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Only the united struggle of the peoples can defeat fascism

Before the earthquake of February 6, 2023, the elections determined the entire political atmosphere and socio-political developments. The earthquake created a new political conjuncture.

Almost two months after the earthquake, the political struggle is now being waged with a new social consciousness.



"The government must resign" is the most advanced slogan echoing from soccer and basketball stadiums across the streets and squares, reflecting the political consciousness that has emerged from this process.

In all areas of political struggle, especially in the earthquake zones, the contradiction between the state and the people is evident in various forms of protest and action. The earthquake is reflected in all the dynamics of the people and in all the agendas of the political struggle from 8 March to Newroz. It is important to see that the same dynamics act as political catalysts of the electoral process.

The aftermath of the earthquake shaped the content of the March 8 demonstrations. The democratic women's movement made the earthquake the object of political action. On a series of determined and mass actions, the women's

movement demonstrated its mobilization potential against the fascist regime-in-chief. It focused the political perspective and direction of the contradiction between the state and the people on the fascist regime. With the awareness and attitude "We will not forgive, we will demand accountability", women gave the necessary answer to the fascist chief who shamelessly asks for forgiveness.

With March 8, the political movement of the spring grew. A demonstration in the earthquake-hit area of Samandağ, Antakya, where women marched with the slogan "Our mourning is our rebellion" had special significance. The march with the symbolic branches of laurel, rowans and incense in their hands and the Arabic slogan "We are here, we are not leaving" indicates a new socio-political attitude. This action, organized on the 40th day of the earthquake and initiated by women, illustrates the politicization of people who have lived out their religious, cultural and national rituals on a political level. Due to the conditions created by the earthquake, these actions take a political form. This is not an act of mourning, but rather an act of protecting one's identity and existence. It is an open resistance against the fascist regime's attempts to impose a demographic change in the earthquake area, thus disintegrating the social structure

of Arab-Alevite people and assimilating them.

March is a revolutionary barometer and the pulse of political struggles is measured by the demonstrations for Newroz, in addition to March 8. Newroz has always been a process of political revival that renews enthusiasm for the struggle, strengthens determination and increases courage to fight. All the subjects and dynamics of Newroz 2023 mourned the dead of the 2023 earthquake and carried the anger of our peoples against the fascist regime in chief that massacred tens of thousands to the squares.

Newroz, which was celebrated in all parts of Kurdistan with national resurrection, sense of victory and festive enthusiasm, this year in Rojhilatê (Eastern, Iranian) Kurdistan became a national serhildan (uprising) in the true sense of the word. In Northern Kurdistan and Turkey, the festival was celebrated with large mass marches, with tens of thousands flocking to the squares of various cities. The mass strength, determination and militancy of the youth was reflected in the Newroz rallies in the metropolises of Turkey. The Newroz celebration in Amed, with its political radiance and determination, carried the voice of hundreds of thousands to the streets. It showed the fascist regime the invincible and indomitable power of the Kurdish people.



The desire of our peoples to fight against the fascist regime in chief is growing and developing in actions. The demonstrations of March 8, the women's march in Antakya and the Newroz rallies are taking shape as actions of the working class and the oppressed against the fascist chief regime. They point directly to the enormous anti-fascist struggle possibilities and potentials. While the post-earthquake conjuncture creates revolutionary possibilities and conditions, the electoral conjuncture and agenda imposes an opposite process.

The contradiction and rupture between state and people created by the earthquake is turned in another direction by presenting the elections as an option and salvation. By weakening the contradictions and anger, the masses are prevented from breaking with the bourgeois order. The collaborationist Turkish bourgeoisie sets the conditions for the regime struggle of the Peo-



ple's Alliance (Erdogan's fascist alliance) and the National Alliance (the 6-party table of the bourgeois opposition). It spreads illusions about Erdogan's departure through elections, and large sections of our leftist working-class movement seem to have been swept along by this current as well, whereupon they have tied their entire action plan to the limited horizon of "Erdogan must go!". The bourgeois bloc competing with Erdogan will not establish bourgeois democracy, the fascist order is to be restored with it under the term "strengthened parliamentary system". To see the liberation of the masses from fascism limited to Erdogan's fascist regime in chief is to turn away from the anti-fascist struggle. It is a flight

from the struggle to overthrow fascist power through the united revolutionary action of our peoples. Our leftist working-class movement acts in the unilateral foresight that the elimination of the fascist regime-in-chief will provide a political breathing space. That is why it openly, tacitly and implicitly supports Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, the presidential candidate of the bourgeois National Alliance. Today, the leftist working-class movement must draw on the revolutionary momentum unleashed by the earthquake. It must take its cue from the post-earthquake rage, from the determination of the women who broke the fascist bans on March 8, from the courage of the women of Samandağ, from the spirit and res-

About the upcoming elections in Turkey

The upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections in Turkey will certainly be an important turning point, because the election results will create a new balance of power for both the ruling bourgeois cliques and the working people, the Kurdish people and all the oppressed. What will be the defining trends of this process? What kind of Turkey do the programs of the ruling classes envisage? What is the political character of the promises of a "restoration" of the presidential regime to a parliamentary system? We will address these questions in this article.

How is the crisis in Turkey to be defined?

Both the ruling front and the working-class left speak of Turkey experiencing a "crisis of the century," some speak of a "crisis of neoliberalism", others of a crisis of the accumulation model or multiple crises. On this basis, the May 14 elections are seen as a threshold that will either deepen the crisis or open the door to a solution.

Turkey is a country with a capitalist social form that has been ruled for (at least) 43 years continuously by a fascist regime as a form of state, i.e. political freedom (freedom of speech, action and organization) has

been abolished by state terror. As for its position in the imperialist hierarchy, it is also a financial-economic colony. The ruling class, the Turkish bourgeoisie, keeps Kurdistan under colonial yoke. The "crisis" refers to all these areas, because they are all interrelated and mutually conditioned at different levels.

On the economic level, the prolonged stagnation in the phase of imperialist globalization of capitalism since the world economic crisis of 2007/8 must be taken into account. Not all countries are affected by the stagnation to the same extent, which is why the contradictions created by Turkey's role in the global division of labor of production and its colonial status have to be considered. The crisis must be considered from the point of view of the dynamics of contradictions between the two blocs of the Turkish bourgeoisie. In terms of the history of the Turkish bourgeoisie, the crisis cannot be understood independently of the cracks in the colonialist soil on which the regime was built. These cracks are the result of the resistance and the achievements of the Kurdish people.

However, it is the political structure in which all these roles and relations are abstracted and centralized at the highest level. The state, i.e. the

fascist regime, is at the center of all the related issues. Therefore, the current crisis is the crisis of the bourgeois-fascist regime, which is not capable of dealing with all the existing crises or impending crises. More precisely, there is a regime crisis in Turkey. What role the May 14 elections will play in overcoming the regime crisis is related to whether the nature of the regime will change, not who is at its head. And it is clear that the character of the regime will not change as it passes from one bourgeois clique to another.

There is an ongoing discussion among the ruling forces about restoring the parliamentary system in Turkey to lead the country out of the crisis. The National Alliance led by the CHP is pursuing an economic and political program of "restoration".

Most Turkish and Kurdish intellectuals on the left approach the National Alliance's promise of restoration with wishful thinking rather than scientifically. What is projected onto the bourgeois alliance is not what is, but what they wish it to be. For example, the characters and personalities of the presidential candidates are discussed rather than what class the National Alliance represents, whether the parliamentary system proposes to change the fascist nature of the regime, or whether a re-

turn to a bourgeois welfare state is even possible at this stage of capitalism. Once the "good candidate" is found, all these questions lose their importance or become secondary. Although the bourgeois opposition does not propose any meaningful democratic restoration in any of its actions or texts, it is even assumed that it does so for "tactical reasons" and that it will change once elected.

Of course, the burning desire of the masses, whose class organization and consciousness are dulled, must be taken into account. They want to get rid of Erdoğan at any cost. However, such worship of spontaneous consciousness and such undermining of their own theory, history and concepts shows that these sections of the "left" forces have no consciousness of power and are part of bourgeois ideology and bourgeois opposition to the root.

However, abolition of political freedoms and colonialism are the common and existential interest of all blocs of the Turkish bourgeoisie. This is due to the late capitalization, the insufficient capital accumulation, the laws of uneven development and, at the same time, the fact that Turkey has built its national consciousness as a prison of peoples and religions. It always needs a state terror of equal magnitude to ensure the exploitation of



surplus value on a scale that feeds itself and imperialism with which it collaborates. The slightest relaxation towards a democratic and popular direction gives space to the uprising of the working class, the Alevi and the Kurdish people. This immediately forces the regime to restore its existential character through coups, reactionary civil wars and state terror. This is the reason why the working peoples were never introduced to political freedom and never went through the school of democracy. This has not changed in the past 100 years.

In this sense, it must be understood that the expectation of democratic restoration by the National Alliance has no objective basis and that this or that bloc of the bourgeoisie in Turkey is not the vanguard of a popular democratic revolution or change, but is itself an obstacle. The two wings of the Turkish bourgeoisie are competitors in the race for power, but they are partners in the

regime. Thus, the AKP government dissolved the fascist dictatorship of the National Security Council (MGK) but replaced it with the fascist dictatorship-in-chief. And now the National Alliance also claims, if it comes to power, to reproduce "parliamentary fascism," i.e., to restore a hybrid version of the MGK dictatorship. The restoration is not for the people, but for the respective rulers of capital. Every day it is shown anew that fascism cannot be overthrown without ending the rule of monopoly capital as a class that accumulates its wealth through cheap, precarious and mutually hostile labor.

This is not a prediction, but something that can be clearly seen from the sordid record of the components of the bourgeois opposition alliance and their basic texts. There is not a single substantive promise in their documents for political freedom, for the national-collective rights of the Kurdish people and for an increase of welfare. The fight against "terrorism" and the war are to continue uninterrupted, trade union rights remain at the level of the 1980 coup constitution, impoverishment and deprivation continue in a new mode of accumulation to ensure Turkey's "competitive advantage". The National Alliance's bourgeois reform program in this form is even far behind the bourgeois reform program of

fascist chief Erdoğan in 2002.

There is only one way to transform the regime crisis into a democratic and popular future, and that is to turn it into a confrontation between the front of the rulers, which includes all blocs of the Turkish bourgeoisie, and the front of the oppressed, which consists of the working class of Turkey and the Kurdish people, and to realize the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, anti-colonialist, gender-liberating democratic revolution by overthrowing the fascist regime.

Turkey's role in the global division of labor

In the imperialist division of labor of production, in other words, in the "global value and supply chains," processes rather than commodities are produced. Within these processes, the role of Turkish capitalism is to assemble the debt and capital goods borrowed from the imperialist countries, as well as the raw materials and high-tech intermediate products imported from other financial-economic colonies, with its own cheap labor and export them to the imperialist countries. Since there are too many countries willing to play this role and too few buyers, it must sell its goods below their value, i.e., cede the lion's share of the surplus value it produces to imperialism. To gain the upper hand in

the competition, Turkish capitalism tries to lower its price even further and increase the volume of exports by buying high-priced capital goods and increasing the productivity of labor or making labor even cheaper. This race to the bottom is profitable for the domestic bourgeoisie in the expansion phase of capitalism because it enables it to open up imperialist markets. However, in the last 15 years, during which capitalism has not recovered from recession and both financial capital flows and world trade have slowed, this race has become unsustainably destructive in its usual course.

Even if one cannot speak of an economic crisis in Turkey today in the sense of "academic economics", it is the effort to postpone this crisis that makes the transfer of wealth between classes unbearable and exacerbates the contradictions between classes.

Capitalist China has undoubtedly benefited most from this imperialist division of labor in production over the last 30 years. Originally a storehouse of cheap labor for imperialism, China has been able to effectively and tyrannically use this surplus value, small in proportion but enormous in quantity, to rise into the high-tech upper links of the division of labor in production, thanks to the centralized state apparatus it inherited from the previ-

ous state form. This has gone so far that it now has its own monopolies and is looking for countries with cheap labor to move its production to. In addition, China is the world's largest lender and exports a huge amount of capital. China's labor is not so cheap anymore. It is not only a supplier but also a direct competitor of EU/US imperialism in many markets. This leads to a reduction in the surplus value that the EU/US monopolies take from the world proletariat. This is the economic basis for the gap between EU/US imperialism and Chinese imperialism today. The closing of ranks of the military imperialist and world energy lord Russia with China against the EU/US hegemony also intensifies the imperialist rivalry.

Both rival wings of the Turkish bourgeoisie are trying to exploit these sharpening contradictions between the imperialists against the looming crisis that capitalist stagnation threatens them with. The Turkish bourgeoisie is looking for cheap production sites geographically close to the West to replenish its supply chains, and China is looking for cheap production sites geographically close to the West to gain access to EU and U.S. markets. One of the wings of the Turkish bourgeoisie, organized in the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD), and its direct political representative, the bour-



geois opposition, claim that this new role can be played through a mode of accumulation centered on high-tech industrial production. This goes so far that even the people's struggle for democracy is reduced in this mentality to a choice between "construction industry" and "technology".

It is obvious how the fascist chief uses the state as an apparatus of selective-collective accumulation to bring the other wing of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist bloc represented by him, into the position of monopoly capital as quickly as possible, and how the interests of the builders can bring nothing but more misery and catastrophe to the working class and the oppressed.

However, this is not enough to make the restoration promises of the opposition bloc (National Alliance/TUSIAD) economically valid. Promising a technological leap of

Turkish capitalism and an increase in prosperity while the law of falling profit rates cannot be stopped, global investment, employment, productivity and trade are steadily declining and the expectation of a new global crisis is so high is illusory.

Moreover, contrary to propaganda, what the opposition bloc is proposing is not a leap into the high-cost, high-wage, high-tech links of global production chains. In order to avoid falling behind in global competition, this bloc wants to technically modernize its role in the existing division of labor in production, i.e., to increase its productivity by importing new capital goods, thus making labor cheaper. To the extent that the "skilled labor force" for the use of the new machines grows, unemployment will rise.

For this, the IMF will be called upon with an austerity agreement and public tenders and incentives will flow to this bloc. The central bank shall become independent, which means that finance capital will regain its privilege as a high-interest-rate profiteer. Perhaps inflation would decline, but in return millions would not have enough income to spend. The war industry, occupation and expansionism as common interests of the two blocs of the bourgeoisie will of course not abate.

For all this, this program will requi-



re a bourgeois state apparatus at least as tyrannical as Erdoğan's. It is impossible to understand how this kind of accumulation, which we can briefly call "reinforced neoliberalism", will open the door to distributive justice and a "left restoration" in politics.

What does the working class expect and how should the working-class left movement prepare for this situation?

The conditions for the post-election period will be created to the extent that we attack today's conditions. But the expectations of the reformist left forces in the bourgeois restoration do not prepare this attack, they even marginalize this possibility. They justify this by saying that "the masses are not ready yet" and that forces within the masses must first be gathered again through a retreat. So when will the masses be ready according to this

view? Of course, when the level of organization and action rises spontaneously, through system inherent struggles and cumulatively to a certain level. But there is a naive inconsistency in this understanding. Unlike bourgeois democracies, isn't fascism a form of the state that is used in response to this spontaneous, inherent and cumulative development of mass struggle itself? If we do not anticipate a fundamental change in this form itself, if we even anticipate an increase in state terror, how are the masses to achieve the desired degree of movement/organization?

The program of the National Alliance for a bourgeois change is even behind the program of the fascist chief Erdogan for a bourgeois change in 2002. If even this temporary relaxation on the part of the regime did not lead to a mass mobilization of these left forces then, why and how can the future power of the National Alliance make this mobilization possible? Moreover, capitalism is now in a phase of endless stagnation, not expansion as it was then, so the material conditions for the possibility of social bribery no longer exist.

Or let us look at the consequences of the June 7, 2015 elections, in which the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) ousted the AKP from the majority and the one-party gover-

nement for the first time. In the war process that started with the Suruç massacre on July 20, 2015, as a result of the electoral victory of the oppressed, did the security measures and the withdrawal tactics that were applied from a certain point bring the desired level of action and organization? Not at all. Did this orientation, which falls far short of the self-defense and self-governant claims of the period after the June 7, 2015 elections, advance the struggle?

The struggle of the oppressed in Turkey and Kurdistan has not come about through the possibilities and spaces opened by this or that wing of the bourgeoisie, but in spite of the bourgeoisie, and it was the struggles themselves that opened these possibilities and spaces. Therefore, what will make the masses "ready" today cannot consist in exposing themselves in the hope of the possibility of a so-called restoration. The revolutionary-democratic, socialist forces must therefore seek the solution not on the most backward ground, namely economism, reformism, pacifism and parliamentarism, but in the organized mass struggle and revolutionary vanguard violence against fascism. Not wanting to fight does not protect from being beaten. There is no other way than to learn to fight, to fight in an organized way and to fight as broad masses.

Interview with communists in Rojava about current developments in the region

Due to the earthquake on February 6, the KCK called to cease military actions. The HPG also declared that it would abide by this decision. Despite this decision, the Turkish state continues uninterrupted attacks on the autonomous administrative regions in Rojava, northern and eastern Syria and Medya Defense Zones. Chemical weapons are being used. What can you say about this?

Our peoples have suffered heavily from the earthquakes of February 6. Tens of thousands died. Hundreds of thousands were injured. Millions of people had to leave their homes. If we consider the reality of the war between the PKK and the fascist Turkish colonial state historically and presently, this last decision not to carry out combat operations has put us, revolutionaries and communists, in front of a reality in the struggle against bourgeois and fascist dictatorships and rulers. Concretely, this earthquake has shown that on one side there is the state that does not fulfill its duty and buries people alive under rubble. This brutal, profit-hungry, capitalist state, this system of rule and its fascist power structure, has caused people to see their relatives, families, partners and friends dying under the rubble.

On the other hand, there is the moral, ethical and conscientious attitude of the revolutionaries in the face of social suffering. The fact that the KCK, the PKK and the Rojava Autonomous Administration are abiding by the decision to stop all military activities and are fulfilling their demands for aid also reflects the policies of the world we are defending. It reflects our human values and approaches.

Otherwise, we know that earthquakes do not kill. Due to the profit policy of the fascist capitalist AKP-MHP state, people had to suffer so much. In other words, we have seen the difference in the approach of the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary parts in the face of the massacre.

Revolutionary, progressives and leftists from Turkey and Kurdistan went to many places in the earthquake area to help and show solidarity at a time when the Turkish Red Crescent was selling tents for profit even in such a situation, committing corruption and revealing its filth while the state has all the resources.

Revolutionaries, communists, socialist patriots and the oppressed Kurdish people were the first to help. The situation of the people whose



consciousness had been blunted, weakened and reduced in one way or another under the hegemony of capitalism, changed in such a social pain. An incredible solidarity has developed in a very important part of society. These moral, human values match with the politics of revolutionaries. They match with the moral and conscientious line of PKK. They match with the line of communists, leftists, progressives, environmentalists. In this sense, they created a historical, very strong common basis.

The KNK Co-Chairs statements brought discussions about national unity back on the agenda. YNK Chairman Bafil Talabani said at a recent meeting in Hewler that they „can take on the task of ensuring dialogues between the KDP and the PKK“ and called for national unity. How do you assess these developments?

As socialist patriots, we can ex-

press it briefly as follows. There is a historical fact. For a century, the geography of Kurdistan has been fragmented and divided into four parts by the imperialists and colonialists. The Kurdish people are scattered all over the world. At the present stage, the most important fact is that the Kurdish nation, the Kurdish people, are making political gains. The most fundamental way to achieve this as a political, economic and cultural unity is for the most advanced and important parts of the Kurdish people to come together on a democratic basis.

One of the most fundamental needs is the organization of a national congress. This is because the Kurds are in different regions because they cannot organize themselves on a common basis, a common geography. We note that the organization of the national congress is one of the most fundamental things in building national unity. We hold that the Congress must be built on a democratic, popular, egalitarian and women basis. The representation of women in it must be strong.

We attach importance to the participation in the National Congress of all forces that have contributed economically, democratically and politically to the national struggle in Kurdistan and that are politically active in Kurdistan. It is necessary to build a national unity in which the political subjects in the four parts

of Kurdistan do not feel alienated. For example, the PKK is now being tried to exclude again by the KDP. You cannot build national unity with this view.

This should be the standard: Kurdistan must be perceived as an area where every Kurdish person can travel, work, live freely. Within the borders drawn by the imperialists and colonialists, and not on a basis that breaks the ideological and cultural bond to build its narrow tribal structures. It is the most democratic right that the people who live in Kurdistan, who fight there, can realize themselves in any part of Kurdistan. If we look at the European Union today, we see that they are in the process of abolishing borders in the economy, trade, etc. among themselves. Why should we limit ourselves to false fences and borders drawn by imperialists in our own geography and homeland? It is not acceptable, so they must be abolished. In other words, all kinds of chains imposed on us, the Kurdish people, the peoples of Kurdistan from outside must be rejected.

Another important point is that we are in the Middle East. And the country of Kurdistan does not consist only of the Kurdish people. It is a mosaic and a garden of peoples; there are Assyrians, Arameans, Chaldeans, Armenians, Turkmen, Yezid, countless faith communities and religions. These peoples should

be part of a national entity in which they can express themselves, live and be represented on a truly democratic basis. The National Congress must provide a platform for all of them. A policy should not be determined only in a narrow sense by the Kurdish, Kurdishness or Kurdish nation, but should take into account what this geography needs here. We are talking about a formation that creates the national unity that meets these needs in the most democratic way. In other words, the situation in Rojava is different, the situation in Bashûr is different, the situation in Rojhilat is different. But we have to find a basis to bring the different parts together.

Another important point: regardless of our intentions, Kurdistan is divided into four parts, all of which have their own peculiarities. That is, there are the peculiarities of their own reasons for struggle, the achievements they have won or not won. In each part, the way people organize and struggle is unique. The level of achievements is different. Today, colonialism has been dismantled to some extent in Rojava, but Rojava still has not gained political status. The nature of the struggle here is not the same as in Bakûr, Rojhilat or Bashûr. Each part of Kurdistan must support and respect the struggle in the other parts and consider their achievements as its own. Not a position of rivalry, oppression and

embargo against Rojava, as the KDP collaborators with the imperialists are doing today, but a position of solidarity. If there is an attack, it must be considered as an attack on itself with a political line that ensures political, economic, cultural and moral unity.

The KDP and the Barzani family have linked their fate with the AKP-MHP-Erdogan clique, the biggest enemy of the Turkish Kurdish people. Now it is clear that there will be no national unity with them. The imperialists have put the KDP and the Barzani clan at the head of the Kurdish nation and want to make them spokesmen and representatives. This is because the KDP represents the interests of the imperialists and colonialists the best. In Rojava, they are trying to impose the KDP in order to weaken the revolutionary democratic base of Rojava. In Bashûr, we can already see that it is a collaborative and treacherous structure.

On the other hand, there are revolutionary forces in Rojava and Bashûr. In Rojhilat, there is the vanguard of women under the slogan „Jin, Jiyan, Azadî.“ When we unite the different forces, it is important to take practical steps. Therefore, it is necessary to achieve national unity and convene a national congress without getting stuck at the KDP hurdle.

Under what conditions do we face Newroz 2023?

We are in a very important historical process. If we look at the economic and political crises of the fascist AKP-MHP clique and the colonial fascist dictatorship, we can say that the Kurdish nation, the revolutionaries, the communists, the socialist patriots and the oppressed have not capitulated to the exploiters. Not only have they not capitulated, but we are in a time when their political end is near.

For the Kurdish people, it is a day of resistance against the oppressors, of independence, the day when the murderers are brought to justice without surrendering to them.

Newroz means to remove the distance and the borders to the Kurdish people, to the celebration and tradition of resistance. It means to stand by the side of the Kurdish people against their oppressors in the struggle against any social-chauvinist thought. It is necessary to light the Newroz fires all over Turkey. In this common position, it will be seen that the peoples are fighting and uniting in the same trench against the same enemy.

May Day, the day of workers and laborers, is also coming up. I would also like to announce the symposium of socialist patriots in Rojava, which will be held on May Day, the day of struggle against exploitation and colonization.



On 8 March we are on the streets!

We are angry!

We are furious! A state massacre occurred that ended the lives of tens of thousands.

We are outraged! The fascist regime-in-chief prepared this massacre with its economic policies based on unbridled exploitation, profit hunger, theft and plunder that swallowed earthquake taxes and opened unlimited space for all kinds of bribery and irregularities in earthquake-prone regions. Now the same regime is using the destruction of the earthquake to expand the same policies under the name of urban transformation.

We are angry! The colonial fascists, just as they saved their coffers by stepping on the dead, by stepping on this massacre, they focused on their deadlock in the economy, the shrinkage of their mass base, which is manifested in debates on elections, and on opening space for their goals of strengthening the colonial occupying war.

While thousands of lives were buried alive in the rubble, the most advanced technology, helicopters, chemicals, heavy vehicles, manpower and financial means continued to flow into the colonial war in Southern Kurdistan and Rojava. While not a single news could be



received from the destroyed villages and neighborhoods, high tech UAAVs are able to detect and shoot down revolutionaries and patriots who are targeted to be murdered in kilometers distance. While cranes were not delivered to the people giving voice under the rubble, ammunition was transported to the occupation zones.

We are outraged! Torture, xenophobia and racism went hand in hand with sexual harassment and rape crimes under the protection of colonial fascism.

We will hold them to account!

The patriarchal order in which „the world is the man’s home and the home is the woman’s world“ is not enough. Thousands of women’s worlds and homes were destroyed. With the earthquake devastation, women experienced the worst of the pain.

Now hundreds of thousands of women in the earthquake zone

are condemned to carry out their already mountainous domestic and care work under the most difficult conditions. They have to take on the responsibility of shelter in conditions without shelter, feed children, the elderly and men in conditions of lack of food, create conditions of cleanliness and health in the absence of minimum hygiene materials, do care work in a situation where children and the elderly are open to all kinds of diseases and epidemics, and undertake child education in conditions of no school. The specific needs of women’s health, which are already the most expendable, are even more difficult to access than yesterday.

Lgbti+, the most oppressed of the oppressed, have been forced to live their lives in the most insecure conditions possible, open to the most severe forms of discrimination in every need queue.

Mothers whose children, to whom they devoted their entire existen-



ce, were taken away from them in an earthquake that turned into a state massacre. Women who were subjected to new examples of male violence and massacres of women even after the earthquake. Those who have to shelter in conditions that are completely open to patriarchal and heterosexist sexual assaults. Orphaned or kidnapped children who have been left in the hands of political islamist foundations and sects with a long record of sexual violence and shameful examples of sexual exploitation.

All these have taken their place in the patriarchal fascist chief regime's record against women and lgbti+.

The policy of impunity for men in the face of female genocide, sexual violence and rape, the annulment

of the Istanbul Convention, the usurpation of acquired de facto and legal rights through family laws, the increasing poverty and costliness that makes women's lives a living hell, unemployment in



which women are at the bottom of the list, from homes to the streets, Sexual violence and harassment, which spread from workshops and factories to the ideological symbols of the fascist chief regime, sect and religious community houses; and police attacks on women's demonstrations, political work; detentions, imprisonment and even political assassinations of antifascist and revolutionary women, have been added to the list of crimes for which they will be held to account by women.

We are hopeful!

What strengthens our hope in the midst of all the attacks of the bourgeois state, the colonialist fascist chief regime, the dominant male gender, in all the darkness of the earthquake devastation, is the solidarity of the oppressed, their confidence in their own power, the solidarity hand extending from women to women, from Alevis to Sunnis, from Sunnis to Alevis, from



Kurds to Turks, from Kurds and Turks to Arabs, from Arabs to Armenians, from miners to peasants, from youth to immigrants.

And hope is everywhere. The women in Eastern Kurdistan and Iran who make the headscarf their flag... The women in Afghanistan who put their bodies and lives in the harshest, most open and direct forms of gender warfare... The women's revolution in Rojava, defended at great cost... The resistance against the colonial occupation in Southern Kurdistan, shouldered by women with great labor and resilience... The brave women who show that hope can sprout green in every condition and in every situation and that it can be fought in every condition, raise our hope and our determination to fight.

On March 8th we are on the streets!

We will take to the streets on March 8 to destroy the reign and palaces of those who bring destruction to our homes, streets, cities and lives!

We will take to the streets to challenge the State of Emergency declared for improving colonial war preparations, crushing revolutionaries, progressives and antifascists and suppressing the anger over this great massacre, we will take to the streets to send fascist bans to the trash!

We will take to the streets to spit in

the faces of those who spit not only on people's lives, but also on their pain, emotions and minds through racist tortures, kidnappings, money and gold vault rescue operations!

We will take to the streets to rebel against the policies of impunity for men, the usurpation of vested rights, unemployment, poverty and the high cost of living!

We will take to the streets to raise the struggle to kick out the dictator and overthrow the fascist chief regime!

We will carry the spirit and rebellion of March 8 not only on March 8, but also on the anniversaries of the massacres of March 12 in Gazi, March 16 in Halabja and Beyazit, on March 21 on Newroz, the Kurdish holiday of rebellion and freedom, on March 30, May 6 and May 18 commemorations, and on May Day, the day of unity, solidarity and struggle of the working class, in order to raise the flag of women's freedom against patriarchy, to strengthen the solidarity of the oppressed and to develop the unity of struggle!

Long live March 8! Bijî 8 Adar!

**Long Live the Women's Revolution!
Long Live Socialism!**

3 March 2023

MLKP Women's Leadership

ICOR For the liberation of women in socialism!

On this year's International Women's Day of Struggle, women worldwide are challenged in the whole range of life. From the multiple crises of the imperialist world system, which pose ever greater threats to all of humanity; from the drastic increase in imperialist powers resorting to greater wars and destruction; from the destruction of the environment that robs the youth of their future; from the misery of the greatest part of humanity, that is declared to be its destiny; with the imperialist war over Ukraine, the powers involved are escalating their imperialist warmongering inhumanly, toward the acute danger of a nuclear 3rd World War.

Militant women's movements around the world have begun to take up the challenges, are fighting and positioning themselves more and more relating to society as a whole. In the past year the special role of women in the popular uprising in Iran against the Mullah dictatorship and the active resistance of women against Taliban rule in Afghanistan and against the neo-fascist Hindu nationalism of the RSS in India have become shining examples. There are growing militant women's movements against violence against women and femi-

nicides, against oppression because of sexual orientation like LGBTQA, for the right to self-determination over their own bodies and lives, for higher and equal wages and better working conditions, against worldwide inflation, and more. Strikes by women workers in Great Britain, in the textile industry and on tea plantations in Asia are a significant backbone of the international women's movement. Under most difficult conditions, women in Russia are sending signals of resistance against the government's war of aggression and warmongering, such as at recruitment centers. The heroic struggle and resistance of Palestinian women against Zionist repression and oppression continues to be a point of reference and a lesson for all women worldwide.

The struggles of women in Kurdistan are an important source of inspiration for militant women's movements worldwide, especially the resistance of women in Rojava against the attacks of the fascist Turkish state. In many countries, women are fighting the murderous imperialist wars in the spirit of Clara Zetkin and are themselves participating in wars of liberation.

The 3rd World Women's Conference of grassroots women in Tunisia 2022

brought together the international militant women's movement and provided an important forum for the necessary ideological-political debate and clarification of the common enemy in the imperialist world system.

The militant women see themselves more and more confronted with the reality that women's freedom systematically comes up against the limits of the bourgeois social order with its oppressive family and state system in one form or another.

The ICOR, which has committed itself to the liberation of women and entire humanity, supports the struggles of women with its member organizations, stands for the revolutionary solution of women's liberation and promotes the role of revolutionary women in its organizations. With its 1st Women's Conference on 26 August 2022, it vividly expressed this position once again and sent a signal - also by winning women friends of the ICOR. With the structure of a women's coordination it wants to dedicate itself even more effectively to this task, because the women's liberation struggle, as an integral part of the class struggle and liberation struggles against exploitation, oppression, imperialist rule and wars, requires more than ever clear revolutionary perspectives and approaches to solutions.

Therefore, we as ICOR call upon all ICOR parties, all revolutionaries to work more intensively among women and girls and to promote their self-liberation. We call upon all women and girls of this world to join the revolutionary struggle, to join the ranks of the member organizations of the ICOR and to fight in the front line against gender violence, oppression and inequality as well as for social liberation! This year it is especially important to win women's organizations for the international United Front (UF) and its first world congress in September and for the international miners' conference in Germany in early September. This will strengthen the solidarity between the workers' and women's movements internationally.

For women's liberation, for socialism and communism!

- Let us make 8 March a worldwide day of struggle for the liberation of women and all of humanity!

- Let us strengthen international solidarity with women fighting for freedom, peace and justice all over the world!

- Let us do consciousness-raising work against all kinds of oppression, discrimination or disrespect of women and specifically promote and strengthen women in the revolutionary struggles!

Raise the flag of freedom, justice and equality of peoples!

Take to the Newroz squares to call to account those who turned the earthquake into a massacre!

Happy celebration of the freedom of the Kurdish people, which is a call to fight for freedom. Newroz pîroz bê!

In 2023, we meet Newroz in conditions where the fascist Turkish bourgeois colonial state mobilizes all its forces to enslave the Kurdish people, to commit genocide, to destroy all its achievements, after not even mobilizing the soldiers it sent to the region for its dirty and shameful purposes for the Turkish people for the devastating earthquake on February 6 and keeping them away from the search and rescue operations.

We encounter Newroz 2023 after the fascist colonial regime imposed a state of emergency on Northern Kurdistan in connection with its war plans, while an exclusion of the HDP, the Unity Party of the Peoples of Turkey, from the elections threatens, mayors, people's deputies and co-chairmen are still being arrested, but those who committed serious crimes against the oppressed are protected by the colonial justice, from the rapist sergeant Musa Orhan, to the



policemen who murdered Kemal Kurkut on Newroz in Amed.

We meet Newroz 2023 in conditions in which the fascist regime-in-chief intensifies its preparations to continue the colonial occupation of the Medya Defense Zones in Southern Kurdistan and its war crimes committed with chemical weapons, tactical nuclear weapons as well as genocidal fascist attacks.

We meet Newroz 2023 under the conditions of the continued occupation of Afrin and Serêkaniyê, the bombardment of Rojava, Sinjar, Maxmur and assassinations and murders carried out from the air. And we meet Newroz 2023 with the glorious sacrifice and heroic resistance of the guerrillas in the



Medya Defense Zones, fighting back the fascist Turkish colonial army, which suffered heavy physical and moral blows, with the determination of the resistance that was strengthened in Rojava and Sinjar, with the pioneering mass uprisings that herald the ferment of the Serhildans in Northern Kurdistan, and with the force of the uprising that spread from Rojhilat to Iran and Baluchistan and became a revolution.

The war continues relentlessly. On one side, the fascist, denying Turkish capitalist colonial state, the imperialist USA, Britain, Germany, France, Russia, the collaborating KDP and other regional colonialists; on the other side, the freedom-seeking workers, women, youth, poor, toilers and their national democratic, revolutionary, communist organizations, par-

ties, the urban and rural guerrilla forces of Kurdistan, Turkey, Syria and Iran.

The lines are clear, it is impossible to stay in between.

Brothers and sisters!

Let us unite on Newroz in the squares in the four parts of Kurdistan, in the regional states and in Europe to raise the flag of resistance against the plan of the fascist, denying Turkish bourgeois colonial state, according to which the Kurdish nation will be kept under the colonial yoke forever, against the war for genocide, occupation and massacres!

Let us unite on Newroz in the squares against the absolute isolation torture in Imrali prison, the fascist special laws and racist-fascist special measures against Abdullah Ocalan, the constant forced transfers and isolation attacks in the prisons of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, the systematic persecution, delay of release under the pretext of bad behavior, arbitrary cancellation of sentence reduction, publication, book and letter bans!

Let us unite in the squares on Newroz to demand accountability from the fascist regime-in-chief, which did not allocate anything from the state budget for the

earthquake measures, which spent the earthquake taxes on weapons and bombs instead of preventive measures against the destruction, which issued zonal amnesties to create financial means for war, armament and capitalist monopolies, which, on the day of the earthquake, left the laboring peoples helpless under the rubble and did not mobilize helicopters, airplanes, heat detectors and workforce, thus being guilty for the death of tens of thousands of people of all ages, the injury of hundreds of thousands of people, the homelessness and helplessness of millions of people in the middle of winter!

Let us unite in the squares on Newroz to shout „Get out“ to the fascist leader Tayyip Erdoğan and his thousand-headed palace junta, who want to destroy and annihilate the Kurds who are not state Kurds, the Alevis who are not state Alevis, the Muslims who are not state Islamists, and who also want to suppress the will of our peoples desiring to say „Tayyip, out!“ with the bloodiest methods, plans and intrigues.

Let us unite on Newroz in the squares against poverty, inflation, unemployment, fascist state terror, colonial oppression, murders of women, the shameful crimes of

the patriarchal system against the female gender, the oppression of the progressive, democratic, patriotic, revolutionary working people and the oppressed by the MIT and the political police, the spying and their degrading, dehumanizing activities, all the injustices of the capitalist order and the fascist regime-in-chief! Let us celebrate in our neighborhoods and villages. We call on our people in all four parts of the country, especially in Bakur and Bashur to raise their strength, sacrifice and revolutionary, patriotic spirit to make Newroz Festival 2023 the beginning of a new era in the national liberation war, to break the occupation, massacres and genocidal plans of the fascist, denialist, Turkish, capitalist colonial state and to mobilize for revolutionary, democratic, national unity.

We call on our Arab, Turkish, Persian and Azerbaijani peoples to unite shoulder to shoulder with our Kurdish people in the squares of Newroz for freedom, full equality and social justice, to hold the oppressors accountable and to lead the struggle for a dignified, just and happy life.

March 17, 2023

MLKP

Central Committee