separate political-governmental existence makes the equal and voluntary political unity of nations much more necessary than ever. The Soviet Union's socialist solution model for the national question now symbolizes the only tested and valid way for the oppressed and colonized nations' liberation.

### ***And The Party***

The October revolution was the action of Bolshevik Party's willpower. It was the Bolshevik Party that did its theory, established its political plan, and carried out its practice.

According to the outdated leaders of the II. International, the development level of the productive forces in Tsarist Russia was not sufficiently matured for the socialist revolution, furthermore it was impossible to start socialist construction in backward Russia without the direct assistance of the advanced European proletariat. And when the revolt erupted in European countries with its matured productive forces, these leaders were all in a race to stop the masses of revolutionary workers, and even worse, to suppress them. As well as the October revolution broke the European social democracy leaders' frame of Marxism, like Kautsky's, it became the trigger of new types of revolutionary parties of the proletariat to emerge on the stage of history.

Determination to seek and actualize the means of the revolutionary act and socialist construction even in the most unfavorable conditions was immanent to Leninism and to the Bolshevik Party. The party did not have the chance to choose the conditions of making history, thus it attacked the given conditions. In a sense, the October was the embodied form of this consciousness and spirit of attack. A party whose ideological-political line was crooked by opportunism and whose organizational structure turned into a mess of fractions, who got stuck to dogmatism in the theory, could not be able to lead such a historical event that shook the world like the October revolution. More precisely, the October revolution would not have been actualized by such a party. Because, as being a common feature of all socialist revolutions, the October itself was the action of the vanguard will identified with the party to organize an extraordinary moment of rupture in the ordinary flow of history.

Lenin's party was the communist party of Bolsheviks whom were devoted to the revolutionary action of the working class, the vanguard agents carrying the revolutionary consciousness to the class from outside. Carrying the consciousness from outside was not something only characterized with the intellectual duty of the professional party cadres by spreading the class consciousness among workers, but more importantly, it was defining the duty that is outside the economical struggle, meaning outside the spontaneous consciousness field based on the worker-boss conflict, duty of carrying the political consciousness of all social-political struggles to the workers. The party was a tool primarily for this duty. And following the October, it was the political crucible of revolutionary action of the workers mobilized for the socialist construction.

Since the party is that much decisive, it was also the critical ring for the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The appliance of the proletarian dictatorship, the construction and the defense of socialism took place under tough conditions characterized by civil war, imperialist siege, Hitler's attack and second imperialist re-division war, Cold War and extreme sacrifices of the Soviet peoples. Under these tough conditions, the party could not manage to avoid being dragged into a self-aiming existence. Hence, the breakage of the will to create a revolutionary way in 1950's and domination of the modern revisionist aberration symbolized with Khrushchev brought the result of drifting apart from the October's socialist route. Bureaucratic degeneration in the party and the state was thereby flooded out. In the end, the party line embracing reforms instead of revolution, making historical concession instead of surpassing capitalism, and preferring marketing instead of planning, conditioned that great country's completely falling in the claws of capitalism through the loss of the last remnants of the October and its tragic collapse of '89-91.

Today, while the ideological hegemony of bourgeois is cleared in the air, the party is the revolutionary response to the depression of consciousness that the working class and the oppressed are passing through. It is again the party which will carry the consciousness of the alternative to capitalism "from outside". The answer to the international or the local mass movements' seeking for "another world" growing against imperialism and capitalism is new Octobers, and the key for this answer is communist parties. For revolution and socialism in the 21st century, the need for the party has not diminished, but rather increased.

Party is the vanguard force, that will lead all struggles to unite with the goal of social revolution against chaining of the oppressed with slavery yoke, against the cruel exploitation of labor by the capital with its endless appetite, against its furiously dragging the nature into extinction and against the plunder of women identity which is commodified on social level. Historical experience has put forth that a communist party in power should be organized in differentiating forms than a communist party struggling to take the power; otherwise the party would not be able to protect the communist route which would ultimately cease the proletarian state together with the party itself. Easier to say than do, as it has been 100 years, the first and the deepest link binding the party to the October and the past to the future is the comprehension of the actuality of the revolution. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century when the phase of imperialist globalization is calling the world revolution onto the stage of history, the party destined to discover brand new routes for the aim of new Octobers, will march forward to the victory of revolution and socialism by equipping with the October's lessons, successes and congestions, with the notion of its surges and breaks.



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RED DAWN

14

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