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On the New Framework Law for the Disarmament of the PKK

As part of the reconciliation process between the PKK and the Turkish state, a new framework law has been passed. The fundamental purpose of this law is to establish the legal and practical conditions for the disarmament

of the guerrilla and the dissolution of its military structures. The focus is on questions regarding how the guerrilla forces are to lay down their arms, how this process will be organized, what institutional prerequisites must

be established, and through which political and organizational mechanisms this process is to be managed. The PKK had already made its own decision to lay down its arms. The framework law now establishes the state's legal framework to regulate the return of former guerrilla fighters. With the abandonment of the strategy of armed struggle and the dissolution of military structures, a new phase begins. After their disarmament has been "verified and confirmed," the guerrilla forces are to submit an application to avail themselves of the law, with the aim of participating in the legal political struggle in the future. Prisoners from PKK-related cases, as well as those convicted and living in various countries or individuals wanted for their political affiliation with the PKK, should also be able to follow the same path. This, however, raises the fundamental political question: What does this process mean from the perspective of the Turkish colonial state? What changes does it bring for the Kurdish people and their political demands? Has this denialist colonialism recognized even a single national democratic right?

For while the framework law regu-

lates the disarmament and dissolution of the military force of the Kurdish national democratic movement, it does not acknowledge the political causes of the conflict. Not a single collective right of the Kurdish people is recognized. The criminalization of national democratic demands is not lifted. Those who wage a political struggle for these demands continue to be treated as "terrorists" and are forced to submit individual applications. At the same time, numerous prisoners are to remain in detention; a general amnesty is not provided for. Hundreds of people involved in PKK-related cases remain in prison, while leaders and commanders of the PKK, PJAK, and HPG continue to face solitary confinement and repression. Against this backdrop, the question arises as to why an agreement should be recognized that guarantees neither the national rights of the Kurdish people nor fundamental democratic freedoms. A process that focuses exclusively on the military dismantling of a movement, without changing the political and social conditions, cannot constitute a genuine solution to the Kurdish question. The law is titled "Strengthening National Solidarity and Social In-



tegration.” At the same time, representatives of the racist, fascist, and political-Islamist bloc continue to openly declare their vision of a centralized nation-state and their rejection of collective rights. The fact that the national democratic movement nevertheless views a law whose content and objectives are based on the concept of a “terror-free Turkey” or a “terror-free region” as a possible path to a solution fuels expectations that cannot be met and paves the way for disillusionment.

Disarmament Without Political Recognition

While in numerous historical examples the dismantling of armed

structures has been linked to political agreements, legal recognition, and processes of social change, the present framework law of the Turkish colonial state focuses primarily on the disarmament of the PKK without any significant concessions. It is therefore misleading to attribute to this law, or to certain political statements by state representatives, a significance that goes beyond its actual content. The hope that the end of armed struggle alone will automatically lead to a democratic solution fails to recognize the fundamental political realities. The character of a state is revealed not solely in individual laws, but in its entire political structure. The army, police, intelligence ser-

vices, courts, and prisons are deployed when movements of the peoples, the working class, and the oppressed challenge existing power structures. Negotiations do not automatically mean that colonizers recognize fundamental rights. History shows that democratic rights such as freedom of assembly, freedom of association, or freedom of expression can be restricted at any time if they conflict with the interests of the ruling forces.

The PKK Has Not Been Defeated

While the framework law is being publicized and the dissolution process is being initiated, the state is waging a political and media campaign aimed at weakening the Kurdish people's will to fight and demoralizing them. State media portray the PKK as having been defeated. In reality, despite decades of state terror, the mobilization of its entire security apparatus, and its immense monopoly on violence, the Turkish colonial state has failed to defeat the PKK. Rather, the current process has emerged under conditions in which the political situation in the region is fundamentally changing, and the Turkish colonial

state seeks to secure its survival in a protracted phase of war characterized by shifting fronts, interruptions, and new political developments and sees negotiations with the PKK as a way out. In a demagogic manner, state representatives even speak of "a thousand-year-old Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood." There is undoubtedly a long shared history of coexistence among various peoples in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. However, a shared history does not automatically imply equality, recognition, or equal rights. True fraternity can only arise on the basis of political and social equality. Throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey, the Kurdish people have faced denial, assimilation, and oppression. The issue of Kurdish rights is therefore not merely a matter of cultural differences, but a matter of political equality. This includes, in particular, the recognition of Kurdish identity, the right to develop their own language and culture, the freedom of political organization, and the guarantee of freedom of expression and action. The expectation that the state will automatically become democratized following the disarmament and dissolution of the guerrilla



movement therefore poses a significant political risk. Democratization does not arise from the unilateral surrender of weapons, but through concrete changes to the state's structure and the recognition of democratic rights.

A New Phase Begins

The framework law contains no measures or guarantees that would enable an actual resolution of the Kurdish national question. Rather, there is a danger that, following the disarmament of the guerrilla forces, pressure on the Kurdish language, culture, political organization, and social achievements will increase. The institutions and forms of expression of national consciousness that have emerged over deca-

des of struggle will once again be the target of state attacks. The withdrawal from armed struggle reinforces tendencies toward legalism, parliamentarism, and reformism within working class left and socialist movement. Therefore, an independent political line for the revolutionary movement remains necessary; one that combines democratic demands with a comprehensive social perspective and emphasizes the ideological struggle. At the same time, we must prevent the labor movement, the women's movement, the youth movement, environmental movements, and the Kurdish democratic movement from remaining separated from one another. The national democratic demands of the Kurdish people and the general democratic demands of the oppressed must be defended together. This will require new forms of alliances between revolutionary, democratic, and anti-fascist forces. The process of dissolution marks the beginning of a new phase. The decisive factor will be the extent to which we succeed in linking the various struggles and expanding them under the changed conditions with a united anti-fascist perspective.

Let Us Defend the YPJ as a Symbol of the World's Free Women



Twelve years have passed since the genocide perpetrated by the Islamist Daesh gangs on August 3, 2014, against the Yazidi people and especially against the women. The genocide, known as the “74th Ferman,” was made possible through the planning and support of the fascist Turkish colonial state, while the Yazidi people were left defenseless to face their fate. During the genocide, thousands of Yazidis were murdered, and thousands of women and children were captured by Daesh gangs and sold in slave markets. Tens of thousands of people were forced to flee their homes. Thousands of women and children who were abducted by Daesh gangs are still considered missing today.

During the genocide, KDP forces collaborating with the occupying powers fled Shengal, while the imperialist states remained observing. It was the PKK guerrillas, the YPJ, the YPG, fighters of the MLKP, and the peoples of Rojava who rushed to the aid of the Yazidis, defended them, and tended to their wounds. Thanks to the humanitarian corridor opened by the fighters at great personal sacrifice, thousands of Yazidis were saved from genocide. Despite their heavy losses and immeasurable pain, the Yazidi people turned to the democratic and popular revolution in Rojava, founded the People's Defense Units (YBŞ) and the Women's Defense Units (YJŞ), and began to build their democratic self-administration. As we commemorate the fallen of Shengal, demand accountability from those responsible, and continue to search for the missing women and children, it is worth recalling the significance and importance of the YPJ for the women of Rojava, Syria, the Middle East, and the entire world. The driving force that transformed Yazidi women into a force of resistance after

the genocide was the YPJ. Its existence became a source of confidence and hope for Yazidi women. Drawing strength from the YPJ, Yazidi women began to liberate themselves by pushing back against patriarchy and reactionary social pressures. They gained the strength to defend themselves and to fight. Hundreds of women, seeking to avenge the murder of the women of their faith community and to free the abducted women, joined the ranks of the Yazidi YJŞ and the YPJ. Yazidi women became vanguards in the fight against the Daesh gangs not only in Shengal but on all fronts in northeastern Syria. The YPJ gave the women's revolution in Rojava also an internationalist character. In addition to defending and building the Rojava Revolution, hundreds of women from different continents and diverse ethnic groups took on direct responsibilities in Rojava and Shengal. The agreement signed by the Kurdish National Democratic Movement with the HTS on January 29 as part of its integration policy marked the beginning of a new process in Syria. The system of de facto political autonomy that had been established by the revolution in Rojava was replaced once again by the Syrian regime's former

model, an administrative system based on governorates. The agreement altered the structural foundations of the system upon which the women's revolution was built. Women, who were equal holders of political power within Rojava's system of autonomous administration, now face the danger of losing their achievements. What position the YPJ will take in this process is therefore one of the decisive questions for the so-called "integration process" and the future of women. The YPJ had defeated the barbarism of Daesh, developed the will to overcome the gender contradiction on the basis of a women's revolution, and led the defense of the political and legal gains that had been won within the system of autonomous administration. During the integration talks with the HTS to date, in which YPJ commanders also participated directly, the formula proposed by the HTS for the dissolution of the YPJ was revealed. In summary, it was proposed that YPJ fighters could in the future serve "voluntarily within the Rojava Internal Security Forces (Asayish)." The Asayish formula, under which the institutional structure of the YPJ would be dissolved as a whole and women, under the guise of "voluntary work," would be granted no

independent legal rights or powers, and ultimately amount to breaking the women's political will and determination and paving the way for a transition to a system of domestic subjugation and enslavement. The YPJ women are well aware of the HTS's attitude toward women: from the enslavement of Yazidi women and their sale in slave markets, to the rapes and massacres they have witnessed firsthand, to the thousands of women who were forcibly confined to homes, turned into "sex slaves," and rescued through YPJ liberation operations. The YPJ women have brought about the women's revolution through armed struggle, in which they had to bid farewell to thousands of female fighters as they entered immortality. Now the HTS and its supporter, the U.S., are telling the YPJ women and by extension, the women of Rojava "Forget the sacrifices you have made, the days when you liberated yourselves, and your achievements and submit to the patriarchal order." The fascist Turkish colonial state, the HTS, and reactionary states in the region seek, through the dissolution of the YPJ, to deprive women of their means of self-defense and protection, to break their political will, and to remove the most signifi-

cant obstacle to the implementation of their reactionary and patriarchal policies. By seeking to implement the plan to dissolve the YPJ over an extended period, they are attempting to strengthen patriarchy and a system of domestic enslavement. It is the responsibility of all women whose hearts beat for the struggle for women's liberation to preserve the legacy and values through which women of different peoples and faiths came together with the same passion and longing for freedom, fought shoulder to shoulder, and gave their lives and to ensure that the torch of freedom they lit does not go out. To leave the women of Rojava and Syria alone in their struggle to defend the YPJ would mean standing by and watching as one of the most important achievements and positions in the struggle for women's liberation is lost. For fourteen years, the YPJ has kept alive the hope for the struggle for women's liberation by defending the women's revolution and has built an important center of the internationalist struggle. Now the global women's movement must mobilize in support of the YPJ, expand the joint struggle, support the YPJ once again in the spirit of internationalism, and heed the call of the women of Rojava: "We are all YPJ."

The NATO Summit in the Context of U.S. Policy and Kurdistan

The U.S. is enforcing its imperialist and racist-Zionist plans against Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Kurdistan through military means and state-of-the-art technology. Mass killings, the destruction of entire residential areas, health care facilities, and schools, as well as the ecological devastation of entire regions, have become almost the norm in the Middle East. Military and political cooperation between the U.S. and Israel is at an all-time high. The NATO summit in Ankara reaffirmed NATO's support for the U.S.-led war in the region as well as for Israel's fascist-Zionist policies. At the same time, it made it clear that the individual member states raise no fundamental objection to the fascist-imperialist aggression of the U.S., which claims the right to bomb and destroy countries and to kill or kidnap heads of state. The meeting served to politically legitimize the preparations for a third imperialist world war and reflected a willingness to even accept the risk of using nuclear weapons.

The U.S., NATO, and Their Regional Objectives

The U.S.'s objectives in the Midd-

le East can be summarized as follows: In Palestine, the population is to be subjugated and Palestinian revolutionary organizations eliminated. The political-Islamist Hamas, which holds a bourgeois-nationalist position, is to be forced, in particular, to disarm and accept various demands made by Israel. In Lebanon, the structures of the Palestinian revolution are to be eliminated, and the anti-American and anti-Zionist Shiite Islamist Hezbollah is to be disarmed. In Iraq, armed organizations operating outside regular state structures, particularly Shiite Islamist groups such as the Hashd al-Sha'bi, are to be disbanded. Iran is to be brought into line with the interests of the U.S. and other imperialist powers, as well as with Israeli "security plans," and is to pay a portion of its revenue as tribute to the U.S. The U.S.-led NATO camp supports these fundamental goals despite differing interests and conflicts among the individual states. Leaving aside the fact that China pursues a policy of de-escalation and seeks to minimize the potential damage to itself, the other imperialist camp, centered on China and Russia, which has not

yet achieved the political unity of NATO, is also failing to mount any significant practical resistance, either currently or strategically, to the plans of the NATO camp. Through joint military exercises and various military-technology projects, China and Russia do demonstrate that they do not entirely rule out the danger of a war in which nuclear weapons could also be used. At the same time, they declare that they would not enter into a war unless they were directly attacked, that they do not seek a new imperialist world war, and that such a war is avoidable under the conditions of capitalist-imperialist monopolies. Objectively, this encourages the U.S. in its fascist-imperialist ambitions. Despite courageous actions in the U.S. against the war of annihilation being waged in Gaza, massive practical and militant protests, particularly led by youth in Europe, important actions by Italian dockworkers, and protests in various parts of the world, the reactions of the working class and the oppressed worldwide have so far generated no more than limited political pressure. International reactions to the NATO summit also remained limited. The best traditions of resistance against

imperialist occupation and war, as well as the broader anti-imperialist and anti-colonial culture of the 20th century, have not yet been revitalized and renewed under today's conditions.

It is no secret that the weakness of communist, revolutionary, and militant anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces, which are not confined by the laws and boundaries of the existing order, is a key reason for this. In this context, building anti-imperialist, anti-chauvinist, and anti-fascist alliances that consistently align words with deeds remains one of the most urgent political tasks. This applies both to the struggle against the war in the Middle East led by the fascist alliance of the U.S. and Israel and to the preparations for a third imperialist world war, which are being driven primarily by the U.S.

The U.S., the NATO Summit, and Kurdistan

At the NATO summit, the fundamental consensus among the imperialist powers regarding Kurdistan became obvious. The existing colonial model of centralized nation-states that divide Kurdistan among themselves is to be maintained. Regardless of any tactical measures that might be taken in

connection with an attempted imperialist regime change in Iran, the issue of Iran and Rojhilat is also ultimately to be addressed within this framework.

Zionist Israel is attempting to exploit the national question to dismantle Iran according to its own agenda and to pit the various peoples against one another. The restriction of the political and economic rights of the Autonomous Administration of South Kurdistan in favor of the Iraqi state; the efforts to eliminate the forces of the Autonomous Administration in Shengal with the same goal; the attempt in Rojava to first replace Kurdish signage on state institutions with Arabic signage and subsequently even to replace Kurdish place names with Arabic names; the fact that Turkey is being granted the opportunity to enforce an agreement that includes neither the recognition of Kurdish national existence nor national democratic rights, as well as the fact that the national rights of the Kurdish and Baluchi peoples in Iran are not being addressed, all of these are examples of the consolidation of existing colonial states with the support of the imperialists. The content of the “framework

law” currently under discussion in Turkey regarding the disarmament and return of the PKK guerrillas must also be viewed against this backdrop. The notion that the fascist alliance between Erdoğan and Bahçeli could transform the fascist presidential regime into a bourgeois democracy is an illusion. The state’s apparatus of repression is also extending its attacks to the bourgeois CHP. Anti-terrorism laws, a centralized judicial machinery, body searches, solitary confinement, detention in so-called “well-type prisons,” forced transfers, the appointment of receivers, and other practices are now the subject of debate among broad sections of the population. Against the backdrop of the NATO summit, the imperialist-Zionist intervention plans in the region, the expansionist plans of the Turkish colonial state, which seeks to secure its share in the subjugation of the peoples through collaboration, as well as the disarmament of the PKK as one of the region’s most significant revolutionary-democratic forces, the region faces a period of increasing tensions, a protracted state of war, and major challenges. These challenges must be met with revolutionary determination and organized strength.