The Beginning of a New October Revolution in the Middle East

Internationalist Commune of Rojava

Mustafa Karasu

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INTERNATIONALIST
COMMUNE OF ROJAVA

CONTENT

To My Party

You have given me fraternity toward the unknown man.

You have joined the strength of all the living.

You have given me the country again as in a birth.

You have given me the freedom that the loner cannot have.

You taught me to kindle kindness, like fire.

You have given me the rectitude that the tree requires.

You taught me to see the unity and the difference among mankind.

You showed me how one being's pain has perished in the victory of all.

You taught me to sleep in beds tough as my brothers.

You made me build on reality as on a rock.

You made me adversary of the evildoer and wall of the frantic.

You have made me see the world's clarity and the possibility of happiness.

You have made me indestructible because with you I do not end in myself.

Pablo Neruda

“To insist on socialism means to insist on being human”

Mustafa Karasu

The October Revolution is now 100 years old. The upcoming turn of the year offers a good opportunity to give the October Revolution a comprehensive evaluation. Within the framework of human history, the October Revolution was an extraordinarily important revolution: after the emergence of state systems, the exploiting ruling class was overthrown in the Soviet Union, and thus in a very large area. A system of councils or soviets representing the interests of the workers, the rural population, the oppressed people, and other social groups came in its place. In 1917, in the wake of the October Revolution, a system based on the workers' and peasants’ councils was set up in Russia. Not only was the ruling class overthrown through the organizing and leadership of the workers, but also the exploitative production system, i.e. capitalism and feudalism were shattered. It was replaced by a production system based on collectivity. Of course, there are issues in this context that need special attention, such as the increasing transformation of the Soviets into power and state structures or the expropriations called collectivization, which eventually led to a form of state capitalism.But at the beginning of our assessment, we would like to state that the execution of a revolution of this kind has produced in principle very significant results for

human history. The October Revolution represents a very important leadership and self-administration experience from the perspective of the workers, and the oppressed. The positive and negative sides of the revolution had an important influence on the political, economic, social and cultural life that developed during and after the revolution in the subsequent construction of a free, democratic and socialist life. In short: The October Revolution represents a very important experience for the history of the freedom struggle of the people and the longing for a communal living, classless and free of exploitation.

Many important achievements were won from the point of view of the struggle of the oppressed people as part of the October Revolution. First and foremost, we must emphasize that the October Revolution has again proven that ideology and theory are extremely important to politics and political struggle. The October Revolution developed because of social, political, economic and cultural problems. But it had also its own ideology and theory. It assessed the prevailing social and economic situation in Russia from an ideological position. Therefore, a systematic way of thinking, a holistic political approach and a program could be developed. The October Revolution is thus a revolution that developed on the basis of a socialist ideology and the associated theory. It created a great deal of excitement and enthusiasm among the workers, the oppressed and the rural population on the basis of socialist ideology and theory. Using Marx and Engels' understanding of socialism, which is referred to as Scientific Socialism, people and the various social groups were offered clear and achievable goals. Society was given hope in the

form of a theory and a program to achieve a free and equal life in this framework, a life without the pressure of the ruling classes, and instead the self-government of the working class and the rural population. and instead the self-government of the working class and the rural population. This program and this hope gave the people, and the intellectuals great excitement. This new understanding of life brought the youth, the women, the elderly, the men, the peasants, the workers, the rural population and the oppressed into action. Especially the intellectuals and the creators of art and literature were infected by this excitement. The fact that the socialist ideal was formulated in a holistic and systematic way, and that a life without oppression and exploitation in freedom and equality was defined as a goal, inspired the people greatly. The ideological and theoretical perspective formulated by Marx and Engels in the 19th century as Scientific Socialism became an important value for humanity. In the 19th and 20th centuries, all intellectuals, artists, progressive thinkers, all those affected by oppression and despotism, and all those who wanted to live freely and democratically, were significantly influenced by the appeal of socialism.

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The most important lesson of the October Revolution, therefore, is that the political struggle cannot be conducted without an appropriate ideology and theory.

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This attraction to socialism was best communicated to society by Lenin, with his ideological, theoretical, and political skills. He built a bridge between the longing for an equal, free and democratic social life and the socialist ideals, which he pointed out to the oppressed people striving for freedom as a perspective. The ideological and theoretical approach was crucial for the fact that Soviet Union could gather all the workers, the rural population and the various people around it. Because a systematic ideological and theoretical perspective was developed, socialist ideology touched people deeply and set them in motion. It released society's longing for freedom and democracy, its energy and its forces. It showed people the way and became a glimmer of hope for them. The oppressed looked to the future with great hope, believing that this would become the historic phase of the people and the oppressed. In particular, socialism became a universal human value, with intellectuals, artists, writers, poets, musicians, and progressive thinkers gathering around this ideology and advocating for it. They were instrumental in making socialism such an important value for all humanity. They helped socialism to great strength and prestige and made it a yearning of the people. This, in turn, played a major role in making the revolution social and ultimately implementable. Lenin's pronounced ability to think and to analyze contributed significantly to this. Lenin was a holistically thinking leader. He had ideological, theoretical and organizational power. He was a good propagandist, strategist and tactician. The

deciding factor for this was his unbroken faith in the socialism mistakes and inadequacies. With his firm belief in Marxian and Engelsian socialism, Lenin developed socialism into a holistic concept in a very creative way, in accordance with the Russian conditions of the time.

So, using the example of the October Revolution, we see that ideology and theory play an important role in revolutions. Similar to how the world religions have shaped societies in the course of human history with their power of faith; just as the Renaissance and the Reformation gave new hope to humanity through their power of faith; socialism, above all through its power of faith, its ideology and theory, touched people and created an atmosphere of change. History shows that those, who developed a systematic theory that matched the era, pointed the way, and presented a solution to the current problems were able to influence society. At the time of slavery, Jesus developed parameters that promised liberation from slavery, a free life, and a democratic and social coexistence. He gave people a new hope and an aim. He proved his ability to develop solutions to people's severe problems. His ideas turned out to be medicine for the everyday problems of the people at the time. He proclaimed that these ideas are the ideas of God. Equality, justice and the law are divine. Jesus emphasized the holiness of these ideas. So, he convinced the people and stood against the Roman Empire. Rome was forced into making a synthesis with Christianity in order to secure its own existence. Islam, too, quickly developed as a response to the severe problems of the Arabian Peninsula at the time, proclaiming a new way of life. It influenced large parts of the earth with its ideas. Because of using

its power of faith and ideas, it showed the oppressed and exploited groups of society a fundamentally different way of living and influenced them significantly. The people recognized in Islam a free and equal life. They saw justice in Islam and therefore joined it. Socialism had a similar effect on people in the 20th century. It indicated mankind a way out of the profound problems created by capitalism and imperialism. Marx, Engels and Lenin announced the liberation. Their message was similar to that of the prophets. The oppressed social groups gathered around this message. The most important lesson of the October Revolution, therefore, is that the political struggle cannot be conducted without an appropriate ideology and theory. The October Revolution shows that revolutions cannot take place without an ideological and theoretical approach. Without an ideological and theoretical direction, a political struggle, a struggle for freedom and democracy cannot succeed. This is shown by the events of 1917. The October Revolution has proven how important, how influential, how productive and expedient ideology is.

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Just as Napoleon spoke of "money, money, money," Lenin demanded "organization, organization, organization." As Archimedes said, "Give me a place to stand and with a lever I will move the whole world." Lenin demanded, "Give me such an organization and I will make a revolution that will upset the world."

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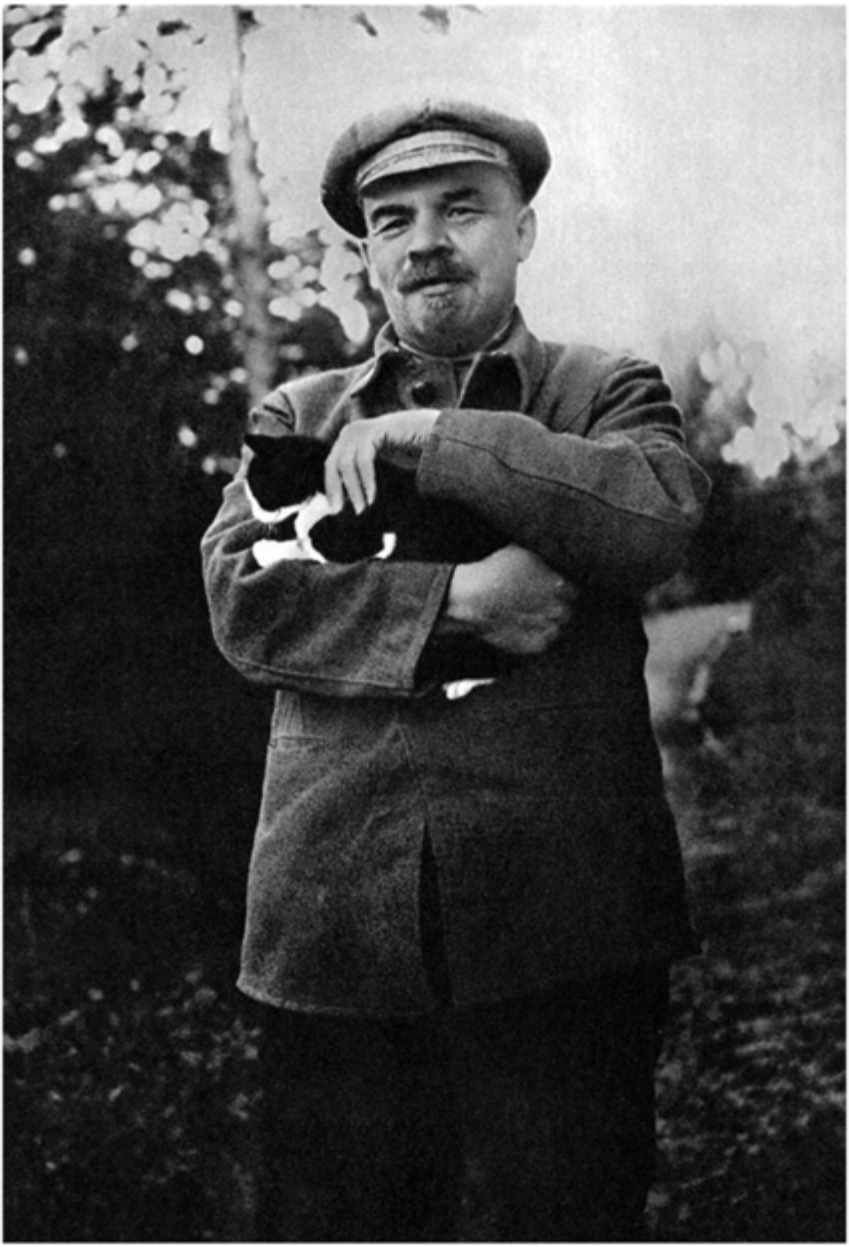
Lenin is one of the most important organizers of history

Another particularity of the October Revolution is the organizing pushed along by Lenin. Ideology and theory can be right, they can excite people, but the rulers cannot be overthrown until this is translated into concrete organizing. The ruling classes can't be pushed back without organizing. The people can't express their will to freedom without organizing themselves. Against this backdrop, Lenin must be considered as one of the most important organizers of history. As far as organizing is concerned, Lenin was extremely tactful and sensitive. He emphasized that ideology and theory alone would not be enough, and a strong organization would be crucial for winning the fight. Undoubtedly, an organization can only win if it has an ideology and theory. But even an appropriate ideology and theory can lead to victory only in the context of an organization and an organized struggle. This is particularly true in the context of a capitalist and imperialist system that puts all of society, cities, neighborhoods, jobs and people's homes under massive and comprehensive pressure. So, we are talking about a system organized on an economic, social, political and cultural level. A system organized within the framework of nation states in a centralized and authoritarian political system. It is not easy to push back on such political systems and to help the workers to gain influence. This requires a well-organized structure and organizing. There needs to be a revolutionary organization that can take a leading role in society. The importance of such an organization has been clearly demonstrated by the October

Revolution. Through this form of organization, Lenin was able to make an advance during the October Revolution. Lenin is a organizer. He understood the importance of an organization for the success of the fight very well. He found that an organization capable of carrying out the revolution was needed. Just as Napoleon spoke of "money, money, money," Lenin demanded "organization, organization, organization." As Archimedes said, "Give me a place to stand and with a lever I will move the whole world." Lenin demanded, "Give me such an organization and I will make a revolution that will upset the world." Because of his ability to organize people, we first think of Lenin today when we think of the socialist leaders of the 20th century. We remember him because he was a leader who managed to make a revolution. On the ideological and theoretical level, there had been already very important socialist leaders before Lenin. Rosa Luxemburg is known to be clearly more influential than Lenin on the ideological and theoretical levels. But the revolution in the Soviet Union was carried out by Lenin. In Europe, capitalism was in a crisis back then and socialist ideology had a great impact on the working class. But the fact that no suitable organization could be established, and no revolution could be carried out in Germany was due to the inadequacy of socialist leaders and thus became a heavy burden in their lives. The struggle of the workers experienced a great upswing and developed strongly in Germany, but when the revolution failed and the working class, the intellectuals, socialists and progressive forces were crushed, fascism came to power a little later in Germany. When we look at the October Revolution, we have to ask ourselves

with what kind of organization and organizing, what kind of strategic and tactical understanding this revolution was carried out.



VLADIMIR ILICH LENIN, GORKI 1922

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Talking about revolution, socialism, ideology, equality and freedom remains meaningless as long as one does not build an organization.

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To carry out a revolution, one must first of all build an organization.

Lenin is both a strategist and a tactician. It is these two skills which an organization needs. An organization that does not have the right strategy, program, and tactics will not fight successfully or succeed. Therefore, it is very important to translate ideology and theory into strategy, tactics and an organization. This is the task of the organizers, political leaders and ideological-political leaders. Lenin fulfilled these tasks. He acted at the right time and in the right place. Because he was confident in the field of ideology and theory, he could safely move in the field of politics and understand politics correctly. Due to his ability to interpret politics properly, he was able to take the position of a leader and to decide when to take which steps. His ability manifested itself in the form of the organization he had built up. He was very tactful and sensitive with regard to the form of the organization. The discussions of the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks are very important in this context. The split of the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks is above all a division along the respective organizational understanding. It is an ideological-theoretical question in how far one achieves or does not achieve a proper understanding of the organization to carry out the revolution. If one is determined to carry out the revolution, if one feels attached to a revolutionary ideology and theory, one will of course feel the need for an appropriate organization. Those who want to make a revolution and feel connected to ideology and theory will demand an organization. Of course, those who do not want to carry out a

revolution, who do not want to make ideology and theory a part of their lives, who do not want to do everything they can to carry out the revolution, who do not have an appropriate faith in the revolution and who do not want commit themselves to such a faith won't develop a proper understanding of the necessary organization. In this sense, the right understanding of the organization is at the same time an expression of a correct ideological and theoretical approach, of a revolutionary attitude. It is a necessity of the revolutionary personality. Those who have a revolutionary personality and really want to carry out the revolution will first of all want and need to build up an appropriate organization. Talking about revolution, socialism, ideology, equality and freedom remains meaningless as long as one does not build an organization. These concepts are only filled with life by an appropriate organization. This means that the defense of ideology, theory, thought, goals, and revolution will only gain more importance when they are linked to building an organization. If that does not happen, only demagogy, talk and self-deception remain. The organization politicizes people and gives them a political approach appropriate to the revolution. Not to organize means to refuse a revolutionary political life and fight. Against this background, an organization means a political life and the politicization of life. It means to align life along politics and revolution. This topic is very important. Because again and again we talk about ideology, freedom, equality, values, revolution, goals, democracy and socialism. As long as this is not connected with an organization, as long as no organization is set up that can put those goals and thoughts into action, then life won't be political either. Even a cadre and

revolutionary attitude through which the revolution can be implemented, will not develop in this case. Defeats and victories have to do with this question. Whether the efforts really correspond to the goal of a political life is shown by the means of the organization. Of course, those who do not want to develop a political stance, who do not want to politicize their their lives, who do not want to devote their lives to the revolution, won't develop a need for an organization and consider such an organization to be unimportant. Those who attach little importance to the organization also attach little value to the revolution. Those who attach little i

mportance to the organization have abandoned their connection to the actual aim. They have goals on the linguistic and intellectual level, but not in their practice. Theory and practice are then not one.

Soviets and Factory Committees in Petrograd 1917

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Without a doubt, our understanding of the revolution has changed. We do not consider breaking a state and building a state of its own as a revolution. With our understanding of the revolution today, we aim to organize society, thereby empowering society as a whole to govern itself.

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In this regard, Lenin led a fight against the Mensheviks. He fought decisively against their understanding of organization and showed that with their understanding of revolution and organization no struggle can be carried out and that the ruling class cannot be pushed back. Lenin showed that the understanding of the Mensheviks consequently serves the interests of the ruling class. The October Revolution would certainly not have taken place without the struggle of Lenin against the Mensheviks and for an organization, and without his defense of that organization. While the right ideology and aims could have been formulated, an organization putting them into practice would not have been established. Thus, the revolution would not have happened. Not every revolutionary situation and political crisis leads automatically to revolution. Only when there are organizations that can utilize the revolutionary situation and the political crises, the revolution occurs. Political crises lead to revolutionary situations, but that doesn't necessarily mean that an actual revolution is taking place. In this respect, Lenin's understanding of an organization is very important. Therefore, he speaks of the need that every party member must participate in the work of a party committee. If all those who believe in socialism and articulate the corresponding thoughts count as party members, all the professors, lecturers, intellectuals, and writers would count as party members. The party would become a club of intellectuals. Therefore, Lenin said that not those who only believe in

ideas are party members, but all those who participate in the work of the committees, which are also part of the organization. Lenin referred only to the persons who work in a party committee or in the organization as party members. That's how he defined the cadre. The Mensheviks did not consider that as necessary. All those who supported the party program were party members to them. But such a party can't become a revolutionary party. There may be those who do not attach importance to socialism, but they will never build an organization that converts the faith in socialism into a revolution, organizes the society, pushes back the counterrevolution and capitalism, and puts in its place a socialist life.

Without a doubt, our understanding of the revolution has changed. We do not consider breaking a state and building a state of its own as a revolution. With our understanding of the revolution today, we aim to organize society, thereby empowering society as a whole to govern itself. Of course, there still needs to be an organization that can fight against the state, imperialism and capitalism and defend itself against their attacks. An organization, fit for the struggle, can be created with an organizational understanding of this kind. The struggle takes place with the help of an organization; with the help of an organized society. The organized society is created by the active members of the various committees. They will work both in the committees and at the same time to organize the society! They won't simply present considerations to society; they will not declare what is right or wrong and impose a corresponding course on society; they will not demand that society simply follows their instructions; they will emphasize that their considerations can only be implemented by an organization.

With this approach the organization can gain strength and importance. Professional revolutionaries are also the leaders of the revolution. This is a question of the vanguard. Because all members of society never will be able to take a leading role and participate in the revolution in this way. It requires an organization and a leader who leads the society, provides them with thoughts and theory, organizes them, points out and teaches them goals, ways of resistance and forms of action, and encourages them to act. For this reason, Lenin attached so much importance to the leadership of the party and considered the concept of leadership to be so significant. He regarded the party as a leading power for all workers, peasants, the rural population and for all the oppressed. So here we see the notion of the party that becomes more concrete and materialized through Lenin. The most important feature of the October Revolution is the further development of this notion of the organization. In the decades that followed, Lenin's or rather the Bolsheviks' understanding of the organization served as a basis for the revolutionary struggle of the socialists. If one thinks about the question of organization, Lenin's understanding of organization inevitably comes to mind. Leninism thus also produced the 'theory of revolution with the help of a vanguard party'.

Of course, Islam and Christianity were similar. In all social movements there has been kind of a vanguard party. Perhaps they did not find the same expression as during capitalism or the socialist movement embodied by Lenin. But society can be changed only with the help of a party and the dominant power replaced by a power with a different understanding of politics. This requires a

theoretical-ideological force, an organization that formulates goals and perspectives. These are secret organizations. Throughout history we find many secret organizations. They are different from today's parties, but they also organize all the oppositional forces of their time. The peoples and the oppressed gather around their leaders on the basis of a theory and ideology to resist the rulers and oppressors. Inevitably, leaders emerge who spearhead social incidents. These leaders are a party or party-like structures. Only when such parties exist and take a leadership role, social movements can achieve their goals and achieve success. Because unorganized, theoretically formulated goals and thoughts only will never fulfill themselves or bring about a socio-political movement. Even if they produce such a movement, it will never be successful.

VLADIMIR ILICH LENIN IN RED SQUARE

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The PKK has managed to exist and to fight to this day by building a revolutionary organization and corresponding politicization and a political life. It did so on the basis of the insight that, a proper understanding of the organization and a political life appropriate for the revolutionary organization are necessary in view of the severe conditions in Kurdistan.

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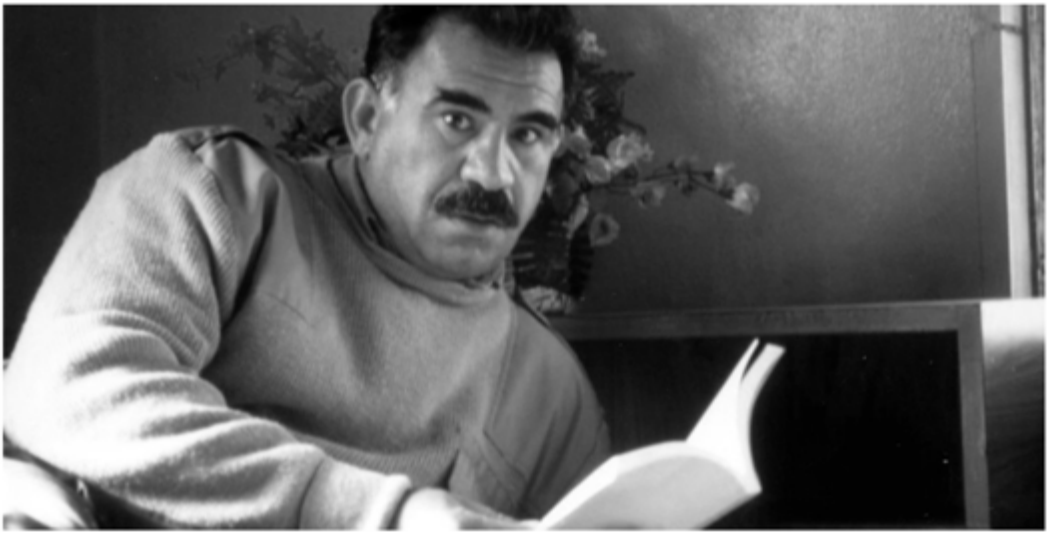
The PKK and Abdullah Öcalan have developed the Soviet's vanguard party concept further

There have been spontaneous movements in the course of history without any doubt, they have developed out of themselves. There have been leaders who set societies in motion against the background of specific political, social and economic crises. Such spontaneous movements certainly existed. But natural leaders emerge from their ranks. At times when social crises and problems emerge and turn into social movements, inevitably natural leaders emerge and drive society forward. If a revolution is intended in this case, a goal and a program has been formulated, then of course a party, an organization and leadership will emerge. Leadership is very important. One of the basic features of the October Revolution is the organization and the right leadership that has been achieved for the oppressed. It requires a right ideology, a theory, a corresponding organization and a leadership through this organization. First and foremost, the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks and Lenin have developed a suitable understanding of organization for the oppressed people. The October Revolution has clearly shown that revolutions can only be successful if there is some organizational power, some awareness of organization, and some leadership. Because if there is such an organization, that is politicized, that is political and a political life has been created, it can also carry out a revolution. If there is no political and organized life that is oriented towards the revolution and its goals, it won't be easy to reach these goals. Without a doubt at that time there was an understanding that socialism would be achieved by the

means of power and the state. Back then they have led in this context and with this perspective. Accordingly, the character of leadership will change if we replace the concept of state and power with the model of Democratic Confederalism and Democratic Socialism based on a democratic, organized society. Leadership will be then exercised differently. Leadership will be based on democratic leadership and thus intend to build structures within the framework of the vanguard party, the municipalities, people's councils and other organized work that does not strive for power and a state.

The importance of a revolutionary party is ultimately shown by the experience of the PKK. Before and immediately after the coup on September 12, 1980, there have been numerous revolutionary parties in Turkey. But they all could not withstand the developments in the context of the 12th September and broke apart. Our chairman Abdullah Öcalan expressly did not associate this with the massive pressure of the September 12 coup. Undoubtedly, the attacks of the coup have been severe. But Ocalan explained the destruction of left-wing organizations and their inability to reorganize above all due to their failure to become revolutionary movements and to develop a political life. The Turkish left was crushed despite the great social potential, because it didn't produce a revolutionary organization and no political life. It did not align life with the corresponding aims and the revolutionary organization, which eventually led to its destruction. However, despite the coup, the PKK managed to regroup and spearhead a revolution because it had created an organization and built a political life for the cause of the revolution. In this respect, the understanding of party and organization by Lenin and the Bolshevik

Party is very important. Of course, at the same time, we must deal critically with the aim of power and the state, which was part of this understanding of the party and the organization. Today, we speak of leadership in building a socialism that aims at democracy. The PKK and our chairman Abdullah Öcalan have developed the Soviet's vanguard party concept further. The PKK has managed to exist and to fight to this day by building a revolutionary organization and corresponding politicization and a political life. It did so on the basis of the insight that, a proper understanding of the organization and a political life appropriate for the revolutionary organization are necessary in view of the severe conditions in Kurdistan.



ABDULLAH ÖCALAN

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The October Revolution completely transformed this democratic people's revolution into a socialist revolution. Under the conditions created by the democratic revolution, the people had organized themselves; workers, the rural population, soldiers and youth organized themselves and carried out a revolution.

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All the power to the Soviets!

One of the lessons of the October Revolution is that a revolution must happen at the right time and in the right place. If the revolutionary conditions are given and the time has come, but an offensive is missing and no initiative is shown, the revolution can't take place and the struggle can't be successful. In this regard, Lenin is both a good tactician and a leader who implements tactical steps at the right time and without delays. He took over the leadership in this sense. In this regard, the October Revolution is very instructive. While at the time of the October Revolution, a large part of the Central Committee was convinced that the time for the revolution was not ripe yet and pleaded for a postponement, Lenin took the position of 'either now or never', triggering revolutionary developments. The Soviet Revolution thus took its course. From this perspective, the Soviet revolution is very instructive on how a revolution can be carried out and made successful. Therefore, it is very important that all those who want to carry out a revolution and lead a revolutionary struggle to confront themselves intensively with the October Revolution. Because it is full of lessons to be learned for all people, social groups and oppressed, who lead a revolutionary struggle.

The Soviet revolution was based on self-governing councils of workers and peasants. The revolution was thus driven by the organization of the soviets, their initiative and their self-government. Undoubtedly, the grave consequences of the First World War contributed to paving the way for the revolution. The objective

conditions for a revolution were abundantly present. As part of the war, Russia had come to the brink of collapse. In the war, Russia actually fought alongside those who would later emerge victorious. But in the course of the war, the political, social, economic and cultural crisis in Russia had intensified and a revolutionary situation had arisen. In this situation, the Bolshevik Party and Lenin carried out the revolution. It is important to look at the methods they used to carry out the revolution. For a revolution that aims at socialism, democracy is of particular importance. By February, a so-called bourgeois revolution had already begun. It would be of course a mistake to describe democratic revolutions as bourgeois. Breaking feudalism is not a bourgeois revolution. To call them that would be a deterministic way of looking at things. It would be the result of a linear, deterministic understanding of history that considers capitalism to be the inevitable successor of feudalism. It would therefore be more appropriate to call these revolutions not bourgeois, but people’s democratic revolutions. These people's democratic revolutions are very important. They are the basis of the socialist revolution. All socialist revolutions can ultimately only happen within the framework of people’s democratic revolutions. Accordingly, the people's democratic revolution, i.e. the democratic revolution, ensures that the people become an organized force and therefore active. A revolution that does not activate the people does not exist. Democracy and the democratic revolution are expressed through the activity of the people. This was the case in the February Revolution and a people's revolution took place. Different groups of society took part in this people's revolution. The October Revolution completely transformed

this democratic people's revolution into a socialist revolution.Under the conditions created by the democratic revolution, the people had organized themselves; workers, the rural population, soldiers and youth organized themselves and carried out a revolution. In this context, the methods used to carry out the revolution are important. One of the most important features of the October Revolution was its relation to the Soviets. The slogan 'All Power to the Soviets' is in this context a key statement that points to a socialist revolution. The Soviets were the people's councils and governing bodies founded by the exploited and oppressed social groups. In this regard, the right steps had been taken at the beginning of the October Revolution. With the help of the Soviets, a socialist revolution had been carried out. It is very important to understand the people's councils, the soviets, as crucial to the revolution, for its implementation and for the representation of the people. They are the relevant decision-making and administrative bodies. The fact that the October Revolution was based on People's Councils or the Soviets provides an important experience for the people, the social groups and the oppressed.

LENIN AT 2ND COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

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The operation of a democratic-centralistic organized vanguard party was completely transferred to the social system. This led to an increasingly strong influence of the centralist side.

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How did the abandonment of socialism take place?

This experience is, of course, an expression of a revolution of the poor. The soviets were the people's councils of the poor. They were the decision-making organs of the oppressed. The goal of the Soviet revolution was to overcome capitalism and to replace it with communes and a communal-socialist economy. However much a 'New Economic Policy' (NEP) was pursued during the war, the underlying objective was a socialist economy. In the NEP phase, an understanding of economics was developed that enabled participation by various social groups. This was a very appropriate measure. With the help of the NEP the socialist revolution was to be broadened by integrating more social groups into the system over time in addition to the workers and the impoverished rural population, without coercion and violence, but through conviction. But there are many discussions and criticisms regarding this topic. In this context, it is criticized that much violence was exercised against the rural and urban middle class later and this development has made a significant impact on the increasingly authoritarian and undemocratic development of the revolution. Criticisms concerning this matter include correct aspects. Because one of the major weaknesses of the revolution was the loss of its democratic character, which was initially guaranteed by the people's councils and communes. Thus, the revolution took a course opposed to socialism and developed towards authoritarianism, power and the state. A situation developed in which the municipalities and people's councils were not systematized in a democratic way but have been incorporated into a state system. The

biggest mistake of the revolution started here. Because the communes and people's councils were not developed into a system on a democratic-confederal basis, there was a shift away from the democratic character that prevailed at the beginning of socialism and to the development of a system that was authoritarian; it had lost its democratic character, and had strayed away from the essence of socialism. There is undoubtedly a direct connection between this abandonment and the theoretical approach developed before the revolution. After the revolution, an even more authoritarian attitude was displayed. The fundamental approach was to build the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of overthrowing the ruling classes, capitalism and feudalism. Approaches that aimed at the construction of a proletarian state, a state of the people, a socialist state served as a reason for abandoning socialism. It was intended to build a socialist state under the control of the workers and peasants after the destruction of the present state. And this is exactly where the abandonment of socialism happened. Ever since the moment the work towards a state had started, the socialist revolution, day by day and step by step, broke away from its very core, destroyed its democratic character and built an economic system of society which we call state capitalism on the basis of a centralized approach. If the soviets, communes, and grassroots structures that emerged at the beginning of the October Revolution were not organized with a centralist understanding, but on a democratic-confederal basis, the Soviet revolution would surely have had a different outcome. The operation of a democratic-centralistic organized vanguard party was completely transferred to the social system. This led to an increasingly strong

influence of the centralist side. The voices and decision-making powers of the soviets, communes and grassroots structures have been increasingly restricted. This led to an increasingly strong influence of the centralist side. The voices and decision-making powers of the soviets, communes and grassroots structures have been increasingly restricted. This led to a situation in the further process which we call real socialism (actually existing socialism), which has thus lost its democratic character and become a state capitalist system whose development was driven more and more by the upper party bureaucracy.

LENIN IN RED SQUARE

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The revolution was poisoned by the state and power mentality. But it has also been a source of inspiration for the people of the world for decades, who had been leading a fight for democracy and socialism.

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The question of state and power: the most fundamental mistake of real socialism

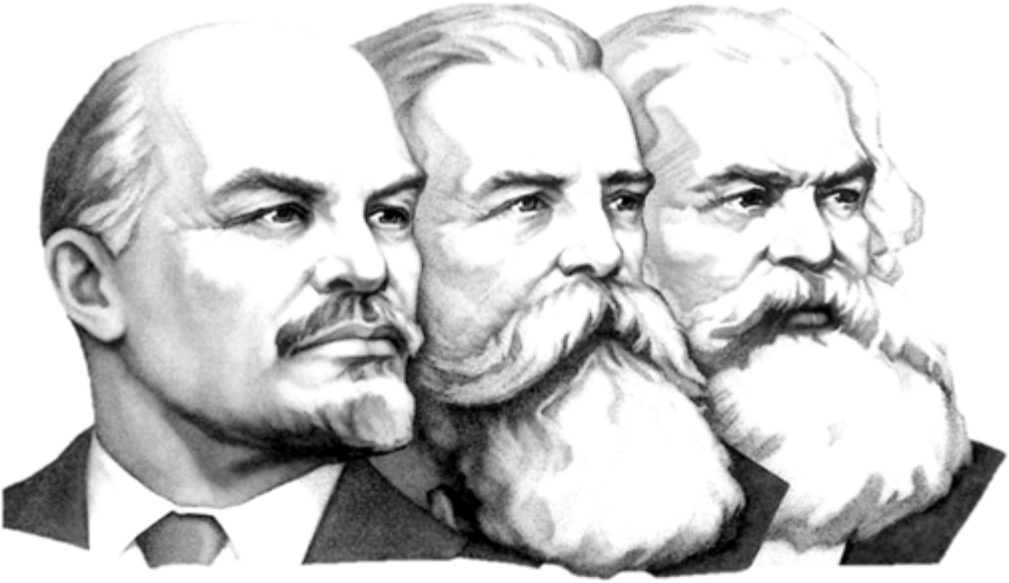
The most fundamental mistake of real socialism lies in the question of state and power. In the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin we are actually finding considerations of overcoming the state and ways of superseding it. They formulate a society without a state as a goal. But they want to achieve this goal through a state, a socialist state. For Lenin, this is expressed by the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. The error in this context led to the concepts of power and state being misunderstood, to a turning away from the core of socialism, and ultimately to opposing socialism. And this is despite the fact that the definition of the state was that it was the means by which one class was suppressed by another and that the state emerged out of this necessity. The socialists assessed the state that way back then. But when it came to a socialist state, that is, a state of workers and peasants, the nature of the state suddenly changed. The state remained a means of pressure, but just to exert pressure on the ruling class. That's one of its features. But it is clear that socialism cannot be achieved with this pressure. At that time, it was also said that socialism would be achieved through democracy, but the focus on the implementation of socialism through the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat ultimately led to the exact opposite. State and dictatorship are legitimized by calling for a dictatorship over the exploiters to prevent their renewed rise. This mistake is one of the most fundamental reasons for the defeat of socialism.

Without a doubt there are other reasons, but they are not

fundamental. Fundamental is the inability to properly analyze and understand state and power. Had it been possible to properly understand state and power, to stress the achievement of socialism through democracy and to build it up accordingly, the other aspects would have been overcome and resolved. They wouldn't have led to the defeat of socialism. Because when one talks about democracy, we speak about a strong society and about trusting in the power of society. Had socialism fully relied on and included and respectively activated society, then the society that advocated socialism and the truly democratic order would have overcome the mistakes and inadequacies mentioned above. Or it wouldn't have come to these mistakes and inadequacies at all. In this regard, the revolution was carried out with really nice feelings and good intentions. The workers and peasants took part in her. They paid a high price for carrying out the revolution and committed themselves to it with great dedication. But when the revolution turned its back on its democratic core and the communes and people's councils had been converted into a system not on a democratic but on a centralized basis, all the effort was wasted.

There is no doubt that the October Revolution has produced many results, insights and successes. In this respect, it is a very important experience. You cannot deny all that. It has become a cause for the awakening of peoples and workers in many parts of the world. The October Revolution and the Soviet Union gave people strength to stand up for a democratic struggle and against state and power in countries where no socialist conditions prevailed. But in the Soviet Union, which itself had carried out the revolution, it came with time

to a departure from the core of the revolution. The revolution was poisoned by the the state and power mentality. But it has also been a source of inspiration for the people of the world for decades, who had been leading a fight for democracy and socialism. It was the source of inspiration for these struggles in the 20th century and had a correspondingly large impact. On the other hand, real socialism in the Soviet Union represented kind of a support for capitalism by its attitude and approach, because it turned away from the essential goals of the October Revolution. It became kind of a doctrine which kept capitalism on its feet. Because the Soviet Union had become the hope of the people. They all turned to it in the belief that freedom, democracy and socialism would be lived there. The Soviet Union used various ways to hold an important part of the world under the influence of state capitalism, which is why it did not challenge the system, but instead became a pillar of it.



LENIN, ENGELS AND MARX

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One of the most important influences that led to the collapse of real socialism is therefore its inability to counter capitalism with a holistic position.

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The intellectual-spiritual power of socialism was not enforced against capitalism

The incorrect political and social understanding had a negative impact on the development of true socialism and the other socialist movements in the world. Dogmatism and a false practice hindered the development of a proper socialist-liberal understanding. Because it was understood as a position that had to be defended in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. Therefore, the mistakes of real socialism were not called out and criticized. Because of the lack of criticism, socialist movements in other parts of the world took real socialism as a basis and put it into practice. They did not recognize its mistakes. While very strong and influential socialist movements against capitalism could have developed, and socialism could have achieved great success in the centers of capitalism, it did not develop sufficient appeal forthe people. Because it was based on approaches and a practice which did not take democratic principles as a basis. Rather, this wrong practice had an increasingly repealing effect. If the emerging ideology of socialism that influenced the entire world had been put into practice according to its democratic nature, the life of capitalism could have been greatly shortened. Capitalism could have been turned into a museum object in the twentieth century. But with imperialism causing great problems for the people, and socialism increasingly distancing itself from its basic democratic concept, the influence of socialism remained limited. Without any doubt, the equal, liberal, just attitude of socialism against capitalism had an influence on people. For decades it has been a strong magnet for the people. But its influence increasingly

diminished because it did not openly implement its democratic character, instead being perceived as an authoritarian system, aiming for a state and speaking of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The parties were thereby prevented from encountering the people in a democratic manner.

One of the most fundamental factors in the collapse of real socialism was its inability to counter capitalist modernity with a clear alternative modernity. Capitalist modernity is based on three pillars: capitalist exploitation, industrialism, and nation-state. The analyses of Marx, Engels and Lenin are characterized by an anti-capitalist attitude. But they lack a position against the capitalist understanding of modernity and its concept of the nation state. There is no position against industrialism. Even if we can recognize criticism of the modern capitalist culture to a certain extent, it has not been possible to counter materialism with a socialist-spiritual culture. The mentality of real socialism and the life produced by it have been very strongly shaped by the influences of the materialistic culture. One of the most important influences that led to the collapse of real socialism is therefore its inability to counter capitalism with a holistic position. Capitalism has its historical roots. From the beginning of exploitation until today, from the concept of the state to the concept of the economy - it is the continuation of a system of exploitation. The democratic system, too, has its own foundations and its own history. To connect the beginning of socialism exclusively with capitalism is not right. Social, communal life goes back thousands of years. The communal life is much older than the state system and persisted even after its creation. Undoubtedly, the brutal and comprehensive attacks

of capitalism on society required a systematic struggle. Within this framework, the need for a socialist ideology, theory and practice developed. But it was inadequate.

There was a struggle against capitalism and economic exploitation. But the struggle remained inadequate. The fight was against capitalism and economic exploitation. But the life developed by that, the approach to nature and the woman and many other areas of life were not characterized by a holistic alternative attitude. Thus, capitalist modernity was able to prevail against real socialism because of its more systematic and holistic approach. It could put itself in an advantageous position and even make those who called themselves socialists, part of its system. When we talk about the reasons for the defeat of real socialism, we have to consider all these aspects. Over time, real socialism became more and more similar to the system that it aimed to fight. It got even tougher regarding some issues. Its undemocratic, authoritarian approach became even more pronounced. The countries of Europe that were at the center of capitalism had to make some concessions to keep themselves on their feet because of the democratic struggles and struggles of the workers. But in real socialism an undemocratic, authoritarian system was legitimized in the name of the workers. This is also one of the main reasons for the defeat. Industrialism gained much more influence in the real socialist countries than in capitalism in any case. As part of the industrialization race, industrialism was elevated to sainthood. Instead of entering into a race in the field of democracy and other values, real socialism entered into a race with capitalism in the field of industry and production. Without a doubt there was a race in the

distribution too. But this race was limited to one dimension and that is the reason for the defeat. Of course, the most important reason for the defeat of real socialism remains the understanding of power and the state and the accompanying lack of connection between socialism and democracy. Many of the other mistakes are derived from this fundamental misunderstanding.

Lenin at the 1st Congress of the Communist International in the Kremlin

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The influence of socialism on the workers in the capitalist world and in the societies of these countries declined too. In the course of the '68 youth movement, criticism of real socialism continued to increase.

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The lack of democracy and freedom led to the collapse of real socialism

Even before the collapse of real socialism, socialism was in crisis. The Sino-Russian conflict or the specific approach in Albania had created serious problems within real socialism. These conflicts also affected other countries and democracy movements in other parts of the world. In Turkey in particular, different approaches led to problems and conflicts. These conflicts were an important reason for the split and strife within the revolutionary forces in the era before the military coup of September 12, 1980. The Soviet Union was referred to as 'social-imperialist' and it was said that a capitalist system had developed there. The Soviet Union was accused of the shortcomings we have already discussed above. China was also accused of exerting great pressure on its own society. The measures in the context of the Cultural Revolution served as proof of this. Numerous other reasons led to the formation of blocks that criticized and accused each other, this affected all socialist movements. Social problems increased internally too. In addition, economic problems in the Soviet Union, China and Albania began to deepen. The economic offensives and scientific developments in the capitalist countries raised questions about economic capabilities of their own within the socialist countries. It became clear that their own economies did not develop like the economies of the capitalist countries, and that they had problems in this area.

The impact of the deficit of democracy was not limited to the socialist countries. The influence of socialism on the workers in the

capitalist world and in the societies of these countries declined too. In the course of the '68 youth movement, criticism of real socialism continued to increase. The accusation was raised that real socialism could not satisfy the needs of the people for freedom and democracy. But the US war against Vietnam in the late 1960s and early 1970s ensured continued to influence the left. The success of the Vietnam War was followed by an era of nuclear equilibrium in the Cold War. A nuclear arms race started. The societies in the socialist countries reacted to these developments and their criticism of the system increased at that time. One of the best examples of this is the emergence of the Polish trade union Solidarność, which gained in influence as an opposition movement. The socialist countries no longer confronted imperialist capitalism as an alternative with their freedom and democracy. In addition to the increase regarding lack of freedom and democracy, economic problems deepened at the same time. All these problems were ultimately caused by the lack of democracy and freedom. The inability of socialism to convey moral values to societies ultimately led to the collapse of real socialism. The longing of the people for freedom and democracy had been neglected so much that the socialist countries collapsed one after the other when an attempt for a solution was made. The countries could no longer resist. The loss of broad social support thus led to the collapse of real socialism.

Vladimir Lenin Speaking Speaking at Monument to Marx and Engels

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With the collapse of real socialism, the discussions in the left about its practice and the classical Marxist theory increased significantly. Especially important debates were held regarding the deficits in democracy.

As an alternative to the state, no model of life based on freedom and democracy was developed

The global left and the socialists discussed the problems of the socialist countries and were influenced by them. But no left-wing, socialist force had assumed that the Soviet Union would dissolve itself so quickly. In this regard, everyone was shocked. Because the existence of the Soviet Union was a source of force and moral strength for all leftists and socialists. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, this source of moral strength dried up too. The deficiencies in democracy and freedom in the Soviet Union created major problems at the bases of leftist and socialist forces around the world and dealt significant blows to these movements. Of course, the siege by imperialism, the attacks, the increase in psychological warfare, the provocations inside and out, and the plots played a role in the collapse of real socialism. But the decisive reason for the collapse of the Soviet Union was due to internal factors. That must be clearly and explicitly stated. If internal weakness had not been so pronounced, and if popular support for socialism based on freedom and democracy had been gained to a greater extent, internal and external provocations would have failed. Therefore, it is necessary to explain the fundamental disintegration and dissolution of the Soviet Union with its internal problems. We must not look at the internal problems from an economic point of view only. Without any doubt there have been economic problems. There had been major economic developments in the capitalist centers. The scientific-technical revolution had led to a superiority. Although the Soviet Union had achieved some strength in the area of nuclear weapons, the imperialist

forces had more possibilities in this area. At the same time, the arms race meant that many resources had been invested in this area. As a result, the economic problems in the socialist countries had been aggravated even further. The fundamental problem that led to the dissolution of real socialism was the inability of the system to provide an answer to the search for an equal, free, democratic and more ethical life. Capitalist modernity used this weakness to emphasize their own ideas of life and to expand their own influence in this way. It managed to have an attractive effect on different societies. Especially the affluent society which emerged within the framework of social policy developed by social democracy made a great impression on the societies in socialist countries. The capitalist system was able to give the impression that it was superior in terms of democracy and the economy. This accelerated the collapse of the real socialist system. With the decay, the left and socialist world experienced a profound crisis.

With the collapse of real socialism, the discussions in the left about its practice and the classical Marxist theory increased significantly. Especially important debates were held regarding the deficits in democracy. But these discussions did not reach the roots of the problem. The question of power and state was not analyzed with the necessary ideological-theoretical depth. Thus, it was not possible to develop a lifestyle based on freedom and democracy, which could offer an alternative to the state. This meant that no adequate way out of the crisis could be found. It is important that we acknowledge this fact. Undoubtedly, anarchist and certain other circles have an aversion to the state and have undertaken analyses of the state.But when asked

influenced by a liberal understanding that ultimately leads to the dissolution of socialist ideas. These circles spread concepts of this sort in the left and thus contribute significantly to deepening the crisis in the socialist circles.

LENIN AT 2ND ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF MINERS

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From the very beginning, the PKK had a distinct culture of criticism and self-criticism, represented by the personality of Abdullah Öcalan.

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After the collapse of real socialism, the PKK developed the most appropriate approach

Without any doubt, the negative influences in the left and in socialism also showed their effect within the PKK. Because at that time, the PKK had not completely abandoned the state and power-centered mentality either. There is also a tendency in the theoretical approaches of the PKK in the past not to attach enough importance to democracy. Because it relied on the same sources. Therefore, the crisis of real socialism also affected the PKK to some degree. But the critical and questioning nature of our chairman Abdullah Öcalan prevented the collapse of real socialism from having similar effects on the PKK as it did on other leftist organizations. Because Öcalan immediately began a profound process of criticism and self-criticism. Already before, certain forms of criticism and self-criticism had been practiced. One thing is clear: at that time, the criticism and self-criticism of the left remained inadequate during the collapse of socialism. So, it came to dogmatism. This situation arose both in relation to the Soviet Union, as well as to China and Albania. Nobody was able to criticize the fundamental issues. Because internal criticism, self-criticism and corrections failed to materialize, real socialism was subject to increasing decay over time. Dogmatism led to errors being held on to. The collapse of real socialism, in which so much effort, values and hopes had been invested, was the occasion for great sadness. The rise of socialism in the wake of the October Revolution would have had to be different. But one thing has become clear: it could not have gone on like this. Socialism could

not have been sustained this way. In this respect, collapse is kind of a contribution to the discovery of the right socialism. It opened the door to free thought and free discussion. The dissolution of real socialism has also such a positive and constructive side. Even before, there had certainly been concepts that approached this more critically and aimed at a more comprehensive self-criticism. But there had been an atmosphere and a culture in the left where the left and socialism could not be criticized, in which Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao were considered sacred and their thoughts were considered unquestionable. This had several consequences, all of which contributed to the collapse of real socialism: it developed a dogmatism and together with that the necessary criticism and self-criticism was omitted or remained inadequate. A mechanism for overcoming the mistakes has not been developed. With the accumulation of mistakes, the problems deepened.

The collapse of real socialism also gave rise to a certain freedom of thought. This development can best be recognized by the reality of the PKK. From the very beginning, the PKK had a distinct culture of criticism and self-criticism, represented by the personality of Abdullah Öcalan. This developed a culture of creative thinking, which in turn removed many obstacles. Chairman Öcalan thus paved the way for a more critical and freer mindset. This kind of criticism and self-criticism did not lead to a convergence with liberalism, drifting towards capitalism and removal from socialism, as in countries of real socialism or other countries. The chairman insisted from the outset on the slogan: "To insist on socialism means to insist on being human." He took this position in the early 90s, in a phase of

the collapse of real socialism and the crisis of socialism. But while he did so, he developed at the same time the critique of real socialism and began to question the shortcomings of classical Marxism and socialism. His criticism was directed in particular at the lack of democracy. He criticized the fact that the construction of walls was used for the fight against capitalism and the defense of socialism's own system and that consequently the relations with the various groups of humanity were disrupted. He also criticized that socialism did not fight against capitalism and imperialism with its own basic moral values. But he also took a position for socialism. In this regard, the PKK has developed the most appropriate handling of the collapse of real socialism. Yet, in practice, sufficient and profound criticism and self-criticism did not develop. Abdullah Öcalan took the lead in smashing the dogmatism of the past and correcting the deficiencies. He saw this as a very important task. He analyzed extensively what the mistakes were and how they could be fixed. He emphasized that socialist leaders must act in a way worthy of the fallen revolutionaries and past efforts. Öcalan insisted that socialism could not be understood by a dogmatic and rigid approach. He fought to restore socialism by attempting to correct the mistakes through criticism and self-criticism with a creative connection to socialism and its values. Öcalan's analyses and assessments of socialism before the International Conspiracy and his proposals for remedying the weaknesses of socialism after his arrest clearly show this. Öcalan had written numerous analyses already before his imprisonment on İmralı. The reports and documents of the 4th and 5th Party Congress contain important and comprehensive critiques of Öcalan in relation to

real socialism. Out of a sense of responsibility, Öcalan took a stand for socialism during and after the collapse of real socialism, and at the same time began developing a proper socialist understanding and practice

PKK FLAG

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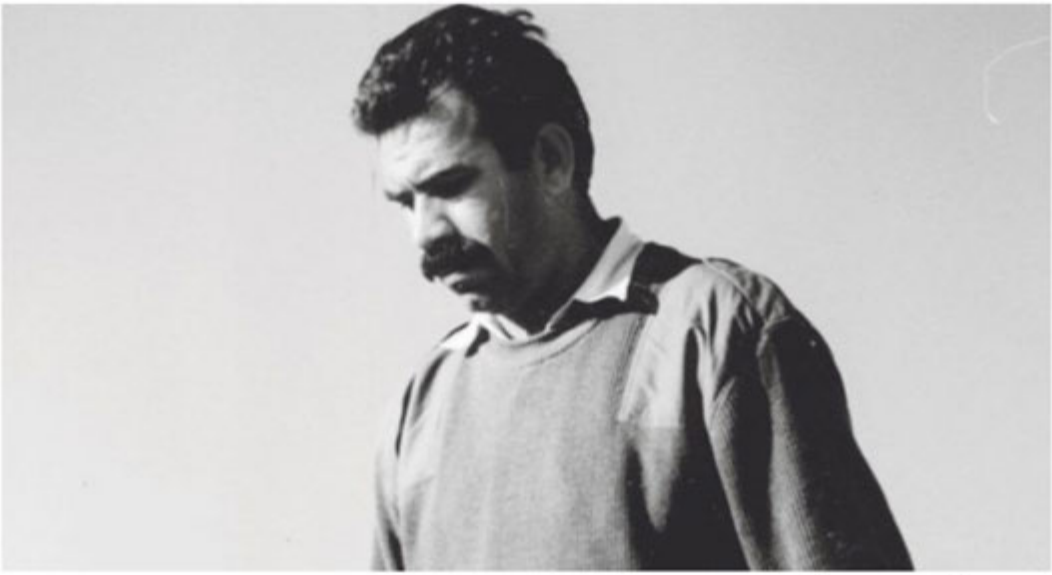
"In addition to the achievement of theoretical power of my personal and social foundation, the essential factor is my understanding of the historical society in its entire systematic structure. My understanding is based on the experience of fighting and on my success in taking responsibility."

A.Öcalan

Chairman Öcalan established his historic foundation of socialism on İmralı

After Ocalan was captured, he also linked the implementation of the International Conspiracy in some respects with the shortcomings of the struggle led by PKK. He stated that such a plot could be made because of certain mistakes. According to Ocalan, lack of comradery and false friendship played a role in his arrest. But at the same time, at the ideological, theoretical, political, practical and actionist level, he began to question how such a point was reached and why this development could not have been prevented. His criticism and self-criticism could become even more profound and comprehensive, as his conditions of detention allowed him to delve into the relevant subjects, to read a great deal, to develop himself intellectually, and to further develop his analyses of socialism. He came to the following conclusion: "In addition to the achievement of theoretical power of my personal and social foundation, the essential factor is my understanding of the historical society in its entire systematic structure. My understanding is based on the experience of fighting and on my success in taking responsibility." He had behaved responsibly towards his practice, history and society. Responsibility to history and society must be understood as a sense of responsibility towards socialism, socialist ideology, and all the people who are committed to these values, taking great risks and losing their lives. On İmralı he deepened his analyses in this regard. Most important issue in his analyses is that he considers the history of societies holistically. He analyzed in great detail the historical

development of the rulers and exploiters. At the same time, he carefully examined the position and and resistance of the oppressed and exploited throughout history and the values they produced. He showed that the forces for freedom and socialism have their own history just as the forces of capitalist modernity and imperialism have their own history. In this fashion he laid down his historical foundation on socialism, freedom and the democratic body of thought. He developed an ideological, theoretical and political approach that is the foundation and the root of socialism and freedom. He has written extensive analyses about religions, women, the Middle East, communal life in the course of social history, the nature of communality and sociality, and the historical foundations of democracy. In this way, he developed the intellectual basis for properly analyzing and understanding both the present and the past.



ABDULLAH ÖCALAN

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Öcalan's criticism of the theory and practice of socialism, of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, does not mean that he doesn't value or respect them. On the contrary, he felt a responsibility to attach importance and value to their efforts, feelings, and thoughts by correcting their mistakes.

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Öcalan's critique of the understanding of history by Marx and Engels

The development of this intellectual foundation is manifested in Ocalan's pleadings, written in the context of his defense before the European Court of Human Rights. Öcalan later developed his ideas in these writings further and gave them an ideological and theoretical framework. This is again founded on a specific understanding of history. In doing so, Öcalan analyzes in great detail both the different phases of social history and state-power systems, as well as the history of socialism. He deals with the tradition of communal and democratic values that existed long before Marx and Engels and before scientific socialism. At the same time, he analyzes and evaluates Marx and Engels' theory and practice. In this respect, Ocalan's analyses on İmralı represent a deepening of the analyses of socialism. They place socialism on a historical foundation. They show what characterizes capitalism and how socialism must be realized to fight against this system. First and foremost, Öcalan criticizes the underlying understanding of history by Marx and Engels. A linear and deterministic approach paves the way for mistakes, which in turn lead to dogmatism and fatalism. Öcalan emphasizes that a linear understanding of history as a theoretical approach leads to wrong conclusions. He undoubtedly attaches great importance to Marx and Engels while criticizing them at the same time. He doesn’t deny the values created by Marx and Engels. Because in a way, Öcalan's analyses are based on their experiences and considerations. Just like all

the other thinkers of human history who felt responsibility for humanity and defended it, the analyses of Marx and Engels take an important place in the thoughts of Chairman Öcalan too. In addition, Öcalan attached great importance to scientific socialism in the 1970s. It helped Öcalan to develop a new look at history. He regarded scientific socialism as the most advanced sociological approach of its time, including all its shortcomings, believed in it, and developed himself along its principles. Against this background, we can say that Öcalan's criticism of the theory and practice of socialism, of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, does not mean that he doesn’t value or respect them. On the contrary, he felt a responsibility to attach importance and value to their efforts, feelings, and thoughts by correcting their mistakes. To point out the mistakes in the ideology of Marx, Engels and Lenin, but also in the general socialist ideology means to pay them true respect and to give them true value. By leading socialism to success, the importance of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is preserved, and their efforts receive the necessary appreciation. If socialism is unsuccessful and does not become a rising ideology again by resolving its mistakes, its efforts lose value as well. In this regard, Öcalan criticizes and develops socialism without forgetting the great responsibility towards it.

Bronze Statues Of Karl Marx And Friedrich Engels

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Öcalan speaks of Marx, Engels and Lenin adopting a clearly anti-capitalist stance and leading a fight against capitalism. But they failed to impose a concept of democratic modernity that was assertive in the various fields of social and cultural life, feelings and thoughts.

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Öcalan calls the state as the most fundamental mistake of socialism

For Öcalan's view of history, rejecting a linear approach is important. He believes in dialectics but does not see its interpretation as linear. Notably, today's scientific developments confirm this point of view. Just as in the 18th and 19th centuries new scientific findings influenced Marxism, today the findings of quantum physics shape our way of thinking in a certain way.

Öcalan does not accept the assumption that democratic-communal values were completely destroyed with the emergence of the state. He regards democratic-communal values as a kind of parallel system that exists alongside the state system in form of social or religious movements. From this perspective, the history of democracy begins neither with Athens nor with Magna Charta, nor did socialist values emerge with Marx or Engels. He considers the assessment incorrect that the state system completely destroyed democratic-communal values and that they were only recreated through the scientific socialism created by Marx and Engels. He emphasizes that these values have always existed despite the state system and that it is therefore important to attach importance to them. He looks at the history in this way. But he also stresses that as a socialist, it is fundamentally necessary to develop a holistic position against capitalism. He calls capitalism a form of modernity based on the nation state, industrialism and profit economy. In opposition to this system, democratic modernity also has its own values: It counters the nation state with democratic confederalism and

with the democratic nation. It sees the ecological industry as an alternative to industrialism. Democratic modernity puts the socialist market in place of the profit economy. In this sense, democratic modernity and socialists must also develop a holistic and far-reaching alternative to capitalist modernity. Öcalan shows that Marx and Engels could not overcome the horizon of capitalism in this respect and could not assert a sufficiently strong socialist alternative to capitalist modernity. Of course, Öcalan speaks of Marx, Engels and Lenin adopting a clearly anti-capitalist stance and leading a fight against capitalism. But they failed to impose a concept of democratic modernity that was assertive in the various fields of social and cultural life, feelings and thoughts. While the capitalists succeeded in asserting their own holistic and systematic modernity, the socialists didn't succeed to counter this with their own modernity and to help it to influence society.

As a result of his theoretical analyses, Öcalan identifies the fundamental error of socialissm in the question of the state. He emphasizes that socialism cannot be achieved on the path of power or a dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism can only be achieved through democracy. In this sense, he refers to the weak socialism in the party structures as well as in the social structures of real socialism as the most fundamental weakness. He practices his self-criticism and radical change through the definition of power and state. He really examines power and state in great detail. In the analyses of Chairman Öcalan, power and state are analyzed in a very concise manner, which causes great excitement and enthusiasm. He develops alternatives too. He does not act like the anarchists and simply identifies the state

as bad. He also asks himself how good things must look in the face of the bad and develops a corresponding alternative. He sees the alternative in the system of democratic confederalism, which is based on an organized society. Öcalan says the oppressed will build their own leadership in the system of democratic confederalism, that is the democratic-confederal unity of organized democratic communities. He explains that democratic confederalism has the power of leadership too and that a socio-political life can be established also without a state with the democratic leadership.

In this context, he attaches importance to democratic politics. He describes politics as the work of society and does not regard the politics of colonialists and oppressors as true politics. He rates these as degenerate and distorted politics. But he advocates politics as such and the politicization of society. He speaks of the ethical and political society. All values created by mankind are understood as morality. Politics express the values created by humanity respectively the theory of practicing morality. In this regard, he sees the politicization of society at the ethical level as very important. Democratic confederalism is therefore very important. People can govern, defend, and economize themselves without states too, they can guarantee their whole system of life. Thus, he breaks an ideological hegemony. He does not demand to crush the state and found a new one but develops an alternative model to the state and a theory that overcomes the state.

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The overcoming of the male-hegemonic approach and the building of a social understanding in the sense of the liberation of women means crushing a strong and long-established ideological bastion of power: Because the woman created the first forms of sociality and the seizure of power by the man brought oppression and exploitation with it.

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Öcalan has ended the crisis of socialism ideologically and theoretically

In human history there are ideological hegemonies. In the first place there is an ideological and philosophical hegemony. For years it has been discussed how humans and society came into existence. There are religious and mythological perspectives. In recent centuries, philosophical and scientific views have developed. On this occasion, the ideological hegemonies created by religion and mythology have developed in the direction of philosophical and scientific evaluations and theses. An ideological hegemony is also the view that no leadership can develop without a state. This ideological hegemony was broken up by Öcalan. He has explained that even without a state, a leadership, namely that of democratic confederalism, can exist. Another ideological hegemony is the view that life must be organized in the form of husband and wife. Öcalan has approached the question of women's rights differently. Öcalan sees the equality of women and men not only as a question of legal equality. He intends to assert the convergence of women to society and the course of women's liberation in all areas of life, and in this context develops the paradigm of the democratic-ecological society based on the liberation of women. He draws a line under the prevailing ideology in this area. Without any doubt, socialism wanted to attach importance to women. But it remained attached to a petty-bourgeois understanding of equality, which was limited to legal and economic aspects. The freedom of the woman, however, is a question that goes beyond. The woman achieves

truly free and democratic life by shaping the entire social life that fills the political, economic, social and cultural life with her spirit. The overcoming of the male-hegemonic approach and the building of a social understanding in the sense of the liberation of women means crushing a strong and long-established ideological bastion of power: Because the woman created the first forms of sociality and the seizure of power by the man brought oppression and exploitation with it.

Öcalan also devotes himself to the question of economics and considers socialism, socialist production and socio-communal democratic production as an alternative to capitalism and exploitation. He shows that society is very well able to organize economic daily life itself, without a boss, an ağa or an exploiter. He combines this position with his understanding of modernity, all its values and the ecological perspective. He assumes that an economic understanding that is separate from an ecological approach can only remain as part of the exploitative state mentality. To be against capitalism or to speak only about the socialist economy as an alternative to capitalism is not enough. In addition, it is very important that this economic alternative is ecological. Because ecology expresses the holistic connection of society and nature. The system of oppression and exploitation, on the other hand, is based on alienation from nature and on human hegemony over nature. In this context, Öcalan considers the ecological society as very important to overcome the system of oppression and exploitation. All of this is part of Öcalan's proposal for a democratic-socialist alternative. Thus, he ends the crisis of socialism on an ideological-theoretical level. He also ends the dominance of certain ideological views in the field of

economics with his holistic approach.We must understand Öcalan's analyses as the end of the crisis of socialism on an ideological-theoretical level. It ends the tendency to understand socialism from the point of view of a state-power-based mentality and thus solves problems associated with this fundamental attitude. He overcomes also perceptions that are insufficient approaches to the liberation of women and thus prevent a good anchoring of socialism. He develops an understanding of socialism based entirely on the freedom of women, recognizing the role of women's mentality in the creation of sociality. His understanding of socialism is also founded on an ecological society. He enriches socialism with profound aspects. His thoughts about a system based not on power and state, but on a democratic-confederal principle, that is, a democratic understanding of socialism, and his analysis of the historical and theoretical foundations are a source of strength and excitement for all socialists.

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With his approach of the democratic nation, Öcalan prevents religious fanaticism or nationalism from poisoning the coexistence of societies. This ideological-theoretical approach represents a major step towards peaceful coexistence for people in the Middle East as well as around the world.

Öcalan's analyses of religion are very important contributions to socialism

One of the greatest shortcomings of socialists is their understanding of religion. This topic was not properly addressed. Religion has developed dogmatic and harmful aspects for humanity. There is no doubt that in the course of the history of religion we can identify developments which have been an obstacle to the development of humanity because of their dogmatism. But religion also has a social function and an ethical role. Öcalan views religion holistically by analyzing both its positive and negative sides, brought forth through dogmatism, in relation to each other. In this way, he turns holistically to the development of religion in the course of human history. This provides a fair assessment of religion while preventing it from being abused for political purposes. Because false interpretations of religion gave certain powers the opportunity to abuse them for their own political ends. Through his analyses, Öcalan wrestles from these exploitative forces the possibility to use religion as a weapon and a means of demagogy. Öcalan's holistic assessments about the question of religion are another important contribution to socialism in this respect.

Öcalan subjects the notion of the national state also to detailed investigations and shows that it is an expression of a system of genocide. His analyses make an important contribution to saving humanity from this tool of exploitation and oppression. Because capitalism uses the nation state on the one hand as a means of exploitation and oppression, and on the other hand carries out a

cultural genocide with its help. For his understanding of the nation, the concept of the democratic nation is crucial. In place of the destructive and belligerent conception of the nation state, Öcalan presents the concept of the democratic nation, which in turn represents the foundation for democratic society and democratic confederalism. It removes the basis for sectarianism, religious fanaticism, nationalism and ethnic-religious wars in this way. All this is very important. Because one of the greatest concerns of humanity of our time are the ethnically, confessionally and religiously justified wars. Wherever they rage, socialist and liberal approaches are suppressed. With his approach of the democratic nation, Öcalan prevents religious fanaticism or nationalism from poisoning the coexistence of societies. This ideological-theoretical approach represents a major step towards peaceful coexistence for people in the Middle East as well as around the world.

Berivan, a volunteer fighter of Ezîdxan Women's Units (YJÊ), with disheveled Islamic State flag. Shengal, Iraq, November, 2015

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Reducing socialism to equality alone would be a petty-bourgeois approach. It does not do justice to socialism if it is reduced solely to the equitable distribution of some objects.

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Öcalan has given 21st century socialism new meaning

Öcalan has brought forth the true meaning of socialism. Öcalan's analyses reveal in the most clear and beautiful way how the theory and practice of socialism must be. He is deeply connected with sociality. No ideological-theoretical considerations are so strongly influenced by giving value to society, strengthening it and making it the basis of all thinking. Öcalan considers sociality as something sacred. He shows that while Marx and Engels defend socialism and sociality, they don't succeed to perform a complete detachment from the individualistic life of the capitalist modernity and to put the democratic social life on a strong foundation. To speak of socialism always means to speak of sociality. It is part of an ideology and theory that defends the interests of society against individualism and against the interests of the ruling circles. It is not just about the equal distribution of goods produced. To look at socialism in this way would be inadequate. The fundamental meaning of socialism is to give society a deep sense of a free and democratic life, of sociality and its benefits to humanity. True socialism is in this sense an expression and agent of all values created in the course of human history. Reducing socialism to equality alone would be a petty-bourgeois approach. It does not do justice to socialism if it is reduced solely to the equitable distribution of some objects.

The understanding of socialism developed by Öcalan is an asset for all humanity. He renounces the connection to power and state. Instead,he uses democracy, freedom, ecology, women's freedom, the

ethical-political society, and conscience as a foundation. He makes socialism a strong value again. Under the influence of capitalism, humanity was destroyed. The consumer society means the end of humanity. Öcalan puts the renewed rise and awakening of man and society in place of the end of humanity. In the holy scriptures the wrath of God is set against the decay of society in a sense. Capitalism is at a similar point today. But instead of God's wrath, it would be more appropriate to speak of the anger of society in this context. Öcalan has put society's anger at the individualism and materialism created by capitalism on the agenda again. Öcalan has created a concept of socialism and a path of leadership that will lead society's anger and, in this sense, true socialism in the struggle against capitalism to success. From this perspective, Öcalan is the person who gave socialism the greatest value in the 21st century. All socialists should be aware of that.

There is no doubt that Öcalan's ideological-theoretical analyses can be further developed and formulated. It would be wrong to regard them as something that could not be changed, that is, to make a similar mistake like with the writings of Marx or Engels. Öcalan sets a clear direction. It is an expression of an appropriate understanding of socialism. But it has to be further drafted out. It must be further substantiated in practice. In this sense, all socialists can further develop Öcalan's theories, contribute to them and deepen them. But we should all acknowledge that Öcalan's has renewed the reputation of socialism and lived up to his responsibility to society at the highest level through his analyses.

Civilians Returning Home, Raqqa Syria

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The concept of Democratic Socialism set forth by Chairman Apo has been accepted by the society and the organization. Although with deficiencies and inadequacies, there has been an echo in society in the attempt to put it into practice.

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PKK had shortcomings due to inadequacies in the theory and practice of socialism

The PKK has adopted the socialist ideology since its emergence. It too was influenced by real socialism. It has appropriated the ideological and theoretical assessments, evaluations and analyses. But it is certain that the PKK has lived communally since its emergence. Because of this communal lifestyle, it has developed an internal democracy. That is how it preserved communalism. What is communal, must be democratic, what is democratic, must be communal. Because it is communlly oriented, which considers communal life to be extremely important and has implemented communalism in life, it has automatically established an internal democracy. Because you can not be communal, you can not lead a communal life without being democratic. If one insists on communalism, if communal life is put into practice, democrats and democracy will develop further. The PKK did not forego democratic life from the beginning. It has always been a revolutionary organization, a socialist organization, and has shown this through its practice too. It insisted on a socialist, political life. Socialism also has a life, a political life. Since the apoist movement has lived this in practice, the PKK has always held socialist values. It kept the practice of socialism physically alive. Perhaps it has shown ideological and theoretical shortcomings, but due to the insistence on social life, a certain democratic value has emerged.

Of course, there may be shortcomings in sociality and the understanding of it. Because there are misguided forms of it too.

Real socialism was misguided in this regard too. Religions are also socially connoted. Later, these religions contributed to the fact that these socialities were distorted and abused by bogus ideologies. There are also practices that need to be criticized and evaluated in this context. Even though there are deficiencies and inadequacies in the PKK regarding this matter, it has built its existence by living along certain democratic values. A culture of criticism and self-criticism was formed, of mutual criticism in life, of building communalism in life with these democratic values. Such a tradition has emerged. Over the years, this tradition has become an extremely systematic understanding of criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism are not only part of certain platforms of the party, but a communal life has emerged, in which criticism and self-criticism have become an integral element. This has ensured the existence of socialist and democratic values in apoism and in the PKK from the beginning.

Of course, from the outset there have been shortcomings and inadequacies arising from deficits in the theory and practice of socialism. Therefore, the PKK was not completely successful. It came to the arrest of our chairman Apo. Despite a great willingness to make sacrifices, the PKK experienced enormous difficulties. It came to the formation of gang-like structures. Chairman Apo has carried out in-depth analyses concerning this matter. These included criticism and self-criticism both in terms of socialism and the PKK. They were directed at the militants, the cadres and the leadership of the PKK. In this context, he didn't only criticize the PKK, but tried to create a practical correlate. He strived to project this on the practice of the

party and onto the life within these structures, as well as on social spheres of action and thus on the social and democratic revolution. In this way he obtained after the international conspiration a renewed strong encounter of the PKK with the society.

The people who are aiming at our liquidation wanted to mislead the democratic paradigm presented by Chairman Apo in 2003. With that they wanted to conceal their destructive intentions. They have attempted to handle the revolutionary-socialist and democratic-socialist understanding of the chairman in the way that some socialist parties and circles have done since the end of socialism, after the collapse of real socialism. These have criticized socialism and at the same time drifted towards liberalism. But neither Chairman Apo nor our movement has allowed this. Our chairman declared Democratic Confederalism in 2005. The statement by Chairman Apo "I declare Democratic Confederalism" amounted to the statement "I declare Democratic Socialism". Thus, a democratic-confederal system and appropriate structures of governance based on a democratic society should be created. This should rest on communal democratic values at the same time. A democratic-confederal system was planned, based not on individualism and materialism but on spiritual values and on society. This perspective and the declaration of Democratic Confederalism by Chairman Apo have had a positive effect on Turkey and especially the Kurds. This declaration has led to great developments in society, to a strengthening of the social foundation and to an enormous interest of youth and women in the movement.There were undoubtfully deficiencies too. The organizational units and social structures

responsible for the organization of democratic confederalism have considered the confederal relationship as separate from the general public. There have been wrong tendencies, such as that each unit has presented itself to be more autonomous, even segregated itself like feudal principalities. However, it was something new. It was therefore understandable that there were problems in implementing the theoretical strategies into practice. The concept of Democratic Socialism set forth by Chairman Apo has been accepted by the society and the organization. Although with deficiencies and inadequacies, there has been an echo in society in the attempt to put it into practice. The concept of a Democratic Nation has found acceptance among societies. The KCK system has influenced society in Northern Kurdistan. When the influence of Democratic Confederalism and the KCK, developed by Chairman Apo, was realized as a systematic implementation, it came to the arrests of KCK members on April 14, 2009. The resistance of the self-government was a resistance aimed at building democratic socialism through an organized society. The tremendous commitment of our Chairman Apo has created all these developments. The organized, democratic society had reached a certain level at that time. This had projected itself on Turkey. A collective has happened with the peoples of Turkey. Thus, an important level could be reached in the development of an organized, democratic society in the sense of the democratic-socialist understanding of Chairman Öcalan. But it involved a one-sided approach. This work was not conducted in conjunction with the question of defense in the case of an attack, which is the result of thehostility of colonialism to democracy, socialism and Kurds. This

work was seen as a solution to the problems. At a time when weapons were silent and lethargy prevailed, democratic confederalism was not built fundamentally and comprehensively. An organized society could not be established in all areas. Society as a whole could not be integrated into the system of Democratic Confederalism. An organized force, the appropriate attitude and the revolutionary understanding of legitimate self-defense could not be created. There was a one-sided approach. Since the attacks of the enemy were not recognized in advance, a mechanism and an organization of self-defense have not been created. So, the enemy could attack after July 24, 2015. It tried to suppress the conscious society that is the result of the Democratic Socialism developed by the Chairman. This shows that the PKK did not properly carry out the work in Northern Kurdistan. The Freedom Movement has assigned this task and responsibility to the institutions in Northern Kurdistan and Turkey. Efforts to remedy these shortcomings did not take place in a timely manner. However, because our organization in Northern Kurdistan and Turkey has organized the society but has not developed any self-defense concepts against any attacks, it has shown weakness in the course of the attacks. That's why they wanted to oppress the population. Against these attacks, it came to resistance by the self-administration according to the democratically organized socialist society. It was a historical resistance. This is very important. This resistance aimed towards building Democratic Socialism, the Democratic Nation, through an organized, democratic society. Of course, Democratic Socialism and the democratic-confederal system are not aiming at state-building. But an organizational strength and

resistance would have been needed to protect against any attacks by the state and to achieve recognition of the system by the state. Of course, the Kurdish freedom movement wanted the solution of the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey to succeed in democratic political ways. It has shown this stance over and over again. However, on the basis of the knowledge of attacks by Turkey, which doesn't have a democratic state system, it would have had to achieve a revolutionary level of organization and self-defense. Despite the shortcomings, Chairman Apo's understanding of democratic socialism and democratic confederalism has influenced society. Society has recognized the freedom and the democratic life in it. However, since this task was not tackled in its entirety, there have been counter-attacks. There have been murders and arrests. Fascism still continues its attacks against the organized, democratic society and against the democratic forces.

PKK Guerrillas Pose Near Makhmour Trench Position
Makhmour, Iraq

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THE EXPERIENCE IN ROJAVA WILL INCREASINGLY OVERCOME THESE AND SHOW THAT, AS STATED BY CHAIRMAN APO, IT IS POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN NATIONAL FREEDOM WITHOUT THE STATE, AND TO ESTABLISH DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRATIC CONFEDERALISM.

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Efforts to build democratic socialism continue in Rojava

We find another practical implementation of Democratic Socialism developed by Chairman Apo in the Rojava Revolution. The efforts to build a democratic-confederal system based on a democratic society, i.e. democratic socialism, continue in Rojava. The establishment of Democratic Socialism in the sense of democratic confederalism on a democratic foundation and without the formation of a state represents a new practice. Even if there are shortcomings, this model is being built up in Rojava. But there are inadequacies in the building of Democratic Confederalism and Democratic Socialism without the formation of a state. The democratic-confederal system is based on the position of convincing and integrating society. However, the authority of the revolution must also be used. That is why it is important to make good use of the impact and reputation of the revolution, to integrate the whole of society into an organized and democratic society, and to include communal, democratic life, at a time when the revolution is in a hot phase and very much alive. There are deficiencies in this respect. However, the experience in Rojava will increasingly overcome these and show that, as stated by Chairman Apo, it is possible to obtain national freedom without the state, and to establish Democratic Socialism and Democratic Confederalism. If we claim that we have fully realized Democratic Socialism in accordance with Democratic Confederalism corresponding to our ideas, there is a danger that we may fall into errors, fail to recognize deficiencies, and accordingly can't

make improvements. Important steps have been taken in this regard, but a correct implementation into practice through a proper ideological and political leading role model is required. There are difficulties under war conditions of course. It is therefore important to establish this system under wartime conditions. This is not easy. Even in the Soviet Union, characterized by the dictatorship of the proletariat, there was a period of war communism in which socialist theory was not fully implemented or respectively hindered. Even though there are numerous shortcomings in the war, they can be overcome by leaning on an organized, democratic society and the ideological and theoretical path of Chairman Apo, and a liberal democratic system can be established.

Civilians Returning Home, Al Hishah Raqqa, Syria

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Far from denominations and nationalism, the democratic-confederal system brings the peoples together in Rojava. This is extremely important. This alone shows the victory of the democratic-socialist concept and such a conviction.

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A new socialist wave begins worldwide

The Democratic Confederalism concept of Chairman Öcalan, his path of Democratic Socialism, has created a certain excitement among all people. Revolutionaries are coming to Rojava from many countries around the world to experience this practice by themselves. The people of the Middle East actually see the solution in Democratic Confederalism today, which is rests on the Democratic Nation, far from ethnically and denominationally connoted conflicts. This influences the societies. Because the practice in Rojava influences the societies with this concept, it draws the Arabs, Assyrians and peoples of the region on its side. Far from denominations and nationalism, the democratic-confederal system brings the peoples together in Rojava. This is extremely important. This alone shows the victory of the democratic-socialist concept and such a conviction.

The course of the freedom of women, which is an important part of Democratic Socialism of Chairman Apo, is creating excitement not only in Kurdistan and the Middle East but worldwide. All societies and powers around the world feel an urge to openness towards the path of Chairman Apo with regard to the question women's rights in order to influence and win over women. Because they have recognized that the path of chairman Apo will influence and win all peoples, not only the women, but the entire society, if the question of women's rights is handled incorrectly. Concerned that this feminist, democratic, socialist path will have a tremendous impact on societies, everyone strives

YPG Patrol Truck, Tel Hamis, Syria

to develop their own relevant women's rights policies. The course of the free woman, the democratic-socialist course, has already forced many circles to assert themselves and to make arrangements. The capitalist system has recognized too that it needs a reform to survive against the democratic-socialist course of Chairman Apo. But capitalism has deepened social problems so much and has divided society so much that it is not easy to survive with palliative solutions and a few reforms. Thus, liberal and social democratic parties are falling apart worldwide, and the rightists are coming to power. This shows that the leftists, liberalism, capitalism have lost the ability to find a solution. The problems in capitalism are increasing. The rightists come into power by saying, "I'm coming, pulling my sword and making improvements." This is a transitional phase. It is not possible for the rightists to find solutions to the problems of capitalism, and to make those work. After all, capitalism is the cause of the problems. That's why the toughest and most militant defenders of capitalism will not be able to solve their problems. We are entering a phase in which Democratic Socialism will rise. It is already evident that in the coming years Democratic Socialism will become an ascending value and will be the only solution to the problems of society. The rightist powers will lead to a deepening of the problems as well and won't be able to solve them. As a result, democratic-socialist movements will overcome capitalism and state systems and assert themselves on the path of Democratic Confederalism as an ecological, political, social, economic, and cultural alternative system. A new socialist wave will gain increasing influence worldwide.

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Without a revolutionary approach, without initiative, without effort and without a political or practical position, the revolution cannot succeed, even if the conditions are given from an objective point of view. Revolutions are carried out by revolutionaries and revolutionary organizations.

Chairman Apo has presented the PKK with a revolutionary objective similar to the October Revolution

Because Chairman Apo has recognized this reality, he has given the PKK the goal of carrying out a revolution like the October Revolution. Though capitalism is in a worldwide crisis, it is more complex in the Middle East. Because the crisis of the capitalist modernity has combined itself with the 5000-year old crisis of the system of states, pure chaos has emerged. It won't be possible to pacify and stabilize the Middle East with palliative care in this situation. Because not only capitalism, but also the 5000-year old system of states is in crisis. This crisis can only be overcome by profound democratic revolutions and political systems. Chairman Apo has recognized this reality, which centers itself on the Kurdish question. He sees that the Kurds, with their democratic character, their democratic experiences and the ideological and theoretical analyses they have brought forward, can revolutionize both Kurdistan and the whole of the Middle East. As a matter of fact, a revolutionary atmosphere prevails in Kurdistan and in the Middle East. The problems have gained weight. They can only be solved with a comprehensive democratic revolution. Chairman Apo has revealed the extent of the crisis in the Middle East, which is in a kind of Third World War. He has identified that neither the forces of the capitalist modernity nor the regional states or fanatical, religious circles can find solutions.Democratic socialism leaning on democratic confederalism and the democratic revolution based on a democratic nation are the alternative for the Middle East. With thisrealization, he set the PKK, the

freedom movement, the goal of a revolution like the October Revolution. His perspective was, "But this will not happen automatically. If you assess this correctly and implement good leadership, a new October Revolution can take place in Kurdistan and the Middle East. The revolution of Kurdistan can capture the entire Middle East." Through his perspectives in such an atmosphere, he has demanded that the revolution in Kurdistan be extended to the entire Middle East and become a democratic revolution of the Middle East. He also stressed that the revolutionary military forces should not only aim for the freedom of Kurdistan, but also for the democratic revolution of the Middle East. Thus he has made clear to us both the situation in Kurdistan and the Middle East and the resulting responsibility. Because the revolution does not happen automatically. The conditions for a revolution are present in Kurdistan and the Middle East. However, the revolution can only succeed under these conditions, if we fight correctly, truly take initiative, and show an organizational and revolutionary understanding accordingly. Without a revolutionary approach, without initiative, without effort and without a political or practical position, the revolution cannot succeed, even if the conditions are given from an objective point of view. Revolutions are carried out by revolutionaries and revolutionary organizations. The revolutionary soul and the revolutionary fighting mentality lead to revolution. If the revolutionary concept intended by Chairman Ocalan is practiced under the conditions of a Third World War, a great revolution will take place in both Kurdistan and the Middle East. Is there a different solution in the Middle East which is influenced by chaos? Is there a

different force for a solution in Kurdistan other than the PKK? Is there an ideological and political strategy in Turkey, Iran, Iraq or Syria that covers all problems? There are none except the PKK. There is no alternative except the PKK. Chairman Apo has given the PKK such a power,such a weapon, by pointing out the method of socialist organization through his ideological and theoretical analyses. How well the PKK will use this is another topic. The situation in the Middle East, the situation in Kurdistan, imperialist politics, its ideological, political, social and economic strategy, the stance of the forces of the status quo and the heretical religious movements, what are they all looking for? They are looking for an actor, a force that solves these problems. They are literally shouting in Kurdistan and the Middle East that they need a revolution and revolutionaries. We must overcome this situation. They see the solution in the revolutionaries. That's the reality. If you approach the problem with appropriate revolutionary organizations and a corresponding understanding of struggle in the spirit of Chairman Apo, there will be an October Revolution in Kurdistan and the Middle East, and it will affect the entire world. If we approach the problem with an appropriate revolutionary organization and a corresponding understanding of the fight in the sense of Chairman Apo, there will be an October Revolution in Kurdistan and the Middle East and this will influence the entire world.

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The attitude based on the brotherhood of the peoples is important in the Rojava revolution. It is important to break nationalist tendencies with a socialist approach. The PKK is also leading a national freedom struggle.

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An ideological-theoretical strategy helps military forces to succeed

There is an understanding of democratic socialism in the PKK. 100 years after the October Revolution, the mistakes of real socialism can be remedied, and a new October Revolution can take place. The first practical correlate is the revolution in Rojava. It has been in existence for several years and has proven that Democratic Socialism based on a Democratic Nation and Democratic Confederalism has been specified in political, social, economic and cultural terms. Of course, the economic basis could not be fully developed yet. The democratic-socialist leadership model couldn't be fully established yet either. There are still deficiencies in this area. The fact that it has lasted for several years nevertheless is due to the fact that the practical implementation is correct and that it is based on the people. If there had been no understanding of a democratic nation and no reliance on the people, the revolution would have been repeatedly crushed in Rojava. It is not the military force that protects them. Of course, the YPG and YPJ fighters show great willingness for sacrifice and resilience. That is correct, but the real success is not due to the military forces. It is the ideological-theoretical approach that leads the military forces to success. The understanding of the Democratic Nation, Democratic Confederalism and Democratic Socialism are crucial. The attitude based on the brotherhood of the peoples is important in the Rojava revolution. It is important to break nationalist tendencies with a socialist approach. The PKK is also leading a national freedom struggle. That's

why this movement or rather the national problems show a tendency toward nationalist approaches. It is a sensitive topic, to hold on to socialism and at the same time to lead a national struggle for freedom. Democratic socialism requires a very cautious, sensitive approach in the national liberation struggle. If you cannot keep the socialist course permanently, there is a danger of a nationalist tendency. Nationalism can poison Democratic Socialism, the Democratic Nation and Democratic Socialism. The PKK has always kept itself away from focusing on the state and on nationalism. The brotherhood of the peoples, the democratic and free unity of the peoples away from nationalistic influences and wrong ways were always paramount. In this way it has been able to preserve democratic socialism and to carry it along to this day. Of course, it is not easy to uphold the democratic-socialist course in a principled way in a region like the Middle East, where all the imperialist forces are fighting, where all the world powers are active and where the 5000-year old tradition of the state and the status quo are established. Because the Middle East is at the same time a place of extensive political struggles. Political struggles do not accept simple strategies. Political struggle involves relationships, balances and tactics. These form the central pillars of politics. It is not possible to pursue politics with a narrow ideological approach. The ideological stance must lead to a correct politicization. Ideological goals lead to success with correct politicization, right tactics, relationships and alliances. Correct steps and initiatives can lead to success. This will not be possible with simple strategies and evaluations. Ideology cannot be politicized in that case. In this way, ideology cannot become a political force. Otherwise it is not possible

to succeed. Therefore, when you do politics, you have to be very careful and sensitive.While chairman Apo and the PKK have made politics, they have been very cautious. They have met the necessities for both politics and ideological position. They have not deviated from their ideological principles in this process, nor have they shown an apolitical attitude. For this reason, it can be said that the PKK has really pursued very differentiated policies and thus protected the socialist principles. There are always people who criticize the Kurdish freedom movement for this. There are allegations for example, that an insufficient stand has been taken against imperialism or that is hasn't been met with a revolutionary position. These are superficial approaches far removed from politicization, politics and practice, which merely want to limit socialism to the ideological framework. This attitude is wrong. Socialist ideology must be put into practice and politicized. The October Revolution has also shown this political flexibility; see the alliances and agreements for the protection of the revolution. From this perspective, the PKK has indeed shown a correct attitude with regard to politicization. It has maintained its principles as well as obtained that, through the correct political position, the course of Democratic Socialism, that is, that of the PKK, became effective. The PKK strengthened the democratic-socialist course and gained in prestige. The existence, strengthening and development of the PKK is equivalent to strengthening and developing democratic socialism. The PKK obtains this despite deficiencies.

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The coexistence of the democratic state, which does not intervene everywhere, and of democratic confederalism or democratic socialism does not automatically mean the recognition of the state. There will be tensions with the state. The society, which will have tensions with the state, will make its democratic character even more effective and overcome the state.

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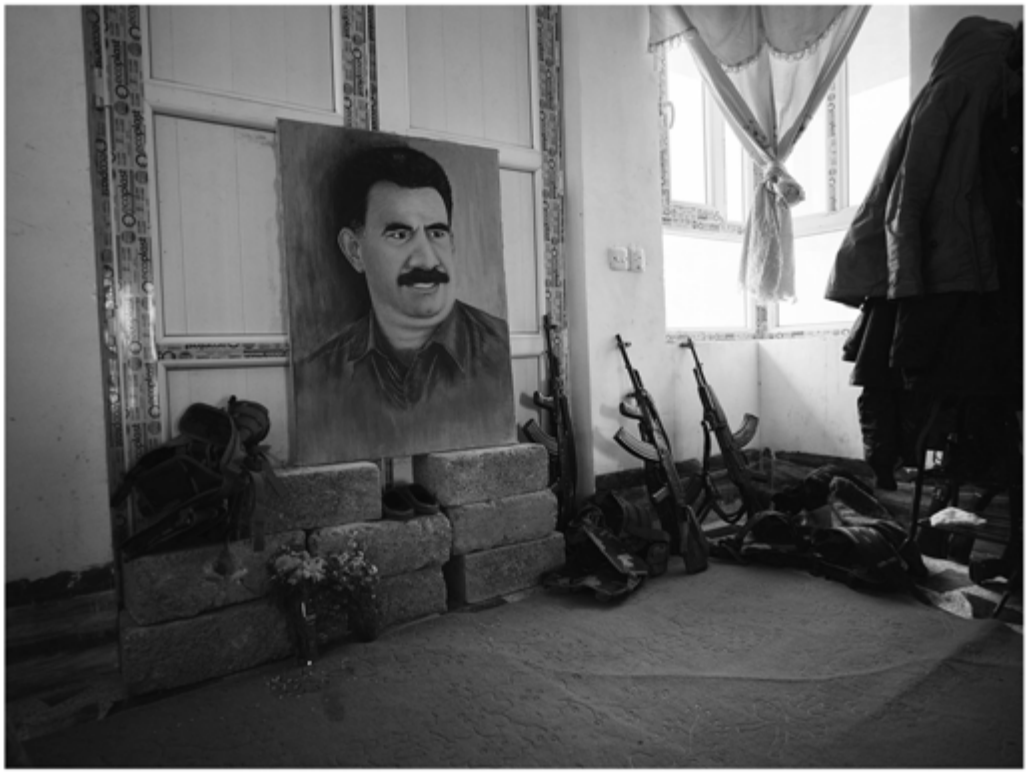
A solution in the Middle East is not possible without considering the ethnic and denominational problems

The PKK has pursued this in the sense of the socialist course and the paradigms of Chairman Apo. It has coupled ideological strategies to proper politicization. Their approach to religion as well as the different understanding of democracy and freedom of different social circles has always been correct. It has considered the Middle East as a mosaic of faith communities as well as of ethnic societies. For this reason, it is not possible to understand or practice democratic socialism with a limited understanding of class. This will lead to misjudgments. Of course, there are classes and they have a position as well. The approach of the bourgeoisie cannot be that of the working people. These are basic sociological realities. However, it is not possible to consider the problems in the Middle East exclusively with a limited class-based approach, without taking the fundamental ethnic and denominational problems into account. Our freedom movement has developed the right approach in this regard. It has not shown a limited, class-based stance that neglects ethnic and denominational problems and thus cannot bring forth a solution. Problems do not solve themselves by saying that socialism comes and solves everything. If one does not show a correct approach to denominational and ethnic problems, concepts such as democratic socialism, equal rights, freedom and democratic ideals cannot be effective. The PKK has shown an important attitude in this regard. Because of the correct approach to religion, societies associated

with faith too have developed sympathy for the PKK. Especially believers and imams respect our chairman very much. They feel his relationship to society. His social approach appreciates every value. Of course, chairman Apo does not accept anyone's shortcomings. However, nobody is worthless to him. He also attributes the necessary esteem to religion. His approach to religion is not flawed, unlike others. His approach is neither dogmatic nor fanatical, but he gives religion the correct meaning. He sees the shortcomings of the religious approach, but he also generates a perspective on the historical and social role of religion. In addition, there are important tribes and orders and corresponding traditional communities in the Middle East. These have distorted and degenerate aspects in their history. On the one hand this is to be recognized, on the other hand to be changed and transformed. Denial or neglect does not make sense. A correct attitude is necessary, which aims to eliminate the weaknesses. Exactly this attitude shows chairman Apo and the PKK. PKK's path of Democratic Socialism has shown in the worldwide left, including the Rojava revolution, that: Democratic Socialism is possible and effective, even without destroying the state and replacing it with a new one. This is extremely important. It is neither based on a nation state nor does it favor it. Nor did it state that it would completely overthrow the Syrian state and found a new socialist state. It strives for organizing the society and for implementing its own democratic-socialist course. Either the existing state will accept these democratic developments, or the struggle will continue. The coexistence of the democratic state, which does not intervene everywhere, and of democratic confederalism or democratic tensions

the state. The society, which will have tensions with the state, will make its democratic character even more effective and overcome the state. It will not destroy the state, but relations with the state will always be characterized by struggle and tensions. Thus, the democratic-socialist framework will expand. The acceptance of a democratic society as well as the existence of democratic confederalism amounts to a compromise and a transformation of the state. But even then, the fight continues.



Sinjar Mountain, Iraq, March 2015

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The stateless socialism based on Democratic Confederalism could be realized in Rojava because self-defense was integrated. This has also led to increased acceptance on the part of regional states and international forces. The Syrian regime will recognize this democratization project and accordingly align itself democratically. The new Syria will only find peace and stability in this way.

Democratic socialism will increasingly repress and eventually overcome the state

The struggle between the democratic-confederal system, respectively the society based on democratic socialism and the state will continue. Democratic Confederalism and Democratic Socialism will increasingly repress and eventually overcome the state. The PKK continues its fight for the revolution and the overcoming of the state against this background without orienting itself towards the state and without the claim to destroy the state immediately. It is not a matter of first destroying the state and then establishing socialism but building socialism from now on. The struggle for an organized, democratic society and a democratic-confederal system based on it must be led today. In this process there will be a self-defense too. We have seen the deficiencies due to the lack of self-defense. While developing the democratic-confederal system in northern Kurdistan, there had been the delusion that freedom and democracy were easy to win, as if Turkey was one such country, and Kurdistan was one such region. Because the solution of the Kurdish question and the democratization of Turkey, based on an organized Kurdish society, was lacking the aspect of self-defense, it was subject to fascist attacks. If the understanding of self-defense against fascism is not sufficiently felt and the need is not seen, an organized democratic society cannot be developed sufficiently. Because if self-defense is not found necessary, there is no strong need for an organized society. This attitude is an expression of the misjudgment that the solution of the problems can be achieved at the

negotiating table. It is due to petty-bourgeois tendencies as well as those of the middle class and does not correspond to the understanding of democratic socialism. These misjudgments have been criticized and self-criticism was made. It becomes clear in Rojava that the implementation of the democratic-socialist course is possible without the existence of the state. In Rojava, the democratic-socialist course is lived on the basis of self-defense without the state and its government. The practice in Rojava is therefore very important. There is of course also a democratic-confederal system built upon a democratically organized society and a corresponding self-defense. The stateless socialism based on Democratic Confederalism could be realized in Rojava because self-defense was integrated. This has also led to increased acceptance on the part of regional states and international forces. The Syrian regime will recognize this democratization project and accordingly align itself democratically. The new Syria will only find peace and stability in this way.

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The participation of women in the free and democratic life in real socialism differs from the understanding of chairman Apo in relation to a life characterized by the freedom of women, overall freedom and democracy.

With the PKK, socialism will attain the spirit of freedom of the woman

The course of free women, which is implemented in the practice of the PKK, is to be emphasized again. The pivot of socialism lies exactly here. Without a correct understanding of it, democratic socialism cannot be properly established. Because not only the first formation of society happened here, but also the founding of the first power structures. All the following power structures are based on these. In order to be able to break and to destroy them, the path to women's freedom is needed. Because she is the founder of the first social formation, we need the freedom of the woman for the establishment of the true society. The concept of women's freedom differs from that of real socialism. This is not in quantity, but in quality and understanding. In real socialism, it was assumed that women will be free if there is economic, political, cultural and social equality. A certain level of freedom can be achieved in this way, but this is insufficient and does not lead to true socialism. It will not actually make the society democratic-socialist. Therefore, a proper socialist understanding oriented towards the course of free women is needed. For this reason, a democratic socialism based on women's freedom, and the democratic and ecological paradigm of chairman Apo forms the basis. If it is only a question of giving women rights and equality, this would correspond to the petty-bourgeois understanding of equal rights. This will not really lead the women to freedom. The resulting democratic system doesn't lead to the freedom of women. With this attitude, no society can be built, and no life can be

created, which relies on the freedom and the spirit of women, just as little a democratic-socialist system. There can only be democracy and equal participation on a certain level. However, because the system is historically male-dominated, this conviction cannot be completely overcome. In a male-dominated system, women are given rights and a place. The woman has more equality than before, and it results in a more democratic approach. PKK's and chairman Apo's course of free women differ from this. The entire political, social, economic and cultural life will take shape on the basis of a path to women's freedom and the spirit of the woman. A new life, marked by the course of free women and the spirit of women, will emerge. This is another situation. The participation of women in the free and democratic life in real socialism differs from the understanding of chairman Apo in relation to a life characterized by the freedom of women, overall freedom and democracy. This free life is not only based on equality of differences. 'The woman is different; the others are different' is not the underlying understanding. The equality of differences as the basis of the concept of freedom does not fully reflect the course of free women. The diversity of the woman is an expression of another fact. It differs from the diversity of youth as well as national and religious differences. The position of women in matters of freedom is an expression of the fact that the course of free women has captured the spirit of the whole of society. Equal rights are no longer sought here. Not equality is taken as the basis here, but a socialist understanding, which is characterized by the course of free women. The course of free women of Chairman Apo differs from the corresponding course in real socialism and in Europe against this

the real socialist perspective. The course of the PKK must not be viewed from this perspective and not with this conviction.

Tekoshin, PKK Sniper, Makhmour

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THE WOMEN'S PARTY IS NOT JUST A PARTY FOR WOMEN OR A PARTY THAT DEALS WITH THE QUESTION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS. IT IS ABOUT PIONEERING THE ROLE IT PLAYS IN DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM. A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THIS AND EMBRACING SOCIETY AS A WHOLE IS IMPORTANT. IT IS AN ORGANIZATION WITH A LEADING ROLE.

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Chairman Apo has completed socialism with the ideology of women's liberation

The PKK also considered the question of women's rights in the classic socialist sense of Marx and Engels before the 1990s. But Chairman Apo has realized that this is insufficient. He realized that true socialism, true democracy and freedom cannot be achieved in this way. For this reason, he has taken the course of women's freedom as a basis and created a democratic and ecological society paradigm of liberated women. He has also developed an ideological approach based on a life in which women are free. Against this background, he spoke of a women's liberation ideology. These should not be understood exclusively in the context of women. It is the liberation ideology for all humanity. Therefore, Democratic Socialism grows with the ideology of women's liberation, thus gaining in scope and meaning. Both its scope and reach have increased. Therefore, the ideology of women's liberation must be seen as an ideological approach that will add meaning and quality to the socialist course. The Chairman has pushed all these developments forward with this approach. For this reason, it was also important to Chairman Apo that the women form their own party. It was important here that the course of free women is comprehensively understood and implemented. Against this background, the women's party is not just a party for women or a party that deals with the question of women's rights. It is about pioneering the role it plays in democracy, socialism and freedom. A better understanding of this and embracing society as a whole is important. It is an organization with a leading role.

It should therefore be seen as a soul, as the holistically determining, as the ideological-theoretical expression of the course of free women and socialist course of chairman Apo. A democratic socialism, which is not united with the course of free women, is an incomplete democratic socialism. Therefore, the ideology of women's liberation of Chairman Apo has completed socialism.

Just as society forms a unit, socialism must be unified. In primitive communal societies society was not divided. Because society was shaped by the spirit of the free woman. This unity was lost later. The society was divided and no longer united. Social life lost its importance. With his course of free women, Chairman Apo unites this separated, broken life again. This is the pure truth. When Chairman Apo speaks of the truth, he means exactly that.

If this is understood well, the concept and understanding of Democratic Socialism by our chairman Apo will be well understood. It is about internalizing his understanding of freedom, democracy and socialism. The practice will develop accordingly.