

I M P O R T A N T A R T I C L E S F R O M

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN



COUNTRY REPORT

On the development in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey since July 2010

September 2014

15

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C O N T E N T S

3

I. Country report

On the development in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey since July 2010

17

II. The development of the capitalist world economic crisis and today's challenges to the international Marxist-Leninist and workers' movement for a revolutionary strategy and tactics.

The relation of the social issue (for the workers and the women and so on) and the environmental issue and the tasks of the international revolutionary movement

24

III. The tasks of the Marxist-Leninists in the struggle for the liberation of women and the process of the World Women's Conference of rank-and-file women and the international women's movement



F O R E W O R D

In this issue we are publishing the contributions of the Bolshevik Party (Northern Kurdistan-Turkey) to the XI. International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations ICMLPO in 2014.

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COUNTRY REPORT

On the development in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey since July 2010

Contribution of the Bolshevik Party (Northern Kurdistan-Turkey) - abridged

Economic Development

Since the first quarter of 2010 the phase of a recovery has set in in the period of crisis with an economic growth of 11.7 percent. The annual growth rates (growth of GDP) have been as follows since 2010: 2010 by 9.2 percent, 2011 by 8.5 percent.

Since 2012 the development has returned to normal by a policy of consolidation. The growth of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) has slowed down. In 2012 the annual growth of the GDP was 2.2 percent. This growth was in-

deed higher than the average growth rates in the imperialist metropolises, but cannot be compared to that of 2010 and 2011.

In the **first three quarters of the year 2013 GDP** in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey has **increased by 4 percent** on average. However, a very low economic growth is to be expected for the fourth quarter, partially due to domestic developments (like the incidents in December 2013), but mainly due to the development of the American financial policy by the revaluation of the US dollar. An average economic growth of 3 to 3.5 percent is to be expected. That means, the economy is further growing, but much slower than in the previous two years. In 2014 this trend will continue.

Altogether, the economy in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey is **more solid** within the framework of the capitalist economic system than other economies, including highly developed imperialist countries. However, this stability, which is also connected with the political stability – for 12 years a one-party government that is backed by the majority of the people entitled to vote - is being endangered by the political developments in 2013.

The greatest weakness of the economy is the **foreign trade deficit** mainly due to the dependency on oil and gas imports and the dependency on high technology and semi-finished goods necessary for production. Despite the constantly increasing exports the foreign trade deficit is rising, because imports are increasing considerably. The rising market values of the US dollar as well have an adverse effect on the foreign trade deficit. The Turkish bourgeoisie cannot overcome this structural weakness of the Turkish economy in short term, even if they want.

The economy, mainly the ruling big bourgeoisie in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey, is doing well compared to many other countries of the world.

Of course that does not mean that the male and female workers in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey are doing well. **Unemployment** has declined according to official statistics from November 2013, compared to March 2010, but it is still on a high level.

Regarding GDP per capita for purchasing power parity on the basis of the EU 27 index=100, **Turkey** had a relatively low ranking **at the end of 2011 with an index value of 57**.

Concerning the **distribution of wealth** the inequality in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey is far greater than in the developed capitalist countries. The poorest of poor people statistically left the “starvation line” (1 dollar per day) and reached the “poverty line” (2.5 dollar per day) during the rule of the AKP government, also by means of direct assistance, but mainly with respect to the

GDP per capita. At the same time a culturally Islamic oriented middle strata has developed which is further growing.

This economic situation, as well as the **slight relative betterment** of the poorest groups of working people, and the **growing Islamic orientated middle strata** is the economic basis of the electoral victory of the AKP government.

Political development ... in retrospect ...

The political development in Turkey is still determined by the struggle of the ruling classes among themselves for power. In this respect nothing has changed essentially unfortunately despite the one of the most important mass movements in Turkey in 2013, the Gezi movement.

In the last 4 years this dispute seems to be settled in a way that the AKP has ousted step by step the ruling Kemalist bureaucratic elite from the state apparatus.

Tying down of politics by the military was de facto repealed; the military coup against an elected government was socially condemned and considered shelved as political option for the time being. The **dissolution** of the so-called "**military tutelage**", the gradual taking over of the political power and the state apparatus by an elected civil political party was and is a development away from a **military fascist dictatorship** towards a reactionary, **bourgeois-democratic dictatorship**. This process is not yet finished.

Due to the weakness of the left and working class movement the AKP can afford to take only steps in the issue of democratization which are useful and necessary for the maintenance and extension of its power.

... and present power struggle among the rulers

In addition to the internal power struggle between the Kemalist bureaucratic elite and the AKP government which seemed to be resolved in favor of the AKP in the last years, a new power struggle flared up openly at the end of 2013. The AKP, which gained the parliamentary majority at the first elections (2002) shortly after its foundation, relied also on the cadres of the Gülen movement in the struggle against the Kemalist elite. In the police and judicial apparatus Kemalist functionaries were mainly replaced by those cadres. As long as it was about driving back the Kemalist military and bureaucracy the coalition of these two main groups of the Islamic forces within the

AKP functioned well, despite some tactical contradictions. After the danger of a military coup against the AKP government had been minimized and state power was **mainly in the hands of Islamic forces** the power struggle among them flared up. Who should determine politics: The “fraction of reviver of Milli Görüş” or the “welfare movement”? Erdoğan or Gülen?

The AKP-Turkey vision and the Gülen policy

Erdoğan himself has developed his “vision of Turkey”: The AKP is to rule alone at least until 2024, with the president Erdoğan, elected by the people, by means of a presidential democracy, when Turkey will have a place among the 10 biggest national economies of the world at the end of this period. Turkey is to become a great power in the Middle East and a model for the Islamic, mainly Sunnite world, taking up the “glorious times of the Ottoman Empire”. For this the Kurdish problem in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey is to be solved. The war is to be ended. The Kurds are to be pacified if possible by means of some concessions, and play their role in the Middle East as appendage to the Turkish policy, on the side of Turkey. Thus the so-called **“resolution process” of the Kurdish issue** developed. In this connection the Turkish government has conducted first exploratory talks with representatives of the PKK in Oslo via the MIT (“National Intelligence Organization – secret service) in 2012 in parallel with the talks with the chairman of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, who has been sentenced for life and is kept in solitary confinement. This was the **second breaking point between the Gülen community and the Erdoğan government** in domestic politics. The Gülen movement was in principle against the attempt to solve the issue, that means an agreement between the AKP government and the PKK; where the imperialist powers, mainly the USA and also the Gülen movement were not included.

Also in **foreign policy** contradictions came up increasingly between the Gülen community and the AKP government. For Gülen the **vision of a great**

power of Erdoğan’s AKP government is not realistic. The Turkish foreign policy is supposed not to expose and pursue so openly its ambitions. The most important task is to coordinate foreign policy with the US at a world-



wide scale. **“Not jeopardizing our relations with the USA”** is the mantra of the foreign policy of Gülen himself.

Mainly because of the line in foreign policy and the vision of the AKP which wants to put Turkey in a position of an **equal partner of the imperialist powers** in the Middle East, the Western imperialists have begun to look for possible alternatives to Erdoğan.

The AKP protects its power

At the beginning of December 2013 the AKP government started to **“re-build” the judicial and police apparatus**, ousting Gülen supporters from their positions by a “change of tasks” and replace them. At the same time it decided to transform the extra tuition institutions (dominated by the Gülen movement) into private schools within a period of two years. All this was a declaration of war for the Gülen community. It has reacted with a concerted media attack on the government, mainly on Erdoğan. It gave the government an ultimatum demanding to repeal the law on the “closure of the extra tuition institutions”.

As the government did not move any step backwards the next concentrated action of the “community” against the AKP government came about. Several AKP mayors in various cities, several big employers, the head of the state-owned bank Halkbank, by which business with Iran is being conducted, an employer coming from Iran practically doing all the international business of Iran via the Halkbank, i.e. circumventing the **international embargo against Iran**, and the sons of three AKP ministers being accused of corruption, accepting a bribe, money laundering etc., were arrested on 17th December. The AKP now has the reputation of being a **totally corrupt party**.

The AKP government reacted to this development with the declaration that this operation is not a struggle against corruption, accepting a bribe etc., but an **international conspiracy** against the AKP government not being accepted. Then the government carried out a purge in the judicial apparatus as well as in the police apparatus, in which more than 1,000 leading officials in the judiciary and police were removed from office to unimportant posts.

The Gülen organization hit back again on 25th December. With the help of the police a public prosecutor stopped a truck being controlled by the MIT and destined for Syria and tried to search it. Before the operation had started the Gülen media already announced what kind of load the truck was carrying: weapons for Al Qaida in Syria! Despite of all denials from the government the

AKP government not only found itself with the reputation of being “only” a corrupt one, supporting the Mullah regime in Iran, in order to violate the Western embargo, but also of a government which **delivers weapons to the terrorists of Al-Qaida!** Erdoğan reacted: The “parallel state of Gülen” was declared an **“organization committing treason”** against the state and the elimination of this organization in the judiciary and police was driven forward.

Our attitude towards this power struggle

1. Corruption, accepting a bribe in office, bribes are features of the Turkish state. The AKP in this respect is no more or less venal and open for bribery than its predecessors. Corruption is the nature of this system. If the AKP maintains that there is no corruption and that the AKP government is upright, it is lying like mad. Of course, with its actions against the parallel structures of the Gülen movement in the police and judiciary it tries to prevent the further investigation of its own cases of corruption.

2. It is a fact that the AKP government is not any longer much trustworthy neither for the US nor for the EU imperialists, and mainly Erdoğan is not their “ideal president” of Turkey. They want to have an alternative, and as long as this does not work they would not allow on no account that Erdoğan will become even more powerful.

3. The operation of the Gülen movement against the AKP government is not a pure police and judicial operation to combat corruption. It is mainly an operation to get rid of Erdoğan, to prevent possibly his presidency and to protect the power of the Gülen movement.

4. In this power struggle of those in power both opponents use methods which are beyond the bourgeois democratic rules and the rule of law. This also applies to the kind of action of the Kemalist opposition CHP and MHP.

5. In this power struggle of those in power we, the communists, are neither for one side nor for the other. **We inform the working people about the real background of these power struggles:** A struggle of the different wings of those in power for power and the benefits of power. None of the two political forces is standing up for the interests of the working people. On the contrary, they are conducting their competition on the backs of the working people. Both are worse than the others. **It is the choice between two evils.**

We have to wage our own, independent class struggle, independent of these groups of power, against the **whole system of exploitation and tyranny** in any form, against those in power, **for our own power, for people’s democracy.**

Prospect:

Three elections are ahead of us in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey in the next 20 months, which are very important for the ongoing power struggle of those in power: The **regional elections on 30th March 2014**, the **presidential elections at the end of August/beginning of September 2014**, where the state president is being elected directly for the first time, and the **parliamentary elections in October 2015**.

The regional elections on 30th March 2014 are a test for the further development, for the future of the AKP government and of Erdoğan.

Given the present balance of power we Bolsheviks will **neither participate in the presidential elections, nor in the parliamentary elections (with a 10 percent hurdle!)**. We will use the election campaigns and events for our propaganda work. In the regional elections, where in small administrative districts a direct election without hurdles is possible, we will try to nominate own candidates together with revolutionary forces, or support revolutionary, really democratic candidates. Our participation mainly aims at using the electoral atmosphere for our revolutionary, communist propaganda work.

Class movement of the workers

Compared to the challenges the working class movement in Turkey is still poorly developed. The degree of consciousness and organization is low. Not even 10 percent of the workers are unionized. The current struggles are all in all defensive struggles and, as a rule, the leadership is in the hands of trade union bosses having close ties to the system. Thus workers' struggles mostly become an appendage to a part of the ruling classes in their power struggle. Compared to the previous four years, 2007 - 2010, **strike and resistance actions** of the working class have **rather decreased than increased** according to official statistics.

The latest news in class struggle: Gezi movement ...

The Gezi movement was like a **thunderbolt** in the arena of class struggle. It started on 27 May 2013 as a protest action of a few, urban young people from petty-bourgeois or middle strata. It was directed against the plans of the AKP government to transform the "Gezi park" in the center of Istanbul into a shopping center in the shape of Ottoman barracks in the course of the "rearrangement of the Taksim place". Some dozens of young people put up tents in Gezi park, in order to prevent the start of felling trees in the course of the beginning construction works.

This was preceded by long discussions and actions of residents against these plans which were decided at central level in Ankara, partly also by prime minister Edoğın personally, without consulting them. This resistance was organized in various actions, like festivals, public press releases and with legal means. It had no effect at all on the government. The slogan of the Taksim platform **“Taksim belongs to everybody”**, which was an outcry for the participation of the citizens, was simply ignored.

Mercilessly the public prosecutor took action against the young people who had put up their tents and had sat down in front of the construction machines when they started clearing the trees. In a night action on 28th May the few tents of the young people were brutally pulled down, set on fire and the “squatters” were ill-treated. The pictures of the violent attack were spread like wildfire via the social media. This got a solidarity movement going which was totally unexpected by the government. Practically for all strata discontented with the autocratic governmental methods, the attempt to mercilessly suppress the action of the youth by the state power was an **initial spark**. From a few dozens of people there had been later several thousands of people. Erdoğan and his government reacted by defaming the protesters as “looters who cannot stop us” and announced: “Whatever they will do, we will rebuild the barracks in Taksim!” This arrogant declaration triggered an even bigger wave of protest. From thousands there were later tens of thousands who gathered around the Gezi park. **Thus the Gezi park was occupied spontaneously by tens of thousands of people who had assembled here**. Every attempt of the police to dissolve the gathering by force resulted in further growing of the protest movement. All at once Gezi became the **symbol and signal for the protest against the AKP government** everywhere in Turkey. In many cities and regions in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey demonstrators showed their solidarity in the streets, to express loudly their discontent with the actions of the police; against the interference of the AKP government in the private lives of the people, against tutelage and for more freedom and democracy. Everywhere the **state power** reacted in the same way, with **even more cruel oppressive measures**, with gas grenades and brute force. **Six fighting young people fell victim to the brutal state terror and were murdered**. A 16 year old young boy is still in a coma. **Tens of thousands of people were injured, partly seriously**. This made the people even angrier and helped them to overcome their fear of the state power and go on to the offensive.

From the Gezi park a **Commune** has developed in the heart of Istanbul.

This “state-free” area for two weeks, in which the state did not display itself in uniform as power of the law, was an **absolute novelty** in Turkey. All Gezi fighters, all supporters, all demonstrators, all these people have learned a lot in this struggle, and probably **experienced direct democracy for the first time in their life**.

Exploitation of the Gezi movement

Then the inevitable happened under the given balance of power: The Gezi movement had started as a spontaneous, peaceful action of civil disobedience of a few, mostly unorganized young people. They put forward demands for more freedom, democracy, participation in the social processes and practically for more civil society and less state. In the course of the events this movement had been turned into an **instrument to overthrow the AKP government, no matter how, in the power struggle by the organized Kemalist opposition**. The goal of the young activists of Gezi was a **revolutionary democratic, social transformation!**

AKP and Gezi

The AKP government was forced to revise its initial uncompromising attitude towards the Gezi movement in the course of two weeks. It has seen that its arrogant and brutal attitude was creating more and more opponents. It has started to prove itself to be understanding and prepared to compromise towards the “willing young protesters who are sensitive to environmental questions”. The AKP called upon them to dissociate themselves from the “vandals ready to use violence”, with this they mean the left, militant organizations and also the Kemalists who resisted the violence of the police. Talks were held with various speakers of the Gezi movement. At the end of these talks Erdoğan personally declared that the government will abandon its plan for the time being to reconstruct the barracks in the Gezi park, awaiting a final decision of the judiciary. It is ready to conduct a **referendum** in the case that this decision will be in favor of the plans of the government. This was basically a **great victory of the Gezi movement. For the first time the government was forced by mass actions to abandon its plans for the moment**. As a solution the government had to offer direct democracy in a question concerning the general public.

Gezi – break and lesson for class struggle

The Gezi movement plays a **really prominent role** in the movement for

democracy in Turkey according to our estimation. In this movement mainly the urban, petty-bourgeois masses, but also workers participating in the Gezi activities, have experienced the force of a mass movement. In the **Gezi park commune** new forms of living together and of direct democracy have been developed. The fear of the state force has been overcome. Many people have experienced in practice for the first time that there is no authority that cannot be called into question. All this will be indelibly engraved in the **collective memory of the working people**. In this sense there will be a time before Gezi and after Gezi in the history of democracy in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey. Nothing will be as it was before the Gezi resistance.

Other struggles of the working people

In other areas of struggles as well, like the resistance activities of the peasants, the working women's movement, the environmental movement, the students and working youth, the Kurdish national movement, no essential changes have taken place in the last four years.

In the **peasants' movement** a tendency is gaining ground more and more that the environmental consciousness has further developed and many topics of the peasants' movement coincide with the environmental issues. So



there is for example the struggle of the peasants against the introduction of genetically modified rice and maize; or the struggle against the exploitation of gold with the use of highly toxic potassium cyanide.

The **women's movement** had to discuss mainly the questions of violence against women during the last four years. Violence against women and girls including murder are still outrageously and massively omnipresent in the patriarchal society of Northern Kurdistan/Turkey. Ostracism of violence against women is growing, because women now resist violence more and more and make it public. Even the men-chauvinist, bourgeois parties are meanwhile forced to take a stand against violence against women. In the women's movement of the working women the Kurdish women's movement is a broad, comprehensively strong force. Otherwise the women's movement is dominated by bourgeois forces. In the Gezi movement revolutionary feminists have criticized and combated in an offensive way mainly the sexist and male chauvinist attitude existing also among the Gezi fighters.

In the **environmental movement** there can be noticed a tendency that the environmental consciousness is developing slowly but steadily. However, by society as a whole the central importance of environmental topics is still underestimated, even among the revolutionary left. Thus it was not possible up to now to develop a strong mass movement against the first nuclear power station in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey which is currently under construction.

In the last four years the **LGBT movement** has become significantly noticeable and puts forward courageously and in an offensive way its demands and opposes the immense social repression. Mainly the Gezi movement contributed to that. Apart from the women's movement in all its shades the LGBT was present in the Gezi resistance. In the struggle for the recognition and equality of the LGBT Gezi was a milestone.

In the Gezi actions mainly the student's **youth movement** and the youth from high schools and vocational schools were a mainstay. The majority of the activists came from schools, colleges and universities. The Gezi movement was a school of life for this youth.

For the **Kurdish national movement** under the clear leadership of the PKK the most important development during the last four years was undoubtedly the "solution process" as it was called by the AKP government. In 2012 the government has started **talks with representatives of the PKK** in addition to the talks with the chairman of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, kept in custody in Imrali. On Newroz 2013 Öcalan clearly proclaimed in a message of greeting to the big demonstration in Amed (Diyarbakir) that the PKK is ready for



peace and that the guerrilla fighters who are at the border of Turkey, are to retreat as a gesture of good will. Actually there has been a bilateral armistice since the end of 2012.

We hold the view that since 1993, when the **PKK has openly been following a national reformist line**, when the maximum demand has been an **autonomy within the Turkish state borders**, the ending of the current war is possible and right. Mainly for the Kurdish people suffering mostly from the consequences of the war, ending the war is a right concern.

The **only solution of the national Kurdish question** is the right to self-determination, i.e. the **right to founding a state of its own** for the Kurdish nation in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey. In order to achieve this right a **people's democratic revolution** is necessary.

Organized left movement

There are several **legal organizations, claiming to be socialist**, which participated in the parliamentary elections. All these legal "left-nationalist-Kemalist (IP+HKP), reformist-revisionist (TKP+EMEP+ÖDP) left organizations have no mass influence in Turkey. The only left movement having mass influ-

ence, beyond the CHP calling itself left, is the **Kurdish national movement**, its organization is the PKK. On the legal level there are the BDP (Party of Peace and democracy) and recently also the HDP (Democratic Party of the People).

The first one acts actually as legal branch of the PKK in Northern Kurdistan. The HDP is being build up to an umbrella organization of various "Turkish" left organizations, which do not openly criticize the PKK line and which are "responsible" for the area of Turkey. Both organizations support a left-reformist policy.

The **revolutionary left** in the still fascist Turkey is necessarily "illegally" organized. This does not mean that they would not work openly under the masses. They publish legal newspapers and magazines, work in mass organizations like trade unions, have partly their own "mass organizations", "cultural centers", "people's buildings associations" etc. As parties they are illegal. The revolutionary left parties refer to various currents of socialism. There are four main currents: Supporters of the Enver Hoxha line, the Mao Zedong theories, conceptions of Castro/Guevara and the Trotskyists. One **common characteristic feature** of all revolutionary left organizations is, according to our view, the fact that **regarding the evaluation of class struggles as well as the evaluation of their own strength and role in these struggles they are extremely exaggerating.**

And we, the Bolsheviks

We Bolsheviks are part of the working class and revolutionary movement, but we **fundamentally differ in the fundamental programmatic**, our political line and the practical work from other organizations referring to Marxism-Leninism.

The BP(NK-T) is still a **small cadre organization** which has weak links with the working class movement. We are still in the **first phase of party construction** where the main task is winning over the vanguard of communism within the working class.

In the overall situation in which communism unfortunately has very little attraction within the working class, and revisionism has caused much damage to the working class movement, we are facing great difficulties to reach the vanguard of the working class, to awaken its interest and organize it. In our political mass work we are concentrating very consciously on the work in the factories and trade unions among the working class in **some big cities.**

In party building we are pursuing a **model of party construction uniting the different regional parties in one central organization**, taking the

specific situation of the national question in Northern Kurdistan/Turkey as a starting point. Concerning the organizational implementation of this line we have first created two regional organizations, the Bolshevik Party of Turkey and the Bolshevik Party of Northern Kurdistan, which are being constructed by the central party (BP Northern Kurdistan/Turkey) from top to bottom. At our last 9th congress (2010) the construction of another organization for the Antiochia-Arab region was adopted.

In our theoretical work we have adopted **our party program** at the 9th congress after many years of preparations and discussions. Since then we have been working theoretically on the question of how it could happen that in **the former socialist countries or people's democratic countries revisionism was victorious, and how this restoration had been accomplished in concrete terms**. We will draw conclusions from this for our programmatic line for the construction of socialism. At our coming 10th congress this theoretical work will be finished and put at disposal of the communist world movement for discussion.

For us this work will be a basis of discussion which we want to continue in a common discussion. The right response to these questions will make communism in the working class to what it is: the only way to the liberation of the working class: the only alternative to imperialist barbarism!

“The development of the capitalist world economic crisis and today’s challenges to the international Marxist-Leninist and workers’ movement for a revolutionary strategy and tactics.

The relation of the social issue (for the workers and the women and so on) and the environmental issue and the tasks of the international revolutionary movement.”

Contribution of the Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey)

World Economic Crisis

► 2009 was the year in which the phase of depression reached in the crisis cycle had its lowest point. The world economy as a total shrank in real terms, having a -1.0% growth, for the first time after the Second World War. The shrinking rate in the industrial countries was -3.6%, higher than on the world average. The “newly industrializing countries”, but mainly China with a growth of 8.6% and India with a growth of 5.7% in the middle of the depression phase, prevented the shrinking rate from being higher. The world economy started to grow overall in real terms again in the fourth quarter of 2009, although on a very low level. It means that **the world economy has reached the stimulation phase within the current cyclical crisis.**

► The overall shrinking of world economy for the first time after the Second World War in the depression phase of this crisis cycle was due to the fact that in this crisis cycle, there was a coincidence of the most intense financial crisis of the imperialist world, starting with the mortgage crisis in the US, and the depression phase of the cyclical crisis.

► The financial crisis, the deepest the imperialist world has experienced

since 1929, was overcome in 2009 and the following years, too. However, this crisis, which was triggered by a speculative bubble in the real estate sector in the US and then expanded, was combated and overcome by means of another bubble, the state debt bubble. The imperialist states have all incurred high debts. State debts of almost 100 percent of the GDP or more are not rare anymore. The financial crisis was overcome by laying the foundation for bigger financial crises. Some states will have to declare their insolvency, so to say their national bankruptcy. Under today's circumstances, this will not mean the end of the rule of capitalism, only that the "bankrupt" states, if they are smaller ones, must submit their financial and economic policies to the dictate of the World Bank/IMF/ECB and so on (as is already the case in Greece today). Bigger states like the US or Japan will be forced to reduce the public services, to send many public employees into unemployment; to incur even deeper debts. And the bubble will even grow.

► After **2009, the world economy grew each year**. 2010 by 4.8 percent; 2011 by 3.8 percent; 2012 by 3.2 percent; and a growth of only 2.9 percent is expected for 2013. We must consider, that these growth numbers have the -1.0 growth of 2009 as reference. This means that the world economy is very slowly recovering and has not yet reached the level before the current crisis cycle referring to production. We can observe that the US and the industrial countries have a slow upward trend in growth, but the high level of debt of those countries should always be remembered. The **newly industrializing countries are still growing faster** than the industrial countries, but their speed has slowed down.

► Due to the fact that the deepest depression since the Second World War occurred in the current crisis cycle, a longer phase of stimulation and upturn can be expected. However, **breaks caused by new financial crises** are possible and likely.

► However much the world economy might develop, the bourgeoisie in all countries will speak of the crisis in order to make the working people remain calm, level-headed and willing to make sacrifices. The workers must by no means raise the "wage costs" as this would disturb the "fragile economic upturn", make the country unattractive as a location for industry and economy, endanger jobs and so on. "Anything but class struggle", "We are all in the same boat" is the lying motto of the bourgeoisie worldwide. It is important to break these lies: the workers and the bosses are never in one boat; if at all, the workers sit as workers in the engine room. The bosses as first-class-passengers on the upper decks! **Class struggle against the bourgeoisie,**

class struggle against capitalism as a system must be the motto of the communist organizations and the proletariat, no matter which phase of crisis the capitalist economy is in.

Contradictions in imperialism + revolutionary strategy

Today, we must fundamentally understand the following: Since Lenin wrote his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, many things in the world have changed and are still changing every day, indeed. However, the character of imperialism has not changed. We are still living in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

► Lenin's definition, which is still valid, says:

"imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism..."

a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

*(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created **monopolies** which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the **export of capital** as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of **international monopolist capitalist associations** which share the world among themselves, and (5) the **territorial division of the whole world** among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed. (pp. 266-267)*

This analysis does cover the **essence of the imperialist system** even today. The enormous growth of finance capital as well as the ever more obvious tendencies of decay and the gigantic internationalization of finance capital have not changed anything concerning the character of imperialism.

On the contrary, these developments have downright proven Lenin's forecasts.

► Lenin polemicized already in 1916 on tendencies which would contain the possibility of a **qualitative** change of the imperialist system, and reject-

ed these theories. For instance in the debate on **Kautsky's thesis of ultra-imperialism**:

"From the purely economic point of view," writes Kautsky, "it is not impossible that capitalism will yet go through a new phase, that of the extension of the policy of the cartels to foreign policy, the phase of ultra-imperialism," [3] i.e., of a super-imperialism, of a union of the imperialisms of the whole world and not struggles among them, a phase when wars shall cease under capitalism, a phase of "the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital". (p. 271)

Lenin says about this theory of "ultra-nonsense":

- *"Kautsky's utterly meaningless talk about ultra-imperialism encourages, among other things, that profoundly mistaken idea which only brings grist to the mill of the apologists of imperialism, i.e., that the rule of finance capital **lessens** the **unevenness** and **contradictions** inherent in the world economy, whereas in reality it **increases** them."*

(p. 272)

- *"Certainly, monopoly under capitalism can **never completely, and for a very long period of time**, eliminate competition in the world market (and this, by the way, is one of the reasons why the theory of ultra-imperialism is so absurd)." (p. 276)*

- *"This is because the only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the **strength of those participating**, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism. (p. 295) (...) Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist', Kautsky, 'inter-imperialist' or 'ultra-imperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing all the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars."*

(pp. 296-297)

Imperialism still is the "dying capitalism", as it increases the contradictions of capitalism to its ultimate limits, behind which the revolution begins.

► **The most important contradictions of capitalism are**, according to Stalin:

*"the contradiction between **labour and capital**. Imperialism is the omnipotence of the monopolist trusts and syndicates, of the banks and the financial oli-*

*garchy, in the industrial countries. In the fight against this omnipotence, ... either place yourself at the mercy of capital, eke out a wretched existence as of old and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon - this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast masses of the proletariat. Imperialism **brings the working class to revolution.**"* (Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism" (1926), in: *Problems of Leninism*, p. 4)

This contradiction will be solved by the **socialist revolution** in the imperialist metropolises.

The "*contradiction between the handful of ruling, 'civilised' nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world*" (*ibid.*, p. 5) will be solved by **anti-imperialist, people's democratic revolutions** led by the proletariat.

Still, these are the two most important contradictions of capitalism in its imperialist stage, which create the two revolutionary main currents in the imperialist world, requiring, supporting and uniting themselves mutually within the process of the proletarian world revolution.

It is the main task of the communist world movement and all communist parties to create this alliance, the unification of these two revolutionary main currents.

"Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" is the slogan of the communist world movement, bringing this main task down to a common denominator.

Add to this the important contradiction "among the various financial groups and imperialist Powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory" (*ibid.*, pp. 4-5)

This contradiction leads to **imperialist wars**, in which the imperialists weaken one another, so "that it leads ... to the acceleration of the advent of the proletarian revolution and to the practical necessity of this revolution." (*ibid.*, p. 5)

These basic theses of Marxism-Leninism in strategy and tactics, as we briefly presented them based on Stalin's work, are still valid, too.

Struggle against the destruction of the environment

The destruction of the environment and thus the importance of the environmental issue have gained **central importance** in the last century.

In our judgment, the **communist world movement** has **dramatically un-**

derestimated this issue in its practical policy, even though the correct theoretical basis had already been prepared by Marx and Engels. We communists have **not played a leading role** within the workers' movement in this issue. A **self-critical examination** of our theory and practice is to be carried out.

It was the **petty-bourgeois environmental movement** that raised awareness of this issue among the working people (and the ruling class, too!), first mainly in the highly developed imperialist countries and then on a world scale.

The fact that the different countries which yet attempted to build socialism were economically relatively backward (except the GDR) was of importance for the "failure" of the communist world movement. In the **center of attention** was a **swift economic development** to counter imperialism and the concern how to prove our superiority. It was not the question how to create a sustainable economy, as little harmful to the natural environment as possible, but how we can create an economy able to satisfy the always increasing material and spiritual needs of the masses as well as possible in a very short time. Thus, the environmental question was relegated to second place or was not raised at all. The maximum production and a maximum output in the short term were important. The main focus was on defeating hunger, housing shortage, technical backwardness and **did not leave room for questions about the limits of consumption, sustainable development**, or they were regarded as luxury.

The **development and knowledge about the consequences of the destruction of the environment did naturally play a big role** regarding the extent of the destruction of the environment, too. Today, on the basis of the concrete development we know more than our comrades who tried to build socialism. The environment has suffered such damage during the last 50 years through the human, mainly capitalist-imperialist, economy, that the **environmental question** today concretely is a **question of survival of humankind** in general.

We communists struggle for a world in which life is worth living for all people on this planet. The workers, the working people need an intact environment in which they can develop freely, need healthy diets, sustainable energy use and so on, so that life will be better than in capitalism.

The natural foundations of human life today are being more and more destroyed every day by the capitalist-imperialist maximum profit interest. **The capitalist-imperialist economist system must be shattered** in order to put an end to this. The environmental question must be tackled as a question of survival, as one of the most important issues of the proletarian world

revolution. Capitalism is leading to barbarism, also by the destruction of the environment. We must express this openly: Who struggles for a viable environment, must struggle to shatter capitalism.

Struggle against all forms of oppression

In all the democratic struggles aimed against the different forms of oppression in society, in the fights for equality and reforms to improve the working and living conditions of the working people: we communists must struggle in the first row for these **just demands of all oppressed people**. We struggle for equal rights of all people and **against the oppression of all people being stigmatized as minorities and oppressed** in the various societies. But we are of the opinion that we as communists must focus our forces mainly on the **working class**, to be able to win the workers for the **struggle for socialism and communism**. Our main focus regarding the struggles of the oppressed people is on the **people's democratic revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples**. Those are the two **main currents of the revolution**.

If this approach is virtually diluted in a way that all forms of oppression in the most diverse areas of society and the struggles against it are lumped together, separated from the class issue, we believe this is fundamentally wrong, even if it is meant well.

For instance, we are against replacing the slogan of the Communist International "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite" by slogans like "International proletariat and oppressed of the world, unite" or the like!

Remark:

► We think the theories of "a new stage of imperialism" and the "new" theses developed out of it are fundamentally wrong. We explained our opinion concerning such theses in our "critical notes on the book 'Twilight of the Gods – Götterdämmerung over the 'New World Order'".

We will take a position on the main theses in the book "Dawn of the International Socialist Revolution" separately.

February 2014



„The tasks of the Marxist-Leninists in the struggle for the liberation of women and the process of the World Women’s Conference of rank-and-file women and the international women’s movement“

Contribution of the Bolshevik Party (Northern Kurdistan-Turkey)

► As in all issues, there are two lines in the left-wing and worker’s movement regarding the question of the struggle for the liberation of women, too:
The petty-bourgeois and the proletarian one.

- The **petty-bourgeois line** in the women's issue, with its different manifestations and forms, does not fundamentally criticise the capitalist system of exploitation. It struggles for the equality of women within this system. In advanced, imperialist countries, many demands of this line have been implemented. Full equality, however, cannot be achieved even in the most progressed country of the imperialist system. This line does not focus on the connection of the struggle for the liberation of women with class struggle of the proletariat for socialism and communism.

- The **proletarian line** is based on the Marxist fundamental analysis that patriarchy and oppression of women started with the emergence of private property of the means of production. Thus, the complete liberation of women, total equality, not only de jure, but also de facto, will only be possible in a society, in which **private property of the means of production will completely be abolished.**

Even after abolition of private property of the means of production, the **patriarchal, male chauvinist ideology**, having been the predominant ideology in the exploitative societies for millennia, and internalized by men irrespective of their class, will not automatically vanish. Therefore a very long ideological struggle will be necessary. The proletarian line regarding the issue of women's liberation understands the struggle for the liberation of women as an **integral part of class struggle of the proletariat** for socialism and communism.

► The struggle for the **liberation and full equality** of women, however, is an **independent task and battle front** in class struggle of the proletariat. In particular the communist women will be those to organize the working women for their liberation. **Separate organizations**, publications and conferences are to be created within the communist parties.

There is no automatism, if we struggle for socialism, then it is at the same time a struggle for the liberation of woman.

The struggle for the liberation of women must be fought as an integral part of class struggle, also for **reforms in capitalism** as an independent struggle. It is an important part of class struggle of the female and male proletariat.

Only if the communist party manages to organize and lead the women's liberation struggle, it will be able to win the working women for the struggle for a new socialist-communist society.

And only if it **wins the working women**, it will be able to proceed to the aim of **socialism and communism** at all.



► The proletarian line in women's liberation sees the struggle as an independent struggle and is mainly based on the **working, proletarian women**, who make up the majority of women. False opinions of the **bourgeois women's movement** are combated ideologically. Against patriarchy, however, common struggles can be waged in **alliances** with the bourgeois women's movement.

► There are manifold initiatives to pool and coordinate the women's movement internationally. The **World Women's Conference of rank-and-file women** is an **initiative full of hope** to internationally bring together the movement of working women from different countries. There is much to learn from each other.

End of February 2014

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CRITICAL MARGINAL NOTES

to Stefan Engel's Book

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