

**The struggle for
socialism must begin
today starting by building
sociality and comunal life**

Interview with Mustafa Karasu



**Academy of
Democratic
Modernity**

Mustafa Karasu, is a founding member of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and a member of the Executive Council of the KCK (Community of Societies of Kurdistan). In this extensive interview, he analyses the current situation of the world capitalist system and the impact of the Third World War on the Middle East. In addition to the war in Ukraine, he discusses the ongoing impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on capitalist modernity and societies. He further formulates important perspectives on the forces of democratic modernity and its current challenges. The interview was conducted in May 2023.







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How do you assess the current global political conditions and the situation of the capitalist world system? What future scenarios do you consider likely in the context of the multipolar world order? And how do you evaluate the various nation-state actors that are internationally active?

The political conditions prevailing worldwide are the result of economic-social developments, as well as from the struggles between the different political forces and the existing states. The political developments in the first quarter of the 20th century were characterized by the imperialist stage of capitalism and the struggles between the different imperialist forces. The export of their own capital was in the foreground, which is why the imperialist countries divided practically the entire world among themselves. This decisively shaped the beginning of the 20th century. England and France, both of which had developed into capitalist, imperialist countries very early on, had already divided up a large part of the world between themselves by this point. Germany had become an imperialist country very late and therefore had very limited colonies. As a relatively young imperialist country, it had a political-economic influence on countries that we can call semi-colonies. At the top of these semi-colonies was the Ottoman Empire. Germany developed very quickly at the beginning of the 20th century and had correspondingly large capital. It therefore demanded a share of the already divided world according to its strength. This was a major reason for the First World War. And that is why, by and large, the First World War is evaluated as a war for the re-division of the world between the imperialist countries.

At the end of this war, the Allies (France, England, Italy, and the United States; the latter entering the war relatively late) stood as victors. Russia had been part of this alliance at the beginning of World War I, but had withdrawn from the war after the October Revolution in 1917. In the wake of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was obliged to make major concessions. The Ottoman and Habsburg Empires were also among the losers of the war, disintegrating and significantly reducing in size as a result.

The Russian Revolution had the effect of removing about one-sixth of the world from the control of the capitalist-imperialist system. At the same time, in 1929 - only about ten years after the end of the war - there was a severe economic crisis that had worldwide repercussions. In this context, fascism gained strength on the basis of chauvinism and nationalism in Germany, which, among other things, had to pay reparations and lost territory with the Treaty of Versailles. After the transfer of power, fascism prepared the country very quickly and comprehensively for another war. Within this framework, the German war industry was also expanded at high speed. Germany began World War II by attacking Poland in 1939. Among other things, this was in pursuit

of power-political and racial-ideological goals. A war of extermination followed, characterized by racism and anti-Semitism. In addition, the National Socialists wanted to rid themselves of the heavy war burdens from World War I and to once again have a say in the division of the world. There was another important goal: the fight against communism. But Germany, together with its allies Italy and Japan, also emerged as the loser from this war in 1945. After this heavy defeat, the country was divided into two parts, the FRG and the GDR [Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic]. Although France, England and the United States were among the victorious powers, it was the Soviet Union - formerly allied with them - that won the greatest victory. With the revolution in China, shortly after the war waged under the leadership of Mao Zedong, a third of the world was now outside the control of the capitalist system.

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A new phase of struggle began between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, commonly referred to as the Cold War. During the Second World War, the U.S. had taken over the leadership of the capitalist system. Led by the U.S., the capitalist countries formed the wartime alliance NATO in 1949. In turn, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact was created in 1955. The confrontation born out of the system caused serious problems for both the capitalist and the real socialist countries. On the one hand, there was a political, economic, social and cultural division between these two parts of the world. On the other hand, there were so-called proxy wars and also wars in which the great powers were directly involved. These two aspects characterized the Cold War, which has gone down in history as a period of enormous problems for humanity.

The real socialist countries disintegrated primarily because of their internal political, economic, social and cultural problems. Their disintegration led at the same time to the end of the Cold War. Since this topic is not directly related to your question, I will not go into more detail about the reasons for the decline of real socialism.

With the collapse of real socialism in 1991, the political balance of the 20th century - or the Cold War - lost its validity and power. The resulting vacuums were filled by the capitalist system under the leadership of the U.S.. Today, the majority of the world - including China and Russia - has become a part of the capitalist system. Because of the technological revolutions in communication and information technology, capitalism has now assumed a global scale. Finance capital – the system of capital accumulation that makes money with money - is now the definitive force of capitalism. The free and secure movement of capital and goods has been made the fundamental law of global capitalism. A society thoroughly characterized by consumption was created. Today, capitalism preserves itself by creating conditions under which consumption becomes the

basic way of life.

There are still only a small number of countries that are not fully integrated into the system of free movement of capital and goods. Iran, but also Syria, North Korea or Cuba - all countries that emerged during the existence of the Soviet Union - are still not fully part of the capitalist system. In the countries of Iran and Syria, the Middle Eastern state tradition is very pronounced, which is why governments strive to keep capitalism under state control. The Middle East is an area more influenced by ideal civilization than material civilization, and therefore social culture is still present. For all these reasons, the Middle East has not yet fully integrated into capitalism along with its materialistic and individualistic culture. However, the region is not sustained by a democratic culture, nor a communal economy. Therefore, it suffers from its essentially capitalist and statist political-social character. With "radical Islam," there are currently even forces in the Middle East that strive for an even more despotic capitalist system, as well as the understanding of the state as the basis of life.

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The political equilibrium of the Cold War and the status quo that accompanied it no longer exist today. Nevertheless, it has still not been possible to establish a new political equilibrium, including a correspondingly new type of status quo, through which global capitalism could secure its existence in the long term. Of course, there can be no absolutely valid status quo; it is necessarily relative in nature. Under the conditions of global capitalism, the relative status will be even more dynamic and changeable than ever before. This is necessitated by the economic, social, cultural and political conditions of globalized capitalism.

The Third World War, which is currently taking place in the Middle East, is being waged for the enforcement of a new political balance and status quo. On the one hand, it is a war against all the states and political forces that are seen as obstacles to the globalized capitalist system. On the other hand, the forces of the system are also fighting a battle among themselves. Historically, the oppressed peoples and the working people have always had a decisive influence on political, social, economic and cultural life. But in the 21st century, the struggle of all oppressed and working peoples will have an even stronger influence on the development of the new political balance and status quo. The time of the people has come! Through the women's struggle for freedom, the peoples' struggle has gained a new dimension and strength. Therefore, the struggles of the anti-systemic forces will also have a significant influence on the political balance and status quo that will emerge from the Third World War.

The struggle for a new political equilibrium that meets the requirements of globalized capitalism will be of a different nature than the struggles of the past. We are talking about a capitalism that has taken on global proportions. This

globalized capitalism is a system of the most intimate relations and dependencies. Therefore, unlike during the First and Second World Wars, there will not be a division of capitalist forces into hostile camps that will fight a serious war with each other. Since all political and economic powers are part of this system, and it is inconceivable that they will build entirely separated economic and political systems as they did in the past, the war between these forces will be different than in the past. The nature of capitalism today makes it necessary for the war between global powers to be fought without any interruptions. These powers will not, as in the past, fight sudden and very severe wars for the complete annihilation of their opponents. Rather, because of the nature of capitalism today, they will wage war against each other uninterruptedly. Whereas wars in the past were fought between clearly delineated camps along unambiguous front lines, today's wars are fought in the form of a holistic system. This is a completely new way of waging war. It will also not be the case that the war will bring about a political equilibrium of clearly delineated factions of opposing poles of power. For this is contrary to the nature of globalized capitalism.

Instead, the positioning of the various powers resembles a pyramid with a hierarchical arrangement. However, because of the contradictions, their resulting struggles, and the continuity of multifaceted conflicts, there will always be shifts in the steps of this pyramid. The power on the top step will fall down some steps after a certain time, while another power will rise up. These shifts in the hierarchy will not be the result of severe confrontations, as in World War I and World War II, but will occur in the context of low-level struggles and wars. The realization that the system has assumed global proportions and that ultimately everyone is in the same boat will not, of course, lead to a peaceful and harmonious existence between the powers. It will not come to be, for as long as capitalism exists. There will be an uninterrupted struggle between the capitalist powers, monopolies and cartels. This uninterrupted struggle will be much more intense. But the route, methods, and the level of violence of this struggle will be very different from the struggles of the past. World War I and World War II each lasted about four and a half to five and a half years. They were very hard wars between clearly distinguishable factions. A longer continuation of these wars would have led to the complete collapse of both factions. Because of the enormous scale of violence, these two wars led to the defeat of one of the two sides after only the aforementioned duration. However, the war that we now call the Third World War has been going on for about 30 years now.

Undoubtedly, some of the current system forces will also form alliances of two or three in this struggle. But this must not be understood as the familiar formation of factions. Today, the respective relationships and alliances between these powers are always aimed towards climbing the pyramid.

The system of globalized capitalism will always have a guiding and leading

power. One or two powers can take over this leading role. We can call this power or powers the hegemonic powers of globalized capitalism. PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan speaks of an “empire of chaos” in this context of globalized capitalism. It takes the form of an uninterrupted crisis due to its nature, in particular the degree of consumer society that it has spawned. Globalized capitalism needs a leading power or a group of leading powers to maintain itself in such a crisis. Without a doubt, the largest power within globalized capitalism will try to take on this role. Currently, this is the case with the U.S., especially with the help of England and international institutions such as NATO.

China and Russia, however, reject these conditions and demand a multipolar order of globalized capitalism. Europe also wants to be granted an influential position. Because England rejects this demand, it has withdrawn from certain areas of the EU. Instead, it is striving to join the U.S. in leading the aforementioned empire of chaos. Of course, China, Russia or Europe can also emerge as leading powers in globalized capitalism. They may well be given a place on the upper rungs of the pyramid. But they will not be able to form a counter-pole or counter-factions. China’s behavior in the war between Ukraine and Russia has made this very clear. China may take a stand against the U.S. and its allies, and forge relationships and alliances to gain some degree of influence. But it is not pursuing the goal of forming a faction with Russia against NATO. Therefore, it would not be correct to speak of multipolar political relations in which different factions exist, given the current situation. Instead, we can speak of a global system that has many different actors. The respective roles of these actors depend on their economic, social and political strength.

In globalized capitalism, there will always be countries that are close to each other. Those countries that do not have the necessary economic and political influence on their own will enter into relationships with other countries in order to secure a more advantageous place in the system for themselves. As globalized capitalism is characterized by incessant struggles that are inherent within the system, tensions and conflicts will increase. In this context, we will become witnesses to a wide variety of relationships and alliances. But it is obvious that these will be very unstable and susceptible to change. An actor may be close to a certain power for a while, only to enter into close relations with another power a little later. The absence of factions with very firm relationships inevitably leads to such relationships.

The USA and England are currently forming a coalition that plays the role of hegemonic power in globalized capitalism. At the same time, it is obvious that China is on the rise. Due to its population and production capacity, China is increasingly becoming the largest economic power. Many expect that the country will eventually take this position. But this will not directly make China

the hegemonic power within globalized capitalism. In both the short and medium term, it will be difficult for the country to overtake the U.S. in terms of technological development and offensive military power. Therefore, it is unlikely that China will occupy the top rung of the pyramid in political and military terms. We can say this at least for the first half of the 21st century. Since the U.S. has registered China's rise, its strategy in response is not to lose its power advantage to China. It is unlikely that China will start a war similar to World War I or World War II. But the United States is already pursuing a policy of encirclement and containment, just in case. For this purpose, a political-military alliance has been formed with England, Japan and Australia, which we can also call the "NATO of the Far East".

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As an alternative to the U.S. as the leading power of globalized capitalism or the founder of a new world order, the Eurasia strategy or the "Shanghai Five" is talked about again and again. This group was founded in 1996 by China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan. Some also evaluate this as the establishment of a separate faction. However, these are analyses concerning 21st century politics that testify to a lack of understanding of the economic and political nature of globalized capitalism. The Shanghai Five has been joined over time by other countries united by economic cooperation. We can therefore understand this structure as a platform in which some countries neighboring each other have joined together to trade economically with each other and benefit from the economic opportunities of their geographical proximity. The economic relations between China and Russia, Russia and Iran, China and Iran, China and Pakistan, or China and the Central Asian countries can be traced back to this. China and India are currently two powers whose relations are characterized by strong tensions and conflicts. Very serious problems exist between them. But still, they can both be members of this platform. The Shanghai Five platform, as a framework that allows member countries to link their economic resources and jointly benefit from them, also has an impact on their political relations. However, they will not develop into a closed political-military faction.

It is a fact that Russia and China jointly oppose the policy of the U.S.. However, so far, China has deliberately chosen not to openly support Russia in the war against Ukraine. Instead, it has repeatedly expressed that a solution away from war would be desirable. This is because China has now become part of globalized capitalism. And countries like Russia and Iran may well end up in open conflict with the United States. This is because they are part of globalized capitalism to a much lesser extent. China, on the other hand, currently benefits most from the free movement of capital and goods, the most fundamental rule of globalized capitalism. That is why the U.S. is trying to put obstacles in the way of the country, even though it is fighting for compliance with this rule in all

other parts of the world.

NATO has evolved into a force to ensure the security of globalized capitalism. It is constantly expanding its sphere of influence. At the same time, the U.S. is using its leadership role to establish offshoots of NATO in other parts of the world. The groundwork has already been laid for the creation of a “NATO of the Far East,” whose importance, from the view of globalized capitalism, is now very significant. This is shown by the political-military relations that the U.S., England, Australia and Japan have established with each other. Because these relationships hold the prospect of political and economic benefits, France has complained that it is not part of this alliance. This temporarily led to a very serious crisis. Most likely, certain promises were made to France by the U.S. and England, as this issue disappeared from the political agenda a short time after and tensions decreased.

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As a freedom movement, you use the term “Third World War” to analyze and understand developments in the Middle East. Is this Third World War you speak of limited to the Middle East? Or is it of international relevance?

Rêber Apo [Abdullah Öcalan] defines the “Third World War” as a worldwide war whose center is in the Middle East. The center of the First World War was also basically in the Middle East, while the Second World War was fought mainly in Europe. Due to numerous factors, the center of the Third World War is now in the Middle East. The Middle East connects Europe, Asia, and Africa. Particularly in the wake of the globalization of capitalism, the Middle East has become even more important today because of its geographic location between these three major continents or parts of the world. Capitalist modernity has still not succeeded in securing its influence and superiority in the Middle East; quite the opposite of all the other parts of the world, where it has certainly managed to do so. The Middle East is still resisting capitalist modernity and is thus causing serious problems for globalized capitalism. In today’s era of capitalism, having achieved global proportions and the stage of consumer society, the issue of energy is more important than ever. Because of all these different factors, the Middle East is of very great importance in the process of reordering the global political balance. Historically, any actor that gained control of the Middle East became a major political, military, and economic power. Even today, it is impossible to establish political balance and the status quo of a new world order without having political dominance in the Middle East. Nor will any actor be able to develop into the world’s strongest political-military power without control over this region.

Over time, the Middle East has increasingly become a part of Europe. Therefore, today it is no longer possible to understand Europe without the Middle East and

Africa. Globalized capitalism has put the Middle East in this position. At the same time, it remains undeniable that Europe is one of the most influential forces in all parts of the world due to its economic, political and military power. This development has also further increased the importance of the Middle East. This is because the region not only has global political and economic influence, but also possesses enormous social, cultural and ideational power due to its history.

The Third World War is not a conflict that is fought only in the Middle East, even if its center is there. Rather, every struggle or war in the world today takes place as part of the Third World War; as part of the struggle to create a new political balance in the world. The war between Russia and Ukraine has also turned this part of the world into an important conflict area of the Third World War.

Some political observers are currently talking about a shift of the center of this Third World War to the Far East. This is an approach that is primarily economic in nature. As a result, the social, cultural, geopolitical, political and military features of the struggle are being disregarded. Undoubtedly, the importance of the Far East has increased from the point of view of capitalism and its modernity. Capitalism can reproduce itself mainly because people are consuming more and more. Now, most people, thus potential consumers, live in the Far East. From the point of view of globalized capitalism, the region has increased in importance; in a sense, it will become a monster of consumption. However, this does not decrease the importance of the Middle East. The center of gravity of the Third World War has not shifted to Far Asia. As long as no political equilibrium and no status quo - no matter how relative - are established in the Middle East, the Third World War will not come to an end.

There are clear signs that numerous actors are engaged in an intense, multidimensional struggle over the Middle East: the first Gulf War, which began with Iraq's intervention in Kuwait shortly after the Iran-Iraq War; the U.S. occupation of Afghanistan; the intervention in the Middle East that began in 2003 and centered in Iraq; the resulting U.S. control of Iraq; the political developments in the Middle East in the wake of the Arab Spring in 2011; the civil wars in Yemen and Syria; the enormous influence that the Islamic State (IS) developed in Iraq, Syria, and the Middle East in general; the struggle of the U.S., Turkey, and Arab countries over Iran; the multidimensional political military struggle between the U.S. and Iran; the influence of Russia in Syria; the influence of the Kurdish people's struggle for freedom on political developments in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran; and the influence on the entire Middle East of the war between the Turkish state and the Kurdish freedom movement. In the Middle East, there is no struggle exclusively between systemic powers, nor merely between international and regional powers. Also, the struggle for

freedom and democracy waged by the peoples of the Middle East against the international powers and regional states continues unceasingly. All these facts make it clear that the center of the Third World War is in the Middle East.

This war has been going on for more than 30 years. It began with Saddam Hussein's occupation of Kuwait in 1990. After the end of the Cold War there were regional conflicts in the Balkans and various other regions. Interventions by the major powers of globalized capitalism followed. But the prudently planned beginning of the Third World War dates back to 1991. This world war differs significantly from the First and Second World Wars. The latter two were wars aimed at the complete defeat of the opposing side and were fought using all available means. Unlike these wars, the Third World War is different in nature and will take place over a much longer period of time, which is already the case - it is not unlikely that it will continue for another five to ten years. This is because it will not take the form of a severe struggle in which the various powers, all parts of the same system, will divide themselves into strictly separate factions and bring their full strength to bear. While in some areas there are overt or covert compromises, in other areas there are battles and confrontations. A few years ago, Putin and Trump met and, in a sense, set the framework and rules of their battle to be fought with each other. But because of the conflicts of interest in the capitalist system, an agreement does not have much meaning. Under today's conditions of globalized capitalism, there are neither strict enmities and factions, nor firm friendships and alliances. Therefore, the fronts and positions within this struggle can change again and again.

How would you describe the basic characteristics of the world system today?

The form of today's world system results from the character of globalized capitalism. This has a basis of imperialism. It strives to dominate the entire world. This requirement results from its striving for the export of goods and the movement of capital. In the 20th century, the movement of capital became directed by finance capital. In the course of the spread of globalized capitalism, finance capital (i.e. banking capital) has not only become the force that is shaping industrial development. Rather, finance capital today makes money through money and has thus become the force that accumulates profits greatest. Usury, which historically has always been considered something reprehensible and the root of evil, has today become the most important economic force. This force, which yesterday had such a bad reputation, is today the most respected and influential force in the system. It has developed such enormous power that today, within seconds, through credit and stock market speculation, one person is made rich while another falls into poverty. If we recall that the entire world economy is based mainly on the dollar, we can clearly see that the U.S. banks

and monopolies - especially the central bank of the U.S. - are the protective powers of global capital. The stock exchange and banks of England also undoubtedly play a significant role in protecting global capital.

This fact alone makes it clear how dirty capitalism is and how much of a burden it is, which humanity must get rid of at all costs. It is an expression of today's social, cultural and political decay that usury has become the most preferred and profitable instrument of exploitation. Rêber Apo emphasizes this by pointing out that as recently as antiquity and the Middle Ages, this modern cornerstone of capitalism previously existed only on the margins of society and was always portrayed as a negative phenomenon in both culture and literature. But its rise today, according to Rêber Apo, reflects how wrong the system of capitalism is.

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The capitalist imperialist system was based on the export of goods and the spread of capital. This has resulted in a specific culture. In the period of globalized capitalism and consumer society, not only capital and goods but also the corresponding culture must be spread all over the world. This culture is based on the breaking up of society and, in its course, the emergence of individualism, materialism and consumption. Until this culture is manifested as a hegemonic culture in a country and society, the latter will not be fully available to capitalism. Already at the beginning of the 20th century, Rosa Luxemburg accurately stated in her analyses of capitalism that the breaking up of society is the basis for the spread of capitalism.

Luxemburg made this observation at a time when individualism, materialism and consumer culture were still much weaker than today. If we consider the development of capitalism and consumer society up to the present day, we can realize that we are facing a greater challenge than in Rosa Luxemburg's time. The enmity of capitalism against society, and consequently against humanity as a whole, is clearer today than ever before. And since humans are social beings, they must recognize capitalism as the enemy of humanity. Therefore, all who call themselves human beings must find it completely natural to be against capitalism. Today, we can neither call ourselves human nor speak of humanity if we do not oppose capitalism.

Capitalism today keeps itself on its feet by constantly increasing consumption. Of course, the arms industry is also an important source of income for the system. But it is above all the myriad consumption possibilities which indicate that capitalism's ability to survive depends, above all, on people's consumption. If profit does not constantly increase, it means death for capitalism. Therefore, a relevant sector of capitalism today is concerned with getting people to consume. The cultural sector, through which individualism is fueled, has reached unprecedented proportions. It is at the lead of all the sectors that most ensure

the survival of capitalism. The fashion and advertising industries are also very important for capitalism. In the same way, cinema and media series play an essential role in spreading an individualistic and materialistic culture.

Without the reinforcement of individualism, consumption cannot be increased. Individualism paves the way for people to always demand more consumption. The stronger the individualism, the stronger the consumption. The stage of consumer society that capitalism is in today means taking individualism and materialism to the extreme. Not only cities and villages are conquered: For its own development and survival, capitalism must implant individualistic and materialistic culture in every single cell of human beings. Therefore, individualism today must completely capture both the mind and the domain of thought of the people in the most diverse ways! Thus, the purpose of life of human beings becomes to acquire consumer goods. Today, people mindlessly demand more and more consumer goods. This goes so far that they are ready to do even the worst things - only to be able to consume more! People are ready to sell themselves or their fellow people for it. In the consumer society, people no longer know any goal or value other than to acquire consumer goods. Thus a capitalistic mode of production has developed. Consumer goods are practically only produced according to individual pleasures. The reason for this is an unprecedented level that individualism has reached today. And this level has to be continuously increased. In essence, this means an uninterrupted attack of individualism on humanity. Through this, the social values created in the course of human history and the associated culture are to be destroyed. Since the first emergence of clans, humans have lived communally for 98% of their history. Therefore, communal culture is very strongly rooted in humans. This is also the reason, according to Rêber Apo, why humanity can never be completely destroyed. Because the historically grown culture will definitely rebel against it.

The anti-social and anti-human character of capitalism together with its tendency to destroy any moral values will, of course, never be accepted by humankind. People will certainly abolish this system. But for this to happen, the true face of capitalism must be very well communicated to them. If such a dirty and reprehensible system can still maintain itself, it shows that it has not yet been denounced thoroughly enough. It illustrates that capitalism has not yet completely lost its legitimacy in society. It is therefore necessary today to show how much bad capitalism does for society. Undoubtedly, capitalism exists because of exploitation. This is how it gains hegemony over society and secures its own existence. But to describe capitalism only as a system of exploitation is not enough. It is essential to point out concretely and comprehensively that this system destroys morality, conscience and all social and human values such as law, justice, equality, sisterhood and brotherhood, family bond, friendship, neighborly relations, love, and respect. For the human being, who is completely

taken over by individualism, nothing else exists other than to think of his own interests and himself. Moral-ideal values thus completely lose their meaning. The meaning of life consists only in the consumption of material values. All human relationships are based only on pursuing one's own interests. Even the relationship between man and woman is transformed by a completely exaggerated sexuality into a relationship that no longer has anything to do with love and respect, and is instead only about mutual consumption. Through this exaggerated form of sexuality, a system of male hegemony is created. The woman is made into an object in this system. According to Rêber Apo, in capitalist modernity, woman is transformed into the queen of all objects. He shows that this system is therefore based on hostility against woman and on femicide.

For millennia, women have been subjected to oppression, hegemony, and injustice. No social group has ever experienced equivalent oppression. Therefore, Rêber Apo refers to women as the first oppressed class and nation. If all that has been done to women in different parts of the world were to be spoken, it would traumatize everyone. From this perspective, no one can truly understand the meaning of humanity who does not understand and feel the anguish suffered by women in the course of human history. Without this, no ideal and moral value can find its proper expression. All the problems of humanity existing today cannot be understood if the consequences of the hegemony over women are unrecognized, and women's position in culture, the world of thought, and connection to life of all people remain obscured. For this reason, Rêber Apo calls Jineolojî - the science of women - the basis of all social sciences. New and correct social sciences will be able to develop only on the basis of this science of woman. Without it, social sciences will remain distorted and inadequate. Without Jineolojî, not only the social problems of humankind, but also all other existing problems will not be understood correctly. Therefore, Jineolojî is the science that can best reveal the central aspects for the salvation of humanity; the salvation of woman and humanity are intimately connected. Both represent different aspects of the whole. The liberation of humanity will not succeed as long as woman's freedom as a strategy, spirit and inherent value does not also represent the freedom of the spirit and the value of all human beings. Until humankind and its respective sociality follow this path, woman's freedom will not be fully realized.

Capitalism did not improve the situation of women. Undoubtedly, the democratic popular revolutions in Europe, based on the Renaissance and the Reformation, led to a new awakening among women as well. Rêber Apo refuses to see the Renaissance and Reformation as developments shaped by the bourgeoisie. In his book *Beyond State, Power and Violence*, he writes: "The movement of the Renaissance, of rebirth, beginning with the fifteenth century, is actually the

last child of a thousand-year-old race whose ancestral mother and forefather came from the East. To believe that she is descended from European Adams and Eves is a fundamental error. Perhaps she is also a child of the East born in exile. One thing is certain: the Renaissance is the accelerated continuation of the 13th and 14th centuries. It grows up not in the palaces of kings and bishops, the copies of Rome, but in rural monasteries and in the newly emerging urban universities. Neither the political-military forces nor the economic power of the feudal merchants are decisive for their awakening. The rural monasteries and the urban universities are independent places of work, which feed themselves by their own labor, in which a liberal consciousness blossoms, and which are supported and fed by the common people because they place their hopes in them. The following aspect should be emphasized: the road to the Renaissance does not lead through the palaces of kings and the church, but through the communal schools of the common people. Neither the class of the feudal lords nor a bourgeoisie give this way, the latter does not exist yet at all." 1

The more capitalism develops and strives to shatter sociality, the stronger its attacks against women; that is, against the force that holds life together. Capitalist modernity thus becomes a special system of war against women. In order to destroy all sociality, woman is turned into a sexual object on the one hand, while on the other hand, care is taken to make her more and more individualistic. Capitalism can destroy sociality or social culture only by attacking women and depriving them of their position as creator and preserver of life and social culture. As soon as capitalism reaches the stage of consumer society, the attacks on women take on an unprecedented scale because of the subtle forms used. On the basis of individualism, attempts are made to spread a false understanding of freedom. Thus, we are talking about a reality that is different from the free individual through which sociality emerges and acquires its true meaning. With the help of individualism detached from society and the false understanding of freedom, an individual weakened in relation to capitalist modernity and a weak woman are created. There is a dialectical connection between the free individual and communal life. The one cannot exist without the other. Or, it seems to exist erroneously. This falsified form of sociality, which existed in the Soviet Union in certain ways, stifles the individual. Individualism and the false understanding of freedom destroy sociality; weakening the individual and thereby depriving her of freedom.

The struggle of feminism in the past 200 years, which was mainly aimed at defending women's rights and was waged against the hegemony of man, involved great efforts and also led to certain successes. In particular, the importance given to women by leftist political forces has strengthened the existence of feminism to a certain extent. But because the struggle was not conducted on the basis of a comprehensive ideological and theoretical foundation with

a system of ideas corresponding to it, women's freedom - in a real sense - could only be achieved to a very limited extent. A segment of feminism was integrated into the system by the liberal ideology of capitalism. Rêber Apo refers to those parts of feminism that did not become part of capitalist modernity as the real-socialist line of women. However, through his comprehensive analysis of the place that women occupy in the historical-social reality, Rêber Apo has provided women with the ideology of women's liberation with which they can successfully wage their struggle for freedom. A social movement can become capable of overcoming all obstacles and achieving its goals if it creates an ideological theoretical foundation for itself. The women's freedom struggle, which developed on the basis of Rêber Apo's ideology of women's liberation, was able not only to increase the speed of its own struggle, but also to give a completely new dynamic to the social struggle of all humankind. Without waging a struggle for freedom and democracy based on women's freedom, all forms of struggle will inevitably be integrated into the oppressive system. The life of society must be transformed into a democratic, social life based on women's freedom. Only then will the free individual and communal life become a reality. The hegemony over women is subtly maintained through multidimensional terrains in capitalist modernity. Therefore, no truly effective struggle against capitalism can be waged without a struggle for freedom, democracy and socialism based on women's freedom.

Another pillar of the capitalist system is its hostility towards nature. Nature has been made the most basic object of exploitation under capitalism. Capitalism is synonymous with industrialism. This in turn means the unlimited and uncontrolled hostility towards nature. This is contrary to the first fundamental philosophy of human beings, which is based on intimacy with nature. Accordingly, animism is not a primitive way of looking at things, but represented the most appropriate way of giving meaning. If we want to understand humans and society, we have to correctly analyze and understand the animistic perspective. Under capitalism, the relationship between nature and society, or between nature and human, has been fractured as never before in our history. Capitalism portrays nature as a monster that must be brought under control. Through the mentality and practice of capitalism, industrialism is presented as something sacred. This was also adopted by socialist theory and real socialism. Therefore, real socialism represents one of the greatest falsifications. The person, who loses his relationship with nature, eventually becomes a being without any moral values and conscience. This way of interacting with nature has also reinforced the mentality of power and hegemony. It has played a major role in solidifying oppression and domination over women and society.

It is essential to comprehensively clarify the hostility of capitalism towards nature. With capitalist modernity, this hostility has reached its absolute peak.

We cannot understand the attacks on nature only as an environmental issue. Rather, it is a fundamental philosophical-ideological problem. It has a direct impact on the way of thinking and living in society. Rêber Apo calls ecological consciousness the most fundamental form of ideological consciousness. Human's contemporary view of nature is based on his alienation from society and history. Just like the hegemony over women, the alienation from and hegemony over nature is a source of many disastrous developments today. Capitalism has driven this development to its peak. Therefore, the problem goes far beyond the exploitation of nature. It is a philosophical and ideological problem. The damage that has been inflicted on nature has reached a level through which the links of the evolution of nature, humankind and society can be shattered. So capitalism is an enemy of society and humanity in this way as well.

Another fundamental problem created by the world capitalist system is the income disparities both between different countries and within individual countries. One of the most essential features of globalized capitalism - or financial capitalism - is the concentration of wealth, which is increasing day by day. While in the past, 10% of the population owned 60% of the wealth, today the richest 1% own it. The same situation applies to the differences between the developed countries and the other parts of the world. A few countries have an increasingly large share of the world's wealth. Today, numerous monopolies are richer than many of the existing states. In this context, Rêber Apo speaks of how people used to live under the control of a single king who lived a luxurious life, but the number of kings has now grown extensively. The enormous increase in the difference in wealth between different countries and within the countries themselves is causing misery and discomfort among the people and putting many of them in existential hardship. It is obvious that this is creating social and political problems that will become even more acute in the future.

Today, materialism and the consumer society have taken on such proportions that there are huge movements of refugees from numerous countries to the parts of the world where all the wealth is concentrated. People are even accepting their death to reach these countries. Colonialism and imperialism have destroyed the internal balance of all countries. The basis for countries to be self-sufficient has been destroyed. Through colonialism and imperialism, the peoples of this world are prevented from developing according to their respective dynamics. In all these countries, the livelihood of the people has been destroyed. These societies, regardless, are driven to become part of the materialistic culture and indulge in the consumption of material goods. With the goal of achieving this, people are making their way to Europe and the United States. Accordingly, the refugee movements there have intensified. So here's what's happening: The rich countries impoverish parts of the earth, while at the same time they make the consumption of material goods the sole value and goal of all humanity. And

then they do everything in their power to stop the resulting refugee movements! Thus the historically heaviest tragedy and a huge contradiction arises. It may be that the rich countries consider refugee movements, which exceed a certain number of people, as a reason for the social and economic problems at home. Therefore, they hinder the arrival of new refugees when their need for cheap labor is satisfied. They can point to some legitimate reasons for doing this among their own societies. But it is obvious that the rich countries have created the problem themselves. Therefore, the hostile and exclusionary attitudes towards refugees are neither morally acceptable nor compatible with human conscience. This is simply unacceptable. This also illustrates once again that capitalist modernity is a great burden on all humanity and the source of all problems. However, this situation can be solved through the equitable distribution of the world's wealth. However, this is impossible under capitalism. The boundless pursuit of profit and the constant competition under capitalism prevent this. Capitalist modernity must be overcome to solve this problem!

How do you look back on the COVID-19 pandemic? And how do you assess its impact on capitalist modernity and societies?

CCOVID-19 was an experience from which the whole of humanity can learn numerous lessons. It has once again become obvious how dangerous capitalist modernity is for humanity. During this time, it has shown that practical experience is always the best teacher.

There has already been much discussion about the reasons for the emergence of COVID-19. It is often said that this virus was created in a Chinese laboratory. It is also said that the capitalist countries deliberately unleashed COVID-19 on humanity in order to get rid of all the old people who, due to their high number, had incurred immense costs. It is well known that the U.S. has spread various allegations. Other sources have also spread the accusation that COVID-19 was a biological weapon developed by the capitalist countries and used by the U.S. in a plot in China. Undoubtedly, capitalism has no moral and human values or conscience. A mentality that makes possible the use of nuclear weapons against humanity can do all kinds of evil. The system of capitalism and its forces, including states, are capable of doing anything for the reinforcement of their own interests. Therefore, we cannot conclusively deny the thesis that COVID-19 was deliberately created by capitalist actors.

But from our point of view it is crucial to be aware, or to foresee, that the capitalist method of production and way of life will certainly produce such diseases. Capitalists will do all kinds of bad things when necessary, including using weapons to spread diseases. These are deliberate deeds of capitalism. But it is fundamentally important to be aware that it is the structure of capitalism that

makes such developments possible in the first place. Capitalism acts according to the law of unlimited profit. In order to achieve this, it is prepared to destroy anything. Most dangerous in this context are capitalism's attacks on nature; that is, the fact that it views nature as an object of exploitation. Industrialism is the ideology of capitalism with which it legitimizes the exploitation of nature. This is an ideological attack on nature, where nature is positioned as a wild object that it is to be exploited. Just like the male-hegemonic mentality, also a hegemonic mentality exists in relation to nature. This is such a boundless form of domination that it is capable of destroying the entirety of humanity. Industrialism is capable of producing the most diverse diseases. It is capable of producing even worse diseases than COVID-19.

In all probability, COVID-19 is a disease produced by the mode of production based on the mentality of industrialism. Precautions can perhaps be taken against deliberately produced biological weapons and pandemic diseases. But against the emergence of the diseases produced by industrialism, simply nothing can be done in advance. Only if the capitalist mode of production is ended, and a communal economy based on ecological industry is enforced, will it be possible to avoid the diseases produced by industrialism. And not only that: The human being will also be able to avoid the complete destruction of the ecosystem on which life is based.

It is most appropriate to assume that COVID-19 is a result of the capitalist mode of production. Therefore we will struggle not only against all the bad consequences of capitalism, but directly against this system. By doing so, we will also deprive all capitalists - those who are responsible for all of these atrocities - of their livelihood.

If we look at the emergence of COVID-19 in this way, it becomes obvious that the overcoming of capitalism is required for the further existence of humanity. Today, people are already intensively discussing the fact that the capitalist mode of production, and its consequent environmental destruction, is leading to climate change. The ecological movements in particular are grappling with this. These are, of course, very significant struggles that are being waged in this area. But humanity needs to be set in motion even more strongly against capitalism. COVID-19 has shown how urgent this has become. If we are truly willing to learn lessons from COVID-19; if we are truly committed to the memory of all the people killed by that pandemic; and if we honestly consider the dire consequences of COVID-19 and the potential dangers of capitalism, then we need to create an even greater awareness of this issue among people and get them moving.

It is simply no longer enough to define capitalism as just a system of exploitation.

This is definitely an important aspect, because this exploitation has brought capitalism to its current point. But the critique and the struggle against capitalism must be conducted in a more diverse and comprehensive way. In this way, we can lead the anti-capitalist struggle more effectively together with much broader social circles. In the name of social welfare, capitalism has provided material opportunities to some social stratas, thus keeping itself alive. Today, we can certainly observe that certain aspects of capitalism are criticized in order to save the system itself. Even some capitalists now call capitalism bad. They openly address the income disparities caused by the system and pay society hush money, so to speak, in order to keep capitalism on its feet. They try to achieve this with the help of terms like 'social democracy' and 'the welfare state'.

It is crucial to understand capitalism not only as a system of exploitation, but as an attack on the whole of nature, society and humanity, threatening the complete destruction of all of it. This aspect must be brought much more to the fore. COVID-19 has laid an important foundation for this. By making people fully aware of the reasons for the emergence and consequences of COVID-19, the enormous dangers for the future of humanity must be made clear. Meanwhile, living with capitalism means living side by side with death. This is not just about the death of individuals, but about the destruction of all humanity. This is not propaganda. It is an immediately tangible danger. Therefore, all social circles that are harmed by capitalism - especially the exploited workers, the women who are ultra objectified by the male-hegemonic system, and all environmental activists - must continue the anti-capitalist struggle. It is no longer the time to strive for better opportunities or improvements in the capitalist system. Capitalism today is a question of being or not being for humanity. It is simply no longer possible to live with capitalism. COVID-19 has killed perhaps ten million people to date, but capitalism can create a pandemic tomorrow that will lead to the death of hundreds of millions of people. If capitalism is not overcome, there will be easily contagious diseases that will kill millions of people in a very short time. This is not an exaggerated statement, but an inevitable consequence of the attacks of capitalism on nature. Humankind is the result of the natural evolutionary process. What we call humans came into being as a result of an evolution that has lasted hundreds of millions of years and continues to this day. If the links of this evolutionary chain break, humans will simply be annihilated, similar to the dinosaurs. Today, there are always reports of the melting of the poles, climate change, and changes in the atmosphere. All of these are observable and scientifically detectable phenomena. Who can say for sure that under capitalist conditions no unforeseen viruses will arise? On the contrary, we can say with great certainty that capitalism will create precisely such viruses and contagious diseases. Therefore, in addition to the exploitation dimension of capitalism, it is absolutely necessary to recognize the clear and acute danger brought about by this system and to launch a struggle for survival against

capitalism. To make the life of a single human being the measure of the extent of the danger would ultimately mean betraying our human and social nature. What is long in time for the individual human being represents only a very, very short period of time for humanity. We are talking here about a very, very acute, that is, imminent danger for the whole of humanity. We say that - starting from a corresponding sense of responsibility for humanity - we must urgently start an uprising against capitalism.

COVID-19 should have led to this discussion being widely held. Due to the worldwide spread of the virus, especially in the countries dominated by capitalism, these discussions took place to some extent. But because no attention was paid to the acute danger of capitalism, its responsibility was not sufficiently problematized. It is also due to our awareness on the nature of capitalism being too weak. Numerous issues were discussed in the course of the COVID-19 pandemic: The exploitation by capitalism, the health problems it produces, the injustice in the health sector, the lack of preparations for pandemics, or the lack of sensitivity for the older people who are particularly affected. On this basis, there was also criticism of capitalism itself and of the governments of capitalist countries. But humanity has not been made sufficiently aware that at stake is an existential threat. Therefore, we have not been able to go beyond everyday precautions and security concerns to create an even broader social mentality and movement that can eradicate the dangers of capitalism.

COVID-19 had created an environment in which society could have been better educated about capitalism and their anger against this system could have been strengthened. People had begun to question what had brought them into this situation, because life was intensely changed by COVID-19. People could suddenly see the accuracy of everything we have been saying for years about capitalism, and this was in part due to the sudden emergence of the virus. But the anti-systemic forces were not able to take advantage of this situation.

This must be seen as a weakness of all socialist, democratic, women's and ecological movements. A stronger confrontation with these issues must occur, and ideas must be developed that have the power to bring about a change in mentality and compel society to mobilize.

In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, the state of the health care system was the most discussed issue in different countries. It became apparent that the current state of the healthcare system becomes a huge problem for everyone in the case of highly contagious diseases. This realization has led people to believe that urgent changes are needed in the healthcare system. In a way, we can also describe human beings as living from day to day, having to satisfy their needs every day anew. Health is one of these basic human needs. For this reason, health is also a top priority for human beings. Of course, this applies to

the most diverse social contexts. Therefore, health is also the factor that can have the greatest positive or negative impact on people. COVID-19 has made it clear that the understanding on which the health sector is currently based is contrary to the interests of humanity. The health sector has been transformed into a tool to make profit and exploit. This clearly shows how much this field is now against humanity. Therefore, people can oppose capitalism first in this field. They do not accept that the capitalist laws should also apply to the health sector. With this in mind, we can ensure that COVID-19 provides the impetus for fundamental changes in the health sector. Thus, the demand can be made that the health sector be immediately subjected to social control.

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The health sector must be put in a position to serve society. When we call for this, we are not talking about nationalizing this sector. Nationalization and socialization are not one and the same. We must take a clear stand against this distorted and false understanding that obscures the essence of the state. It is not a difficult undertaking to socialize such a sector. Control over all institutions of the health sector can simply be ensured by health councils composed of representatives of all groups and institutions of the health sector. In this way, there can be municipal health councils as well as regional and general health councils. The members of these councils are all democratically elected. The doctors' association elects its own representatives, as do the nurses and the other professional groups in the field. The professors of medicine, the other health professionals, and the health representatives elected by the population at the municipal and regional level or in the districts - they are all part of these health councils. The general health policy, the investments in this field and the guarantee of health services are all regulated by these health councils. All health institutions operate on the basis of the rules established by the health councils. The managements of the respective institutions are all democratically determined by the people working there, without exception. In the meetings of the health councils, the representatives of the institutions concerned determine the number of people who will be in charge of an institution and the skills they must have. Of course, the representatives and experts from the field themselves can best say how these health councils and institutions will work most professionally and effectively. When all of this is done on the basis of councils and democratically determined governance, we can really talk about the health sector being socialized and owned by the public. All the other understandings of socialization are wrong and distorted. The socialization of the education sector and all the other sectors can also be based on a similar system.

We also know that COVID-19 has led to certain changes in some other areas of work and life. With the help of the media, new lifestyles and habits were created during the COVID-19 pandemic. The specific changes can best be analyzed by people working in this field. As the immediate effects of COVID-19 weakened,

or as it ended, there was, of course, a return to certain habits. But COVID-19 also led to lasting changes.

In conclusion, we can say the following on this issue: COVID-19 has really led to the questioning and weakening of the capitalist mode of production and capitalist modernity. When we say this, we are not talking about the negative economic consequences for the capitalist mode of production. Rather, our point is that capitalism's attempt to present itself as an ideologically and culturally positive force for humanity has suffered a serious blow. For us, this system has no legitimacy anyway, because it is directed against society and humans. It has been shown how correct and justified all that we advocates inside of sociality say is. We must note that such effects have even occurred within the forces that themselves benefit from capitalism. If appropriate precautions are not taken, there will be even more severe pandemics and much more severe destruction in the not too distant future due to the capitalist mode of production and modernity. The questioning and increased awareness from the time of COVID-19 can lead to great popular uprisings in such a situation. To anticipate and prepare for this is very important for the anti-systemic forces.

How do you assess the war between Ukraine and Russia?

The Russian military operation against Ukraine illustrates that globalized capitalism today is far from its needed political equilibrium and the corresponding status quo. With the Russia-Ukraine war, the Third World War has reached a new dimension. The outcome of this war will certainly have an impact on the political equilibrium still in the making.

Although this war may seem like a war between Russia and Ukraine, it is in fact a war between Russia and NATO. With each passing day, this fact becomes more obvious. Russia claims an advantageous position in the new political equilibrium of globalized capitalism, which is still in the making. In globalized capitalism, Russia insists on a position as an autonomous, even independent power. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union, today's Russia, was a superpower. In the field of nuclear weapons, it was on a par with the United States. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia pursued the goal of maintaining its influence over the old Soviet states in order to preserve, albeit not to the same extent as before, its previous position. For this reason, Russia conducted military operations in the Caucasus and consolidated its hegemony there. At the same time, it secured control over the Sea of Azov and Crimea. There was no real serious reaction from other countries to all these military operations. As a result, Russia increased its pressure on Ukraine. From a historical perspective, Ukraine has always played a relevant role for Russia. In particular, for the historical links with the Slavs, Ukraine is an important territory. This is also true for Russia's

relations with Europe. For this reason, Russia has always positioned a possibly hostile Ukraine as attempting to limit and ultimately surround Russia. To avoid this, Russia relied on occupying Ukraine and installing a government there that was dependent on it. Russia assumed that it would be successful in doing so, despite some criticism of such an operation.

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But the Russia led by Putin was enormously mistaken. He assumed that because of Russia's position, as part of globalized capitalism, the other powers would not risk completely excluding and surrounding Russia, despite their foreseeable criticism. Some political observers believe that NATO has provoked Russia. In view of Russia's current extremely difficult situation, such conclusions can certainly be drawn. But if we consider the importance of Ukraine for Russia and Putin's goal to help Russia regain its former power, we can understand this war as a result of Putin's policy. That is definitely more appropriate.

Russia has officially announced the annexation of certain territories. However, NATO - despite the reluctance of some countries - supports Ukraine in a way that allows the country to stop Russia and make Ukraine a disaster for Russia. Against the background of today's reality of globalized capitalism, we can say that the Russia-Ukraine war is a very serious war. Normally, it does not correspond to the current character of the system that such heavy wars are waged between global forces. But until globalized capitalism finally achieves its new political equilibrium, such severe conflicts are quite possible from time to time. It would not be correct, however, to conclude that the Third World War as a whole will assume such a character. The understanding of politics and struggle of the preceding historical epoch has not yet been completely overcome. The final assertion of an understanding of politics that corresponds to globalized capitalism is still in the making. During this transitional phase, conflicts may arise unintentionally and in various places. But this will not result in the kind of warfare that occurred in World War 1 and World War 2, in which clearly separated factions seek to annihilate each other completely. China does have criticisms of NATO and is much closer to Russia in terms of its global policy. But it does not fully support Russia in this conflict. It has deliberately not entered into a wartime alliance with Russia. Russia, meanwhile, is willing to compromise, which includes a positioning of Ukraine not opposed to Russia and some autonomy status for the Russian-speaking population living along the Russian border. And Ukraine and NATO will agree to a compromise that ends the Russian threat to Ukraine and recognizes Russia's sovereignty of Ukraine within its current borders. Even if Russia is most troubled by this war, globalized capitalism is also experiencing numerous problems because of the war. Therefore, if possible, this system would like Putin to understand that Russia has been taught a lesson and end the war in this way in a timely manner.

It is important to consider that this war is a consequence of nation-state thinking. As a nation-state, Ukraine has not agreed to grant autonomy to its Russian citizens. And Russia has used the Russians living in Ukraine as a pretext to start its occupation operation. So both sides wanted to solve the existing problems based on their nation-state and nationalist understanding. If they had the understanding of democratic nation instead, they could have solved the problems existing between them. If Ukraine had replaced its centralist way of thinking with the understanding of the democratic nation and Russia had not set on annexing these territories on the basis of the Russians living there, then all the problems in these territories inhabited by Russians could have been solved and the region could have been transformed into an example of Ukrainian-Russian friendship between peoples. This shows once again how much the nation-state understanding deepens the existing problems and what enormous problems it causes to humankind.

So what is the position to take on the war between Ukraine and Russia?

Undoubtedly, this war is not in the interest of the peoples and the oppressed. Rather, it is a war between the forces of globalized capitalism. Therefore, one must take a stand against this war and denounce it. But under no circumstances can one take a position for either side. Neither can one side with Ukraine nor, with reference to NATO support for Ukraine, support Russia in this war. If the Russia-Ukraine war were not a part of U.S. and NATO policy; if it were only a matter of occupying an independent country, then one could certainly take a position for Ukraine. But Ukraine is a state acting according to the policy of NATO and the U.S. - the hegemonic power of globalized capitalism. Therefore, support is out of the question. We also do not even consider this war as a war between Ukraine and Russia. For us, it is a war between NATO and Russia. Some members of NATO are not in favor of this war themselves. Therefore, it is a war that is mainly led by the U.S. and United Kingdom, two very influential countries in NATO. Some NATO countries support the war only because they are members of this alliance. And Turkey, a NATO member, is itself trying to profit from this war. It is trying to deceive the world by pretending to be against the war and to support compromise. In fact, the exact opposite is true: Turkey's policy is based on other powers fighting each other so that Turkey can profit. When a crisis arises or a war breaks out in any part of the world, Turkey virtually jumps for joy.

It would be just as wrong in this war to consider Russia's position correct and therefore support it because NATO is on the opposite side. That would only mean to become a supporter of one of the system forces that are fighting with each other. Russia has started this war in order to gain a better position in globalized capitalism as a capitalist country. In addition, it is a power that has nuclear weapons and all kinds of other weapon systems. Russia is not only a

capitalist country, but also an expansionist and imperialist power.

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Shortly before the start of the First World War, a conference of the social democratic parties - as the communist parties were generally called at the time - was held in Basel in 1912 to decide what to do in the event of war. At the said conference, the Social Democratic parties decided not to support their own ruling classes or the bourgeoisie in the event of war. However, most Social Democratic parties did not follow this decision later. In particular, the Social Democratic Party of Germany sided with its rulers in the war. As a result, the Communists changed their name to "Communist Party" to distinguish themselves from the Social Democratic parties. The attitude of that time at the Basel Conference is still the attitude of all socialist and communist-democratic forces today. For the revolutionary-democratic forces, there can be no question of taking sides with any of the forces that strive for hegemony over the world and wage wars to divide domination among themselves. In order to take a stand against the war in Ukraine, it is necessary to criticize both Russia's and NATO's - and therefore Ukraine's - policies. It is therefore the most appropriate stance to call on all peoples - including in Russia and Ukraine - to oppose all those forces that are waging this war.

This war harms the population in Russia and in Ukraine. Whether one population suffers more than the other does not change this fact. Ukraine and Russia were driven into this war by today's great powers. Therefore, without a doubt, all revolutionary forces, communists, socialists, democratic communalists - that is, all forces of democratic modernity or all anti-systemic forces - must be against this war and take a position against both sides. It cannot be an option for us to support Russia because we are against NATO, or to side with Ukraine because Russia attacked first. In wars between systemic forces, anti-systemic forces cannot take a position for either side. The only thing they can do in this case is to fight against both sides. Neither Russia nor Ukraine has a democratic government today. Both countries are ruled by oligarchic structures that have used power and state resources to secure control over all political and economic resources. These types of governments will not seek democratic compromises and democratic solutions. They are concerned solely with their own power. The policies of the governments of these two countries are against their own peoples. The conclusion that the peoples of Ukraine and Russia must draw from this war is to free themselves from their governments. Undoubtedly, the revolutionaries in all the countries that are part of this war must criticize and pillory their governments. While displaying this attitude, they must not make the mistake of supporting either side of the war. Their basic stance must be that this war is not in the interest of any people and that it is a completely unjustified war. So they must take an anti-war stance, expose and fight this war.

More than ten years have now passed since the start of the so-called Arab Spring. What is your opinion regarding the current political situation in the Arab world? How do you view the situation of societies in the Arab countries?

It is essential to know the historical factors that led to the Arab Spring. This process began in Tunisia at the time and encompassed numerous other Arab countries. It was not triggered by day-to-day political problems and events. The Arabs are one of the most important peoples in the Middle East. They also make up a large percentage of the region's population. The Muslim faith emerged in Arab society and within a very short time became a religion that exerted great influence throughout the Middle East. This religion spread very quickly, became part of the state, and for over 800 years provided the ruling political forces in the Middle East, e.g. the Umayyads and Abbasids. It was not until the 16th century that the Arabs came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

After the Ottoman defeat in World War I, the Arabs were placed under the control of England, France, and Italy and divided into numerous states. Today there are more than 20 Arab states. For almost 100 years, all these countries have been under the control of imperialist countries. Before the collapse of real socialism, there were also Arab states that maintained relations with the Soviet Union.

In order to understand the situation of Arab society today and the Arab Spring, one must also have knowledge of antiquity and the time before. The first forms of civilization and state, both based on classes, emerged in Iraq and Egypt, areas that are now Arab. Undoubtedly, the basic culture of these communities was based mainly on the Neolithic revolution of Upper Mesopotamia and the pre-state communal way of life. The Arab communities were the first to come into contact with the state up to 5000 years ago. This still has an important influence on their historical-social culture. Even though the majority of them live in tribes and tribal confederations, the hegemony of class, exploitation, power and the state has had a considerable impact on Arab societies. This is clearly reflected in their mindset and attitudes today. We are therefore dealing with an Arab society that has accumulated over 5000 years of experiences of oppression, which has led to negative effects on them. It is therefore obvious that today it is in a position of encirclement both ideologically and politically. The mentality based on the state and power has penetrated to the individual cells of Arab society. In contrast to these, large parts of South America and even Africa have known the state for only 300 to 400 years. In addition to all the negative consequences for the Arab world, due to its millennia of familiarity with state systems of power, it has also come to know the values of class-based civilization. However, it also has positive values resulting from its resistance to

this civilization. The Middle East is the region where the historical-social culture is most deeply rooted. In this area, the Middle East is ahead of all other parts of the world.

The Middle East is also home to very influential religions. It is well known that the first religions emerged here to defend social values against the system of power, exploitation and the state. Religions became defenders of law, justice, equality, conscience and social-moral values. Even though they ultimately came under the control of power and the state, they have continued to exist since then, on the one hand as state religions and, on the other, in the form of cultural religions of society. Rulers have always used religious dogmas primarily to maintain their hegemony over societies. Thus, religions have been distorted in some ways. And yet, compared to other parts of the world, law, justice, equality, conscience and social-moral values are still much more a part of social culture in the Middle East today.

So, when we analyze the popular uprisings that are being called the Arab Spring, it would be insufficient to view them only as a rebellion against everyday oppression and exploitation and against the capitalist imperialism that has persisted in the region for several hundred years. The Arab peoples have rebelled not only against the oppression that has been going on for a few hundred years, but against the tyranny that has been steadily growing for 5000 years. It is therefore a rebellion against the state system. The Arabs have suffered the most from the violence and oppression of the state system. Accordingly, we must recognize that they have preserved their anger, which has been pent up for millennia, as part of their social culture to this day, and it has now finally broken out.

The Arab Spring was an uprising that entered the stage of history in a very profound and comprehensive way. Nevertheless, no political force emerged in its wake that could have steered and led the uprising. Rather, forces emerged that, in the name of Islam, sought to instrumentalize the uprising for their own narrow and reactionary goals. The forces of capitalist modernity were also interested in distorting and directing the resistance in order to gain even greater access to the Middle East themselves. In addition, political organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood, al-Qaeda, and IS sought to exploit popular anger and protests for their own political ends. The U.S. and Europe wanted to bring governments to power that were in line with globalized capitalism. For all these reasons, the enormous potential of this great revolutionary uprising was consumed by forces that wanted to exploit people's religious beliefs and by the forces of capitalist modernity. But this observation does not mean that we deny the important consequences of this popular uprising and its impact on the future.

The following is clear: This popular uprising had the potential and the power to trigger major revolutions. The Muslim Brotherhood wanted to use the people's criticism of the existing governments to secure their own political rule. But it was the IS that best recognized the revolutionary energy of Arab society at the time. In the absence of a revolutionary democratic awakening that harnessed popular anger, the IS was given the opportunity to harness people's anger and enormous revolutionary potential with the help of a distorted understanding of sociality. The IS began to take a stand against the governments of the day and the imperialism of capitalist modernity with radical statements and attitudes. Thus, it gathered around itself the angry people together with their youth - the strength and revolutionary potential of these people. With its distorted understanding of sociality, the IS succeeded in winning over the people, who both felt anger toward capitalist modernity and its individualism and possessed their own social values. The IS set in motion the awakening of the revolutionary-democratic forces and their social base, including their revolutionary energy. This led to what is perhaps the most tragic situation in human history. The youth and women of the Arab peoples had a great rage against the oppression of the millennia-old exploitative and power-based state and against the imperialist forces of capitalist modernity. And it was this rage that set the IS in motion. This situation brought about by the IS made clear what enormous revolutionary potential and power Arab society has. Nothing is more tragic than when a counter-revolutionary force uses and consumes such revolutionary potential and energy for its own goals.

Even though the Muslim Brotherhood is critical of the current governments, they do not take a radical stance against the capitalist-imperialist powers. Therefore, they have not been able to fully capture the revolutionary-democratic energy of the population. It is precisely this gap that has been filled by IS and al-Qaeda. In addition, although the Muslim Brotherhood was initially accepted by the imperialist powers, it later lost recognition by the forces of capitalist modernity due to its ambiguous political stance. Consequently, as in Egypt, for example, they lost their power and were marginalized in Syria. This led to the popular anger that had surfaced during the Arab Spring being brought under control by IS, al-Qaeda and their numerous offshoots.

For decades, the United States, Europe, and NATO have kept Islamic movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood under their control. They intend to use these collaborating Islamic forces to secure hegemony over the Middle East. These powers viewed the Arab Spring as a historic opportunity to implement precisely this policy. But as the Arab Spring unfolded, it became clear that this U.S. project did not fit the reality of the Middle East. Some Islamic circles may well collaborate and act as agents. But in the historically evolved society itself, social values have developed into a culture. Therefore, it has been shown once again that the individualism and materialism of capitalist modernity

is not accepted by society. Therefore, there are two options. First: the historical state powers of the Middle East and their various versions use the region's social values, which have been distorted in the name of Islam, and the distorted form of sociality that has emerged from them, to maintain their own power. Or secondly, the democratic-revolutionary forces understand the social values as the basis of democratic and cultural Islam and lead the Middle East into the era of democratic civilization. Undoubtedly, the Arab Spring and the historical sociality of the region open the opportunity for the political forces based on democratic Islam to properly use the anger and revolutionary energy of the people to transform the Middle East into a center of social democracy based on an organized and democratic society. The Middle East is the region where democratic sociality, that is, democratic socialism, can best be implemented. The fact that the region continues to refuse to surrender to capitalist modernity reveals this.

The distorted ideological stance of IS has consumed much of the great revolutionary potential of the Middle East. This has done enormous damage to the Arab peoples' struggle for freedom and democracy. And yet, the anger of the Arab peoples has not dried up: Neither at the tyranny and oppression of the 5000-year-old state system, nor at the imperialist forces of capitalist modernity that have been present in the region for several hundred years, nor at the authoritarian-fascist regional powers. This anger of the Arab peoples is still very strong. Therefore, if a revolutionary-democratic organization makes the existing democratic-social values a part of the revolutionary-democratic values of our epoch, there will be an enormous revolutionary-democratic awakening among the Arab people.

The IS, Al-Qaeda, the Muslim Brotherhood and all their offshoots have inflicted great pain on the Arab people and all other peoples of the Middle East. The Arab peoples have therefore realized that the deeds of these forces in the name of Islam have most harmed the Muslim peoples, especially the Arabs themselves. Equally well, they have come to understand that these political forces have distorted the anger of the people and misused it for their own false ambitions for power.

The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the forces of the Rojava Revolution have fought the hardest against IS. The Arabs have thereby also understood that this movement will best respond to the anger and aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East. They have witnessed and thus learned that PKK President Rêber Apo will find the best solutions to all the problems of the peoples of the Middle East - problems that have all been caused by the authoritarian regional powers. They have realized that Rêber Apo has found the best alternative to the male-hegemonic state forces that have existed for 5000 years and the

imperialist forces of capitalist modernity. Particularly in Syria and Iraq, the Arab people have realized that they do have alternatives. As a result, the Arab people have succeeded in freeing themselves from the influence of IS. As a result, the IS began its decline, which ultimately led to its loss over its controlled territories in Syria and Iraq. Without the PKK and the Rojava Revolution, this decline of the IS would not have occurred. These two forces defeated the IS not only through weapons, but more importantly ideologically and politically. When the Arab peoples understood them as an alternative, the IS immediately lost significant strength. This heralded the end of the false attitudes that the IS had caused among the Arab people. If the IS had not been opposed by such an ideological-political force, no military technique or force could have brought about its defeat.

Undoubtedly, the IS and similar lying movements will continue to exist as long as the historically grown problems of the peoples are not solved and their longings are not answered. Therefore, the alternative ideological-political line that can solve all the problems of the Arab people and the other peoples of the Middle East must strengthen its influence in the region. The paradigm developed by Rêber Apo is this alternative. Rêber Apo himself has described his defense writings as a defense of the Middle East against the state power systems and the systems based on capitalist modernity in the region. No historian, sociologist or thinker has been able to analyze the historical-social reality of the Middle East as comprehensively and correctly as Rêber Apo. Nor is there any theologian who analyzes the religious reality of the Middle East - the home of religions - as well as Rêber Apo. As a thinker who analyzes religions very comprehensively in the context of their historical-social reality, Rêber Apo has paved the way for future efforts in this direction. And, moreover, no single religious figure has yet succeeded in doing justice to the history of religions and to the religions themselves as comprehensively as Rêber Apo. Those who read Rêber Apo's analyses of religions carefully will pay great tribute to the historical explanations they contain. These analyses of Rêber Apo are rejected by representatives of dogmatic and crude understandings of religion. And also the positivistic-enlightenment approaches of Europe react similarly as the religious dogmatists. It is absolutely clear that the power of Rêber Apo's ideas, through which there will be enormous awakenings in accordance with the history of the Middle Eastern peoples, and on the basis of the projects developed by him, the Middle East will develop into the center of democratic modernity. Through the power of his ideas, his analyses and the projects he proposed, Rêber Apo has put an end to the misfortunes of the Middle East. Now all that remains is to apply Rêber Apo's analyses to the reality of individual peoples and countries, to combine the historically developed social values with today's democratic social values, and on this basis to lead the struggle for the construction of democratic modernity based on democratic society.

It is important to be aware that Arab society today is not the same as it was before the Arab Spring. Historically, the Palestinian resistance has played a significant role in the spread of revolutionary ideas in Arab society. It was also a source of inspiration for socialist forces during the Cold War. At that time, leftist revolutionary forces from all parts of the world came to Palestine to receive training. Revolutionaries from Turkey also supported the Palestinian struggle and received education in Palestine at the same time. In the 1980s, the PKK also took part in trainings in Palestine and participated in social organizing there. During the Israeli occupation operation in Lebanon in 1982, PKK militants fought on the front lines. In the process, 13 of them fell as Şehids [martyrs]. The struggle of the Palestinians had a great impact on the peoples and left forces of the world. Among the Arab people, it contributed decisively to the strengthening of revolutionary-democratic ideas. Even during the Arab Spring, the consequences of this were clearly visible. We have already mentioned that the Arab Spring was born out of protest against the 5000-year-old state system and the several centuries-old imperialist forces and regional powers. The Arab Spring resulted in political situations that could have led to the collapse of all Arab hegemonic powers. But the Arab Spring deviated from its original goals for three reasons. First, revolutionary democratic forces did not emerge. Second, the imperialist powers of capitalist modernity made efforts to steer developments according to their own interests. Thirdly, the mendacious forces mentioned earlier exploited people's anger for their own ends. Yet despite all these negative developments, Arab society has undergone enormous changes since then. It would therefore be wrong to look at the Arab people today as if they were still in the same state as before 2011. The effects of the changes in Arab society will continue to be seen in the coming years. Although it may appear spent and exhausted, beneath that exhaustion embers continue to smolder. When these embers start to move, a fire will be lit once again.

Authoritarian and collaborative regimes still exist in most Arab countries. Although these regimes may appear powerful, this impression does not correspond to the actual state of affairs. Today, no Arab government is in a comfortable position. They try to maintain their hegemony over the respective societies, especially with the help of political understandings that appear in the name of Islam and other political instruments. But no matter what they do, they will not be able to maintain their power so easily. Because of societal anger and aspirations, they are in great danger. Because these governments fail to shatter the sociality of the Arab people and impose individualism, they find it very difficult to secure their hegemony over society. Not only the regional powers, but also capitalist modernity are confronted with a resistance that goes back to the social reality of the Middle East. A war is currently taking place in the Middle East between the historically developed sociality and the materialism and individualism promoted by capitalism. Rêber Apo therefore emphasizes

that while the forces of capitalist modernity have won this struggle throughout the world, the Middle East continues to resist and deny capitalist modernity hegemony over the region. Even though the forces of capitalist modernity can be present in the Middle East with the help of collaborators, they are met with fundamental rejection from the side of society.

In some countries in the region, the hegemonic forces are certainly in control. But war continues to rage in countries like Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Yemen. There, both the capitalist-imperialist powers and the regional powers are fighting. In the Middle East, the political balance of the past has already been shattered, but a new balance has still not emerged. Currently, the Third World War is raging with the Middle East as its center. The main objective of this war is to establish a new political equilibrium and the status quo based on it. We cannot say today what the political situation of the various countries of the Middle East will be in the future. New uprisings and wars may occur at any time. In this political context, the rule is that those who act in a combative and offensive manner will strengthen their position and ultimately win. In this type of political situation, the only way to defend what exists is to wage an active struggle. After all, the Third World War also means a war situation in which numerous forces are fighting battles, contradictions and conflicts.

What is clear is that the future political balance of the Middle East will not be determined by the struggle of foreign or regional powers. The time of the peoples of the Middle East has come! The peoples have already begun the struggle for a free and democratic life. Therefore, they will definitely play a role in the emergence of the new political equilibrium. Any political equilibrium that does not pay attention to the peoples will not last in the long run. Today, it is already easy to see the great changes and renewals that the revolutionary-democratic forces of the Kurdish people are instigating. The Arab peoples are shaped by their social reality and struggle. At the same time, the idea of democratic-confederal self-government, which is based on the understanding of the democratic nation developed together with the Kurds in Rojava, also has a great influence on the Arabs. These two factors will lead the Arab peoples to significantly strengthen their struggles for democratization in the near future. The Arabs will play an important role in determining the fate of the Middle East in the coming decades because of their revolutionary character and energy. They are already fighting with enormous revolutionary energy against all the authoritarian forces in the region. Therefore, all revolutionary democratic forces in the Middle East, especially those of the Arab peoples, must recognize the revolutionary potential and energy along with the promising situation it creates, intensify solidarity among themselves and the common struggle, and thus make the peoples of the Middle East very influential players in the Third World War. All the necessary conditions for this already exist. Therefore, we all have the

responsibility to use the existing possibilities and opportunities in such a way that the aspirations of the peoples become reality.

In 2021, the Taliban once again took power in Afghanistan. How can we understand this development?

After the attack on the World Trade Center in 2001, the U.S. began flying heavy airstrikes into Afghanistan, which ultimately led to the fall of the Taliban government there. The U.S. then brought a collaborationist government to power while waging war against the Taliban for 20 years. This collaborationist government lacked strong social support in Afghanistan. It was therefore never capable of fighting the Taliban. At the same time, the Taliban proved capable of waging an active struggle using Afghanistan's difficult terrain. Historically and socially, Afghanistan has a militant attitude and culture toward intervention and occupation by foreign forces. As a result, the U.S. failed to break or limit resistance. When the U.S. realized that it would not achieve its desired goals there, it entered into an agreement with the Taliban, with the support of Qatar. According to this, the Taliban and the Afghan government at the time were likely to compromise and create a new political structure in the country on that basis. But the United States realized that this would not succeed and that the Taliban would instead take power in Afghanistan. The Taliban, however, took control of Kabul much more quickly than they thought. So we all became witness to an incredibly tragic escape. The collaborators clung to the planes taking off as if seeking salvation from snakes that had fallen into the water. The footage of this escape did enormous damage to the reputation of the United States. It resulted in images that reminded one of the same fate of collaborators over and over again. These shots are probably among the most tragic of this century.

The U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan was part of a plan: "If I can't get control of the country, let others deal with this problem." That was the political reasoning behind this withdrawal. In Afghanistan's neighborhood are other countries besides Pakistan that the U.S. considers adversaries. The U.S. agreed with the Taliban that they would not support anti-American organizations. Because such an Afghanistan is primarily a problem for Iran, Russia and China, the U.S. withdrew from the country, thus avoiding further weakening of its own and even more losses.

The political forces that organize themselves according to the Taliban mentality will certainly not limit their activities to themselves. Rather, they will seek to influence Sunni Islamic communities in their neighborhood. During the Cold War, the U.S. pursued a "Green Belt" policy of instrumentalizing Islamic groups against the Soviet Union. Today, this continues to be U.S. policy against Russia. Central Asia has always been part of Russia's sphere of interest and influence.

U.S. policy includes the strategy of engaging Russia in conflicts with Islamic currents. In the past, the Habsburg Empire and Germany pursued exactly the same policy against Russia. The Ottoman Empire was persuaded by Enver Paşa to fight alongside Germany in the First World War. At that time, said Enver Paşa also wanted to build an Islamic army in Central Asia, which he succeeded in doing due to the influence of German policy. The Red Army destroyed this green army. This policy was later continued against the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet Union disintegrated mainly due to internal dynamics, its war against U.S. and NATO-backed Islamist organizations in Afghanistan also played an important role in this.

Currently, such organizations are also supported as part of the anti-China policy. It is well known that the autonomous territory of the Uyghurs is being used against China. In this context, the U.S. has certainly thought of the possibility that the Taliban government will increasingly lead to a problematic factor on the Chinese side, despite the only very short border between Afghanistan and China.

Ultimately, it was the Taliban's resistance that forced the U.S. to adopt the policy described above. Of course, we do not find the Taliban's religiously motivated policies right. Their policy towards women clearly shows what a reactionary force they are. However, we must recognize the importance that can be attributed to the policies of the imperialist occupiers in creating the present situation. Moreover, the individualism, materialism and anti-social attitude of capitalist modernity create the basis for such reactionary forces. This is because the Middle East is incompatible with the social model of capitalist modernity. Movements like the Taliban use society's rejection of capitalist modernity. They use sociality as a basis for their own distorted religious attitudes. So they falsify the sociality and the ideal world of the region. Rêber Apo describes the IS as a movement born on the dung heap of capitalist modernity. Of course, there are certain differences between the Taliban and the IS. The Taliban relies on traditional tribal structures to secure its influence in Afghanistan. If the forces of democratic modernity succeed in developing a proper form of sociality and appropriate ideal values, they can find good bases for development there. Therefore, Afghanistan as well as Iran are areas where the forces of democratic modernity will develop well - the alternative to capitalist modernity based on the historical sociality of the Middle East. The stronger the forces of democratic modernity organize, the weaker organizations like the Taliban become, because they lose their social pillars.

What are the fundamental problems facing the forces of democratic modernity today?

We can consider all anti-systemic forces as parts of the forces of democratic modernity. Although the forces of capitalist modernity are continuously in a severe crisis, the anti-systemic forces currently do not have a social, cultural and political influence appropriate to them. While the forces of capitalist modernity successfully manage their own crisis and maintain their influence, the anti-systemic forces fail to develop the necessary influence. This is despite the fact that they represent the absolute majority of society. This is a really serious problem. The fundamental problem of the anti-systemic forces is their inability to overcome the ideological walls of capitalist modernity. According to Rêber Apo, liberalism drowns all ideologies opposed to it in its own waters. Liberalism - the fundamental ideology of capitalism - destroys, blurs and influences the ideological clarity of the anti-systemic forces. The result is that the organization and struggle of those forces remains too weak. Often people talk about anti-capitalism and assume to be ideologically strict on this issue. But in the field of thinking, living, the way of organizing and the influence of their own practice, these forces still do not succeed in overcoming capitalist modernity. Rêber Apo has repeatedly emphasized the following: "Thoughtfully, organizationally and practically, I am in a continuous state of deepening and concentration, so as not to dwell within the limits they impose and not to fall under their control. That's what I'm fighting for. And I try to keep my pace and level up to match that." He has always reiterated that as a leader in the field of thought, organization and practice, he displays a style that no one can bring under control. Even before Rêber Apo developed the new paradigm, he was in a constant process of thought deepening and concentration. He understood it as one of his most important tasks to form and organize the cadres. He did all this in order to strengthen the power of action in practice. For him, education, organization and action are closely connected. However, in view of the crisis of capitalist modernity, the anti-systemic forces do not have enough ideological, organizational and practical power of action.

In his book *Sociology of Freedom*, Rêber Apo discusses in detail the various problems that need to be solved by the anti-systemic forces today. He emphasizes the importance of implementing the intellectual, moral and political tasks in order to solve these problems and advance the construction of a democratic society. It becomes clear that a correct understanding of social science is needed to successfully master the intellectual tasks. Therefore, it is very elementary to take up the existing intellectual tasks on the basis of proper social scientific understanding. For this, independent and diversely oriented academies must be established everywhere. These can be linked worldwide to form a democratic-confederal system of academies. In this way, ways of overcoming globalized

capitalism and the problems it causes can be developed.

One theme that Rêber Apo highlights is the moral-political nature of society. State systems of power or exploitation have historically always consistently attacked societal morality in order to exploit societies. While society functions on the basis of morality, the state pushes back on morality and focuses on bringing society under its control with the help of laws. However, Rêber Apo points out that there is a direct link between societal morality and democracy, and society ensures its survival on this basis.

In order to properly perform the tasks related to intellectual and social morality, the existing political tasks must also be met. Society is first and foremost a moral and political existence. Throughout history, power and the state have always restricted these two spheres of society, thereby imposing their own hegemony. While politics enables society to live a free life, the state merely administers in order to be able to control society. It is often said that the more democracy exists, the less the state exists. Following on from this, we can say: the less state, the more politics, or the more state, the less politics. Therefore, a fundamental task is to understand politics as the art of freedom and to enable society to politicize itself. If we understand political society as something that pursues its needs and requirements in freedom, the great importance of creativity, that is, of avoiding dogmatism and rigidity, becomes clear.

It is important that everyone is aware of the following fact: peoples have always resisted the efforts of the state to limit the sphere of politics and impose its own hegemony. One of the most significant means of this resistance has always been to defend the realm of politics, that is, the ability to have their own discussions and decisions. Historically, out of the triad of life, leadership and jurisdiction, the very last thing to fall under the control of the rulers was life itself. No other form of modernity and hegemony has so far claimed as strongly as capitalist modernity to extend its own hegemony into the individual cells of society, i.e. to completely annihilate the realm of politics. The political tasks therefore consist first and foremost in organizing against these attacks and resisting accordingly. Resistance is consequently the most effective form of politics.

Of course, everyone must be aware that this resistance means building a communal society based on ecological industry and making it a system based on democratic confederalism. It is crucial that this democratic-confederal system is built locally and regionally as well as on a global scale. If all these efforts are made with the help of the democratic politics of society, they will lead to good results. Thus, the moral-political essence of society can be protected and strengthened in this way. Defending the society means protecting and strengthening its moral and political characteristics. Rêber Apo has developed

a new paradigm based on his critique of real socialism and national liberation movements. This paradigm, through its ideological and theoretical line, makes it possible to successfully accomplish all these different tasks.

For the solution of the existing problems and for the successful accomplishment of the tasks mentioned before, it is important to build the “Democratic Confederation of the Peoples”. If capitalism and its modernity spread globally, the anti-systemic forces must also develop an internationalist self-understanding in response to this. This is exactly what is meant by the Democratic Confederation of Peoples. The stronger this becomes, the more the World Confederation of Democratic Nations will develop as an alternative to the UN.

What kind of political struggle do you think the forces of democratic modernity, especially the socialist forces, must wage today?

First of all, we should emphasize that the forces of capitalist modernity are permanently in a state of crisis. But this does not mean that capitalist modernity will simply disintegrate by itself in this crisis and thus be overcome. It is not enough to simply say that capitalism will definitely be followed by socialism. For the forces of capitalist modernity will try to ensure their survival even in this crisis situation as long as there is no emergence of an alternative politics and an alternative system of social life. Capitalist modernity exists today anyway only in the form of crisis administration. The anti-systemic forces must be at least as creative as the forces of capitalist modernity. They must strengthen their struggle both in individual countries and on a global level. Improving the struggle is not possible by relying on only one social group in individual countries, nor by relying on only one political force globally. Capitalist modernity has significantly exacerbated income disparities between and within different countries. This, of course, creates a good basis for the intensification of the struggle in the respective countries and worldwide. But to consider only these few aspects as a problem in the countries and in the world as a whole leads to a narrowing and weakening of the struggle. Therefore, the diversity of problems must be recognized, the circles affected by these problems must be approached in a creative way in order to organize them accordingly. Simply assuming that the problems will solve themselves when capitalism collapses would be a very simple and superficial attitude. The deepening of social problems does not necessarily lead to organizing and struggle. It is crucial to know how to address and organize all these social groups. It is equally important to put into practice the right policies and the organizing model that goes with them, in order to bring them all to a common struggle.

Currently, the anti-systemic forces - including the socialist forces - are not

succeeding in sufficiently advancing this kind of organizing and struggle. At the same time, capitalism is not just any system of exploitation. The modernity of this system is also very different from the modernities of the past. Capitalism does not just exploit and oppress one class. This system is directed against society as a whole. The destruction of society is characteristic of capitalism. Socialism, on the other hand, defends sociality against capitalism. Accordingly, it must be organized according to an ideological-theoretical political line that deals not only with the problems of a single class, but with society as a whole, basically defending society. This kind of struggle must be waged.

The socialist forces must play an important role in the development of the ideological orientation. If they do not do this, many of the anti-systemic forces will either not be able to wage an effective struggle or the forces of capitalist modernity together with their liberal ideology will work on these forces in such a way that they will no longer pose a threat to the system. Therefore, it is necessary that the socialist forces, i.e. the advocates of democratic sociality, develop ideological clarity. For still the democratic-socialist forces do not have sufficient clarity in the ideological field. They have not yet freed themselves from the state mentality. And the anarchists, who are also a part of the anti-systemic forces, do not yet manage to implement an alternative system to capitalist modernity. Regarding the feminists, who play a very decisive role in the anti-systemic movements, we can say that they have great problems in developing an alternative system based on women and filled with the spirit of women. In fact, some of them are very much under the influence of liberalism. The other anti-systemic forces are perhaps even more characterized by all these shortcomings. For this reason, the democratic-socialist forces must be very clear about their strategy of democratic modernity. Another really very serious problem is when we call ourselves ideologically and theoretically socialist and social, but our lives are not socially and communally shaped accordingly. Individualistic and petty-bourgeois influences are very much in evidence here. Thus, those who think socially but do not live accordingly will not be able to fight for the overcoming of capitalist modernity.

Another issue is the enormous influence of economic thinking on the struggle waged in the name of the working class and socialism. Instead of being tools of the struggle against capitalism and for the construction of socialism, unions today have become organizations that liberalize the struggle. Rêber Apo calls it “begging for more wages” when the economic-democratic struggle is not conducted in the right way. Unions do not work towards overcoming capitalism, but play the role of organizations whose goal is the material improvement of life under capitalism. Accordingly, it is essential to the existence of the system to provide workers with a limited salary and thus to give them some access to consumer goods. Unions keep capitalism alive and become a part of it

themselves. The struggle of all socialists must therefore be to wage a struggle to begin building sociality and communal life today. Capitalist modernity has transformed people into beings who strive only for the consumption of material goods. Without consumption, capitalism cannot survive.

Another important issue in this context is the understanding of public control. The state mentality as part of the understanding of socialism must be abandoned, and with it the striving for nationalization. This attitude is ultimately based on the understanding of state capitalism regarding public control. The left forces must free themselves from this understanding. In our response to the question on COVID-19, we talked about the socialization of health institutions. We pointed out that real public control can be ensured by putting health institutions under the management of democratic institutions in the health sector. Educational institutions are also basically under the control of the state. When institutions are under the control of the state, it does not mean that they belong to society - on the contrary. The state education system is against society. However, when the field of education is managed and organized by the institutions and people working in this field, then it really belongs to society. Only then can we truly speak of an educational system of society. Therefore, the understanding of equating public control with state control must be abandoned. On this basis, a struggle must be waged for the socialization of all areas.

Undoubtedly, the struggle of the oppressed classes is very important. However, throughout history, not only slaves and serfs have fought against the state system of power. Peoples and the countryside people have also historically fought continuously for the continuation of their social life. We must understand many of the uprisings that have taken place throughout history as popular resistances in defense of social life. Thus, the class struggle constitutes only a part of the social struggles. Even today, there are numerous forces outside the working class that want to defend their social values and characteristics against capitalist modernity. The leading role of women's movements today is an expression of exactly that. The ecological movements are also very important anti-systemic forces. Without taking a stand against industrialism and making the construction of an ecological industry one's goal, one cannot be a socialist anyway, that is, defend society. An anti-capitalist struggle that does not lead the social struggle broadly will not be able to lead to the desired results. The struggle against capitalism will only be successful if it is directed against the entire modernity of capitalism.

So the following principle must be followed: The more organized society is, the stronger the struggle will be. Otherwise, the working people, women, youth and other groups in society will become active only in relation to issues that concern

them. These would then be mere protest actions. Organized social groups, however, lead a struggle along clear goals. Under the conditions of capitalist modernity, there are permanent actions and oppression, which cause rejection and criticism on the side of different social groups and anti-systemic forces. Organized and unorganized reactions then occur against this. If organizing is only a struggle against these forms of oppression, the struggle will not be continuous in nature. Only when the construction of a social system is the goal will there be a continuous struggle. For this reason, it is very important to transform the organization of the different social groups into a system based on a democratic-confederal mode of organization. If instead, as in the past, a centralist system is declared as the goal in the name of democratic centralism, these types of organizing will lose fighting power. Because centralist forms of organizing weaken the discussions, decision-making processes and willpower of societies and organizations, their resistant characteristics also fade.

The various groups in society must be organized in the form of communities and councils. This must develop into a culture. Accordingly, the measure of being socialist is to play a leading role in building communes and councils. To lead here, however, must not mean to take the place of the people and to lead in their name. To lead means to educate and organize. The leadership role must always be in the hands of the people. Therefore, every socialist must definitely lead a communal life that keeps a strong distance from materialism and individualism.

Capitalist modernity grants different groups the opportunity to protest from time to time. Actions that take place in protest and to demand rights are not particularly disturbing to the capitalists. These kinds of protests run their course after a certain time anyway. This is because society has not been fully organized and does not aim to build a system. In addition, there is often an attitude of first smashing the state and then building one's own system. Accordingly, social life and the system are postponed to the future. Such attitudes do not ensure a continuous struggle. And they do not make possible organizing and structures capable of smashing the state and building a democratic social system in the event of a crisis. Therefore, if we talk about starting today to build the democratic society as our own system next to the state, a corresponding organization and a democratic-confederal organizational structure will have to be created. Such an organized society requires at the same time a strong self-defense system. Organized communities know how to defend themselves. When all anti-systemic forces have developed into a democratic-confederal organizational system at the local, regional and global levels, this also means the development of a self-defense force that can repel a wide variety of attacks. Because these communities have already built their own systems, they can overcome the state and impose their own democratic systems. Or they can force the state to exist side by side with democracy.

Nowadays, the struggles in the individual countries and on the global level can no longer be conducted on the basis of the political understanding from the 20th century. If you are not democratic, you will not be able to be anti-systemic or anti-imperialist. To be against democracy, to be capitalist, to have a male-hegemonic mentality and to oppress different peoples and communities and then to call oneself anti-imperialist! This is simply not a correct attitude. Real socialism supported numerous dictators with whom it was in contact. These countries were called anti-imperialist because they had relations with the Soviet Union. Dictatorial and undemocratic political forces and organizations do not rely on society. To be anti-imperialist, one must rely on the people and develop the willpower to resist through the power of the people. The anti-imperialism of countries, political forces and organizations that do not enjoy the support of the people remains a castle in the air. They only use this to disguise their oppression of the people. We can observe this most strongly in the Middle East. Their own people are subjected to various forms of tyranny and at the same time they portray themselves as anti-American or anti-whomever. We have seen this very clearly in the case of the fascist coalition of AKP (Justice and Development Party) and MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) in Turkey. In order to understand whether a country or a political force is anti-imperialist, one must closely observe whether its struggle is based on the people or not. This must be the fundamental yardstick. Countries and political groups that do not rely on their people can only keep themselves on their feet with the help of other forces. They become instruments used by different forces in their struggles among themselves. In the world of globalized capitalism, being anti-imperialist without taking a position against capitalism can only work in temporary exceptional situations. And this, too, must not be understood as anti-imperialism, but as a stance taken on the basis of momentary contradictions.

Those who do not take a truly anti-imperialist stance and who do not base their anti-imperialism on democratization and anti-capitalism will inevitably take a position alongside the ruling classes of their own country. No matter how much one calls oneself anti-imperialist in this case, this will not be able to disguise the fact that one is a collaborator based on other forces.

About the Academy of Democratic Modernity

As the Academy of Democratic Modernity, we strive to spread the ideas and rich experience of the Kurdistan Freedom Movement and its paradigm of Democratic Modernity. Our publication activities are intended to start discussions with activists, academics and various anti-systemic and social movements in order to move forward in our search for a radical alternative to capitalist modernity and to realise a free life. Through our educational work, we want to create a new understanding of democratic politics, social enlightenment and a new political-moral consciousness. Some dimensions of social issues we address are sociology of freedom, weaving together lines of resistance, democratic autonomy, women's liberation, youth autonomy, social ecology, communal economy and art & culture. Through the development of platforms and networks, we want to contribute to the strengthening of the international exchange of experiences and interweave existing struggles, in line with the proposal of World Democratic Confederalism. To overcome capitalist modernity, concrete local and global institutional alternatives are needed. If we succeed in expanding democratic politics in everyday life - through alliances, councils, communes, cooperatives, academies - the huge political potential of society will unfold and be used to solve social problems. In this sense, we see our activities as a contribution to the unfolding of Democratic Modernity and Democratic Socialism.

Let us work together to bring our visions and utopias to life. Another world is not only possible - given the world situation, it is sorely needed. Let's start building our future together in the present, waiting would be madness.

More information in German, Spanish, English and Italian can be found here: <https://democraticmodernity.com>

Currently, the anti-systemic forces - including the socialist forces - are not succeeding in sufficiently advancing this kind of organizing and struggle. At the same time, capitalism is not just any system of exploitation. The modernity of this system is also very different from the moderns of the past. Capitalism does not just exploit and oppress one class. This system is directed against society as a whole. The destruction of society is characteristic of capitalism. Socialism, on the other hand, defends sociality against capitalism. Accordingly, it must be organized according to an ideological-theoretical political line that deals not only with the problems of a single class, but with society as a whole, basically defending society. This kind of struggle must be waged.

email: info@democraticmodernity.com

web: <https://democraticmodernity.com/>