

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

RED DAWN



INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL ORGAN

January 2007

No:11



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MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
Turkey/Northern Kurdistan

Preface

We have the pleasure to introduce you our new issue.

In this issue, we are presenting the documents on the experience of unity by the communists in our region, on the 1st Conference of our party's Kurdistan Organization and the Anti-imperialist Struggle Conference of the Middle East which was held on June, 2006.

Through the analysis "The Unity of the Communists and the Experience of MLCP", we want to share the lessons taken from the struggle for unity by the communist organizations in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan since 1989 until 1994. We believe that it will introduce an important historical experience to the other communist parties and organizations on the international area. Our struggle for unity was a significant answer by the Turkey and Northern Kurdistan Branch of the international communist movement to the process where social imperialist USSR had been dismembered, the imperialists were announcing the "end of the history", and the international communist movement was passing through an ideological and organizational crisis.

The second article evaluates the 1st Kurdistan Conference which was organized successfully by the Kurdistan Section of our party on 4-11 November 2005. Our party organises itself in Kurdistan as a section. The conference held by socialist patriots has occupied a considerable place in the history of our party due to its importance in the fight for national and social liberation in Kurdistan.

The last file contains the documents of the Anti-imperialist Struggle Conference of the Middle East which was organised on 12 June 2006. You will find the considerations of our party on the Conference, the declaration of the conference, the announcement of the conference and the principles of functioning. The Anti-imperialist Struggle Coordination of the Middle East which was founded through this Conference by the consistent anti-imperialist parties and organisations of the Middle East is a step forward in organising the united anti-imperialist resistance in the region, in such a period where the wind of wars blow upon the Middle East and the imperialist forces say that "the Middle East will change".

We look forward to meet you in the next issue!

Red Dawn

THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNISTS AND THE EXPERIENCE OF MLCP

The idea and action of unity of communists as a basic factor which directed the predecessors of MLCP, beyond of being an absolute and fundamental intervention to the situation of the communist movement of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, it is at the same time the first and fundamental step replying the new period and overcoming the structural crisis which occurred among communist and revolutionary movements in 90s'. Communist organisations, which created for themselves a new point of start through the idea and struggle for the unity of communists and later succeeded, became the constructors of a historical process that reach to the sky by the foundation of MLCP.

Against The Flow

Considering in terms of the soil that it put its feet and historical heritage that it has adopted and internalised, the roots of MLCP go back to the foundation of TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) in the first quarter of the 20th Century. Beyond the general frames of Marxist and socialist stance and labelling itself with the proletarian class struggle, there is an ideological intercourse and causality connection between MLCP and TKP. The foundation of TKP through unification of communist organisations, for instance, does not only resemble with the foundation of MLCP, there also raised up a fundamental value, a principle determining both of their forms of specific being, and given vitality. The unification of communists in one single vanguard party in every country is one of the orders of the proletarian class struggle and preconditions of the social revolution. This is known, and even usually talked of. Nevertheless, what is important is the adherence to it within the implementation. For implementation would involve and concretise the unity of theory and practice.

However, if one would act from the organisations which formed MLCP, than, he/she will reach to the fact that it directly rose upon the '71 revolutionary movement. MLCP could be reached also by tracing the history of three main organisations of '71 revolutionary movement and their extensions, which dangle the period of quarter-century. Under the conditions of realities of cadres and even the period of splits and fragmentations, there can be talk of from the "organisa-

tional" stability. The ideological break-off and evolution did not wipe out the specific ideological relationship with the '71 revolutionary movement, but sharpened by making it more evidential and conscious. For instance, the '71 revolutionary upsurge is the work of a revolutionary will. The superior sides of the period such as shining spirit of sacrifice and cause, the high and passionate devotion to the revolutionary values of morality have turned into a new form in the MLCP rather than being a source of revolutionary strength and a basic breaking point with the "revolutionary spontaneity", the dominating style of leadership and struggle within the prior history of the revolutionary and communist movement.

However, moreover of all these, if someone wants to research and understand the very concrete and specific existence of MLCP, than they should start with the idea of the unity of communists and its history that came to the scene in the ranks of organisations that constitute her and later was developed and matured within the struggle for unity.

But, of course, MLCP's history can also be started with the announcement of MLCP-F (Marxist Leninist Communist Party-Foundation) in the Unity Congress organised in September 1994.

The idea and action of the unity of communists as a basic factor which directed the predecessors of MLCP, beyond of being an absolute and rooted intervention to the situation of the communist movement of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, it is at the same time the first and fundamental step

replying the new period and overcoming the structural crisis which occurred among communist and revolutionary movements in 90s'. Communist organisations, which created for themselves a new point of start through the idea and struggle for the unity of communists and later succeeded, became the constructors of a historical process that reach to the sky by the foundation of MLCP.

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language...In like manner, the beginner who has learned a new language always translates it back into his mother tongue, but he assimilates the spirit of the new language and expresses himself freely in it only when he moves in it without recalling the old and when he forgets his native tongue." ⁽¹⁾

Like men, political parties also make their own history.

Time would completely bring to the open what sort of factor, in terms of history, would it be reason of TDKIH (Revolutionary Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey), TKP/ML



Hareketi (Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist Movement) and TKIH's (Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey) to announce their consideration that *"the question of the unity of the communist movement of Turkey is the question of the unity of TKIH, TKP/ML Movement, TIKB (Revolutionary Communist League of Turkey) and TDKP (Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey)" ⁽²⁾* in the autumn of '89. This initiative, which genuinely and naturally tended to make fundamental changes in the situation of the communist movement and had the objective of reconstituting it, matched with the very certain turnout of the world history. Again, we have the opportunity to speak about a specific period of the history of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan in terms of social and political circumstances and developments.

The collapse of USSR and Warsaw Pact states; under the new international circumstances created by the mentioned situation, the submission of Albania Socialist People's Republic to imperialism through the hands of LPA (Labour Party of Albania); the entrance into the path of betrayal against their objectives and ideals by numerous communist and revolutionary parties in every corner of the world; lack of an international centre in which the parties and organisations considering themselves as communist could get theoretical, ideological and political fertility, approval, support and etc; the announcement of the end of the class wars and the history by imperialism headed by the USA which won the Cold War; the recognition of USA's hegemony under the conditions of unipolar world by various states which stood close to USSR express the beginning of a new period both in terms of the world history and the history of socialism. The process of 89-91 is the symbol of this.

The international communist movement was drawn into an ideological and political crisis because of the destruction that they experienced and that the 20th Century closed with the defeat of socialism. It was an entrance to the new period of the history of and the struggle for socialism.

If the years of '40s, '50s, with the victory of USSR in the 2nd World War following the October Revolution, revolutions in Eastern European countries and Chinese Revolution, are the peak where the world revolution had reached, than '90s' are the summit where imperialism and the world reaction surmounted. The world revolution and the communist movement would sink to

the bottom. A period was closed. The imperialist world reaction was able to find in itself the power to announce "ideologies are dead" and "end of the history".

Today's imperialist globalization, whose first nucleuses were seen in '70s' than it became evident in 1980s' and than it became dominant after 1990s', is the reconstitution of international capital and capitalist world market under the conditions of monopole capitalism. This tendency, which became evidential in the years of '80s', gradually went up to the level of state policies in imperialist countries, at first in the USA and Britain. It became dominant on the world economy with the collapse of the USSR. The changes/transformations occurred within the internal structure and conditions of monopole capitalism, that finds its expression in the concept of imperialist globalisation, and the collapse of social imperialist USSR and the liquidation of modern revisionist camp do not mean nothing else than that the conditions of the world revolution has changed or is changing. The incomplete maturity of the new conditions of the world revolution, or the lack of Marxist analysis on the main lines regarding it, does not invalidate the determination that "the conditions of the world revolution has changed".

In the same period, the political face of the world was also changed completely. The international relations which were dominant to the period of half-century until '90s', the lasting international status quo were collapsed; two camps led by the USA and USSR had become history. The period dominated by the tendency of internal collaboration of imperialists under the leadership of the USA was actually dropped behind also. Although the bipolar international relations were replaced with the USA hegemony, the capitalist world tended to a convulsive internal rivalry, a new multi-polarity where the competition among imperialists would come to the fore. While the victors of the Cold War quarrel with each others for sharing of the booties, the world's political map is also being redrawn.

On the other hand, we must point out to the some fundamental phenomenon at home.

The first one is the mass movement of the working class which became evident with the solidarity actions that developed in the axes of '87 NETAS strike after the 12 September coup and reached to the most advanced point with the '89

spring surge and the '90-'91 wave of mass strike in which the Zonguldak miners formed the centre. But it could not give a birth to the tendency of evidential/supervisory meeting, having contacts with any currents pretentious of socialism and Marxism. Together of being reactionary, this was a new and different situation than '60s' and '70s'. It was, however, the indicator of strongly breaking off the working class' socialist class consciousness -that developed throughout '60s' and '70s'- by the 12 September coup and the collapse of the USSR. On the other hand, of course, this situation had the dimension concerning the currents pretentious of socialism and Marxism, slip into their responsibilities that cannot be abandoned.

Before anything else, the dominating style of political leadership and struggle in the revolutionary movement was being practically questioned by the worker's movement and the "revolutionary spontaneity" was being completely discarded under the new conditions created in 1990s. As it happened in the second half of 1970s', the times in which the spontaneous movements tended towards the communist, revolutionary organisations in spontaneous form were over. Now it was the necessity for the ones who are pretending to be leaders to open for themselves the ways of attaching with the movement of the working class and labourers, the oppressed. And this meant revolutionary will to practice its role in much advanced level on the style of political leadership and struggle.

As a matter of fact, the spontaneous rise of the working class movement, on one hand, had evoke the thought of the urgency of the question of party among all currents pretentious of acting on behalf of the working class; it gave strength to the efforts in this course. But, on the other hand, non-appearance of a tendency aiming to meet with the currents pretentious of socialism and Marxism among the mass worker's movement became one of the factors that conditioned refraction, hopelessness, distrust and, after the 12 September liquidationism, the second much deeper and intense wave of liquidationism in terms of ideology. The wave of second liquidation is mainly caused by socialism's closure of 20th Century with defeat.

The 12 September coup led the currents and organisations with the claim of socialism and Marxism to experience much heavier and deeper defeat than the period of 12 March. They were

able to enter into the process of re-gathering and exit from the period only in the second half of the '80s'. However, both the pressure created by the collapse of the USSR and the modern revisionist camp and the non-occurrence of an evidential revolutionary and socialist fermentation in the working class movement, the weak position of the youth movement and etc. did not give opportunity for the currents -which had entered into the re-gathering process and the way out from the period of 12 September coup- to make a comprehensive political and organisational breakthrough.

Currents claiming to be in the line of socialism and Marxism were not ready for the new period of history.

MLCP has entered into the agenda of the history by the synthesis and reformation of theoretical, political and organisational accumulation created by its predecessor communist organisations throughout their histories, starting from the struggle for unity.

In Kurdistan, the guerrilla movement which was started in '84 succeeded to fasten on and reached the level of a national revolutionary explosion with the uprisings which exploded by the end of '80s. The reflection in the West of this magnificent revolutionary development in Kurdistan, combining with the intense, systematic and special efforts of the fascist MGK (National Security Council), was the expansion and the deepening of Turkish chauvinism and nationalism. Let alone the portrait in establishing relations with the Kurdish national revolution, but the progressive social dynamics were surrounded by and taken under the pressure of chauvinism, as a reflection of counter-revolutionary reaction evoked by the national revolution.

The communist and revolutionary movement was judged with a very difficult march against the flow not only because of the curvetting world revolution, but also because of the dominant nation chauvinism that gradually spreads and widens, penetrates into the social texture.

PART 1

STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

The understanding of unity as a necessity for the struggle and principled

MLCP has entered into the agenda of history by the synthesis and reformation of theoretical, political and organisational accumulation created by its predecessor communist organisations throughout their histories, starting from the struggle for unity.

The struggle and idea of communists' unification is its ferment.

The idea of unity among the ranks of the communist movement came to the open, as a nucleus, yet by the refusal and condemnation of the "Mao Tse-dung Thought"; by succeeding in the ideological break-off with populism.

The refusal and condemnation "Mao Tse-dung Thought" brought the organisations, which -in this or that manner- experienced the same process, to discuss and question their consideration of themselves and each others. The leap in the consciousness that was created by the break-off with eclectic, unclear and populist approaches caused on the issue of party by "Mao Tse-dung Thought", fed new approaches. On the other hand, the heavy political conditions created by the 12 September coup prevented the maturing of searches on the solution of the matter.

The question of overcoming the influence of "Mao Tse-dung Thoughts" in the ranks of the communist movement passed coexistent with the heavy conditions of reaction after the coup and the new problems created by the defeat. There appeared the need for a much general critical approach within the communist organisations towards themselves, revolutionary and communist movement. Under the conditions of crisis drawn by the defeat and liquidation, each of those communist organisations tended to make such calculation on the organised or spontaneous manner.

The idea of unity, which gained speed of development within the organisations towards the middle of '80's, faced a split within itself and, as a result, two different tendencies became visible: one was liquidator, the other revolutionary. The liquidator tendency of unity caused by the defeat had matured rapidly and went forward in its own canal.⁹ But the revolutionary tendency for unity matured in '89. The "Common

Statement" of "THIH, TKP/ML Movement and TDKIH regarding the question of Communists' Unification" reflects a phase of the development of the idea of communists' unification. Communist Party was defined as "the unity of scientific socialism and proletarian movement", the unity of communists was considered "in the context of creation of the communist party" and "the creation of communist party" was announced as a "fundamental task". The unity of communists was both a question of principles and a political question waiting to be solved immediately. Communist movement was formed by more than one organisation. The unity of communists was the question of "the unity of TKP/ML Movement, TDKIH, TIKB and TDKP".

They drew attention to that the differences among the communist groups are "important", but "secondary". However, they also drew attention to that they "in essence, do agree upon the basic problems of the revolution" and that they had the task and necessity of "bringing to the open the differences and agreed sides on the tactical questions, the discussion of differences in the communist press in a way cleared from groupist spirit, sectarianism and all forms of prejudices, but comradely". The path going to the organisational unity of the communists were defined as in the shape of developing the revolutionary cooperation and comradely discussions on the differences.

"Every group is of obligatory, first of all, to challenge with sectarian, groupist, subjective attitudes that have been continuing for years within its own. The thought that the communist movement is formed by only one group is the clearest example of groupism, arbitration and narrow-mindedness."⁽⁴⁾ They draw attention to the importance and priority of struggling against sectarianism and unprincipled separatism.

The unity of communists was "a necessity for the struggle".

The idea of communists' unification, which - beyond the principled approach- was based on the analyse of the concrete situation of the communist movement, reflects a leap, a fundamentally important change within these organisations' comprehension of Marxism. This is both a result and a beginning which widens and deepens the renewing, changing and transformation.

Despite carrying the strong effects and footmarks of the old comprehension, it was a new

direction in the comprehension of Marxism. The tendency of breaking off with the sectarian comprehension of Marxism, which can be told very easily that was dominant within the period before '90, was an entrance to foundation and construction of the future's communist movement, as well as being a very meaningful objection to the historical period left behind. The tendency of breaking off with the sectional approach towards the international communist movement's inner-parts was paving the way that leads to the leaping of a new level in the comprehension of Marxism.



On the other hand, the tendency for unification that became visible in TDKP and partially in TIKB was defeated by the dominant groupist sectarian attitudes among these organisations. The idealist and sectarian attitudes of these organisations, considering the communist movement only composed of them, went forward to the points of extremity under new conditions. In the beginning of 1990, they started a reactionary war under the black flag of unprincipled separatism and sectarianism against the struggle for unity.

TDKP, at the same time of this reactionary struggle, entered into a legalist, reformist liquidator path.

The same struggle consolidated the existing doctrinism of TIKB and strengthened the castration and its line.

From extreme optimism to the crisis of trust

Concrete analyses regarding to the understanding of unity and the communist movement designed the plan of the struggle for unity. Through the entrustment of representatives one each from TKP/ML Movement, TKIH and TDKIH, the Coordination Committee for Communist Unity (KBEK) was formed.⁽⁵⁾ And it was stated that "TIKB and TDKP were also invited to this formation".

The plan for the work for unification plan gave priority to the discussion of the differences between the organisations forming KBEK and TIKB and TDKP. The discussion of differences among the other three organisations would form the second stage. In fact, the method of dealing with the differences in the second part of the plan was not correct, because it had foreseen the discussion of differences broken off, isolated from the entirety of the question of theory, programme and strategy.

The plan was "far away from meeting the needs" of the organisations forming the KBEK which was "in a high optimism and expectation": Because; *"it had the lack of ability to ensure organising the struggle for unity through stepping on the very concrete advances and achievements"*⁽⁶⁾ And because; it was not able to deal with the special situation of TIKB and TDKP -who had the lack of desire and tendency to overcome sectarianism that made them consider themselves as the only element of the communist movement-separate from the situation of the other communist organisations, their relations with each other and their place inside the struggle for unity. The plan conditioned time wasting and distraction.

Let alone leaving open how to conclude the question of differences (indefiniteness of the unification method), the plan was also defective for carrying an aspect of preserving and provoking the groupism by making the discussions upon the official opinions of the organisations.

On the other hand, the plan for the struggle for unity was not inter-related with the self working plans of the organisations in a mandatory manner and with clarity and a common will.

KBEK's formation was "a step forward and positive". However, not giving a specifically defined initiative to KBEK had coincided with KBEK's not showing of a natural initiative and left it without function.⁽⁷⁾

TIKB and TDKP took totally a groupist and destructive attitude against the efforts for unity and waged a reactionary struggle in the front. They took different conjunctions. This was not an unexpected situation. But, despite this development, there was not shown an initiative to recheck, deal again with the unity plan.

The efforts for unification came to a halt in the spring of 1990. Optimism was replaced with the crisis of trust. The crisis of trust was nothing else than the upheaval of groupism like a wave

among the ranks of both sides. The old became the superior of the new which was inexperienced and had not yet strengthened its positions.

It is also very meaningful that the crisis of trust exploded upon the differences regarding the evaluation of the past, where the old is most strong and its reflexes are more alive.

The efforts of the both sides for overcoming the crisis of trust and the stagnation were fruitless. Organised at the end of the summer of 1990, "the delegations' meeting was not able to succeed in clearing the way for works for unification through the decisions that it took, although it was successful and positive in general terms". The official evaluations of three organisations in respect to the period of '72-'79 and, later, whether the differences in this context cause an obstacle before the unity were discussed through the Communist Unity⁽⁸⁾.

In this period of infirmity of the will for unity, the discussions were conducted interruptedly while the crisis of trust was led to be weakening for certain level. In the spring of '91, the leaderships' efforts and proposals for overcoming the stagnation were increased again and, let alone the overcoming of the problems, the crisis of trust was renewed.

Nevertheless, the 4th Conference of TKP/ML Movement and the 1st Congress of TKIH, both of them convened in 1991, however emphasized insistently "the actual political importance of the unity" in spite of not overcoming of the crisis of trust and stoppage.

In the same period, TKIH united with TDKIH at its 1st Congress.

"The decision for dissolution by TDKIH and its participation in the Congress prepared by TKIH, and, starting from the Congress, the unification of the communists from TDKIH and TKIH around a programme and constitution, which to be approved in this congress, is one of the concrete forms of communists' unity. This form of unity is an expression and consequence of the concrete conditions of our country's communist movement, the evolution of different groups forming the movement, and, more importantly, the current point where the question of unity dealt by three communist organisations has reached to. The unity which was achieved in this way among two organisations do not comes to meaning that the question of the unity of all communists has been solved, but it represents a part, moment and

direction in the unity process which is much more wider and much more longer. This unity and form of unifying will play a role of strengthening and developing the unity process.⁽⁹⁾

As a result, the first period of the struggle for unity was ended with failure by not reaching its goal despite the gained experiences and some achievements. The delegations' meeting which was organised in the beginning of 1992 officially closed a period by, at the same time, deciding upon the abolishment of KBEK that had already disappeared in practice.

The struggle for unity entered into a process of convalescence that would continue until the spring of '93.

The Meeting of Evaluating the Opportunities for Unity (MEOU) April 1993

MEOU (April Meeting) is the very definite conjunction and threshold that expands to MLCP. MEOU was held on 9-11 April 1993. Its importance comes not from its authority. It, however, already had no binding lawful authority other than its power to influence/convince. But this meeting played a great determining role in the struggle for unity. This meeting, *"participated by communists elected and entrusted by TKP/ML Movement in its 4th General Conference and TKIH in a special way, was organised with the aim of clearing the way of the unity work suffered from stagnation and evaluating the opportunities of unity.*⁽¹⁰⁾ And it fully reached its aim.

MEOU did not stop only by bringing to the open that the unification of two organisations was fully possible and by constructing the basis of comradely trust; it at the same time had developed the understanding of unity and determined the method of the unification. It also developed a plan involving all the main aspects of the unification process and the process in full that was generally accepted and put in practice with its core lines. The basis of the 'will for unity' which led to MLCP was paved in MEOU.

MEOU, by emphasizing the existence of *"necessary basis for the principled unity", "that is, in terms of the theoretical, political and organisational understandings, the necessary common accumulation to achieve the unification",*⁽¹¹⁾ also accepted this as the point to act.

MEOU put on the centre of the unity plan *"the idea of a congress which would have an acceptable form and content for both sides".* *"However it*

would end, holding such a congress is a necessity and even an imposition of communist consciousness and communist responsibility. Nevertheless, the congress is one of the most suitable instruments which could solve the points of difference".

Basically, MEOU was of the understanding that the differences between two organisations were not forming an obstacle before the organisational unity. Considering the "obstacle" as which could be surmounted; it foresaw that "the problem should be solved in the congress on the basis of the will which would be exhibited by the participator delegates of the congress and in the manner of making the unity possible".

MEOU developed and enriched the understanding of unity through a dual approach, which can be summarized as "the unity of the organisations" and "the unity of the communists organised in these two organisations".

"Obviously, the plan was taking it as a base that it was both possible and necessary to surmount the question of evaluating the past -which yesterday stood as a non-surmountable obstacle before the unity- in the Unity Congress and that even the differences upon the question of the past could not be solved through ideological struggle, criticism, discussion and persuasion, the unity could be and had to be achieved by finding a solution- in this or that way- of the question.⁽¹²⁾

It is the unity will which gave spirit to MEOU and its text of call. The organisations and, particularly, the leaderships were called to develop "a clear and result-achieving unity will which is resistant to vacillations". The "flexibility" was nothing else than a form of reflection of the unity will. It was the refusal of impositions and the clarification of the method of unification.

MEOU developed and enriched the understanding of unity through a dual approach, which can be summarized as *"the unity of the organisations"* and *"the unity of the communists organised in both two organisations"*. On this basis, it reached to the conclusion that *"the struggle upon different points of view"* would *"be developed not in the form of discussions among the official*

comments and the leaderships, but through the participation of members and candidate members from these two organisations" ⁽¹³⁾. It was an orientation to tear down the groupism and group rivalry from its strongest positions.

Through its own style, through its attitude of solving the problems together by building common will and by putting the unity congress into the centre of the unification plan that it had developed, MEOU had determined collectivism as the method of the unification.

"We, with our responsibility for the cause of revolution, will be the followers and defenders of these thoughts". These were the last words of MEOU that unanimously decided the unity plan.



This was the new level of struggle with groupism and of deepening at the break-off with sectarian and narrow approaches that were the products of the communist movement's specific history. The new was lunging at the old and, this time it was waging an absolute attack.

The conclusions achieved by the meeting caused "more or less amazement" in the ranks of the organisations and made a surprising affect as an unexpected development. But, the unification plan built by MEOU and the understanding and method of the unification that it developed were generally accepted in the discussions carried out by organisations and leaderships.

Preparations for the Congress

The leaderships put the MEOU's plan into force. The commission, which was created in order "to prepare the draft programme, draft constitution, the common texts which to be discussed among the organisation members and candidate members on the subjects of evaluations concerning the principle and tactical questions in respect

of the line of daily practical struggle and of the political situation in the country and the world, and etc.", begun its activities in June 1993. By announcing in its report dated 13 August 1993 that it has completed its activities in success, the Commission made following evaluations upon the Unity Congress.

"Different than the congresses which are the highest and most authoritative organs of any communist parties or organisations, the specificity of the situation is concretized in the Unity Congress being a determining decision-making organ, which would ground the organisational basis where the new organisation would be heighten by redesigning the ideological unity, the unity of will and action of our organisations or the communists united in two organisations. Having discussed in various collective platforms the fundamental theoretical, political and organisational questions in the context of founding a new organisation, the elected delegates, who will reflect the will painted during the atmosphere of this free discussion, are coming together once more and in the capacity of highest level with the aim, task and responsibility to decide on these questions in the Unity Congress...It is rather clear that the Unity Congress attended by authorized delegates coming from both two organisations, is a fully authorized founding congress." ⁽¹⁴⁾

The 1st Congress of the TKP/ML Movement and the 1st Congress of TKIH, both gathered at the end of the summer of 1993, turned it into the most highest unity will of the communists by adopting the "plan and ongoing works carried out by the April Meeting" ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Following the Meeting of Central Committee Delegations, which evaluated the results of both congresses, the Unity Congress Organising Committee (BKOK) was formed. Firstly, BKOK published in the 4th issue of the Unity Will ⁽¹⁶⁾ in September 1993, the "discussion materials" ⁽¹⁷⁾ prepared by the commission, and announced the plan for discussion. It drew attention to the founding character of the discussions.

The "founding character of the discussions" was being concretized in the effort to develop and cast the "ideological, political line", including the problems of the tactic and organising, of the new vanguard organisation which to be built by us together. "This, doubtlessly, is a very important opportunity, which no other organisations possess it, for the communists united in our organi-

sations. It creates for us the opportunity to think and renew, recheck, control and deepen our knowledge upon the problems of tactic, programme and organisation of the revolution."

"Whilst emphasizing the founding character of the discussions, what's being talked about is not essentially the decisional texts which would be adopted by the Unity Congress. What is much more important is the human element. It is to prepare the cadres entirely, as the ones who practice the 'ideological political line' that we are building. Such that, after the UC, all comrades, cadres from all levels should be ready as the implementers of the line that will be formed by the UC".⁽¹⁸⁾

BKOK also emphasized the following: "The founding character of these discussions also involve the practicing of freedom of criticism and discussion, as the essence of internal democracy in the communist parties and organisations."⁽¹⁹⁾

The Unity Congress preparatory discussions were continued until the summer of 1994 in the Unity Will and in the form of cadre meetings consisting of many different compounds.

While, on the one hand, the Unity Congress' ideological preparations were carried out, on the other hand, there was the direction towards developing the unity in action and the common activities as a dimension of the unity work. In April 1994, BKOK evaluated the unity works in the context of both dimensions.

Starting from the April Meeting, there were recorded "notable progresses" and achievements on the question of communists' unity. "No serious deviation from the plan" was allowed. BKOK was formed in accordance with the context that was planned and served its task and responsibilities as a functional organ. Moreover, BKOK criticized the "obvious weakness" among the members and candidate members which appeared on 'the problem of responsibility to write'. It called on them to act energetically and responsibly and to struggle against their shortcomings. After the first experiences of discussion meetings, it drew attention on the fruitful and transforming course of these.

"However, the concentration on the development of unity in action and common works could only be achieved after the February of 1994." "Beside the efforts shown by the central and city organs, individual units in some cities also took or tended to take necessary steps concerning this field. There occurred a development in the use of common materials of agitation-propaganda

(brochure, leaflet, stickers etc.) The common work intensified in the trade unions by the workers and public sector workers was followed by the work among the youth. There observed a development in every part of the legal and illegal work: Meetings regarding the commemoration of martyred comrades, Newroz celebrations etc."

"The election activities were a good opportunity in terms of common work. The level of the united force could also be shown in this way. As a result, it is true that certain common achievements were gained during the election activities in general. And their darkening in any terms cannot be allowed."⁽²⁰⁾

BKOK drew attention to that "the essence of shortcomings are caused because of the weakness of initiative" in the development of common works and unity in action.

While the congress preparations were advancing, the tasks of the political struggle were tried to be shouldered with the perspective of common works and developing the unity in action. On the other side, while continuing with their efforts to give blows to the communists, the political police were giving signs that they also give importance to the question of unity and concentrated their attention at this point. BKOK therefore made following statement:

"If we exclude the foundation of communist party by the unification of communists from different groups in 1920, the struggle that we are conducting in a country of divisions and break offs is in the centre of focus of not only ours, not only the other communists and revolutionaries, but also the fascist state forces. We came across with evidences of this in Istanbul, Bursa, Adana and Ankara with various condenses. They are following the developments very closely and seriously worried about it. It is understood that the route of unification is a correct route."⁽²¹⁾

Due to the lessons of the process of the first attempts for unity and not allowing any spontaneity, "the last one year's internal harmony, tempo and direction of development were stable and fruitful". Now everything "had to be planned in accordance with the needs of the unity work" even at the cost of "a serious closing inside". Thereafter everything was interlocked with the goal of Unity Congress.

The organisational and technical preparation of the Congress carried out by a committee especially established for this work.

The Defeat of the Anti-Unity Tendency

In the final stage where the Unity Congress was really near and the election of delegates for the Unity Congress was of the agenda, the groupist tendency; the current which was lying in ambush after the April Meeting, this time begun to act in order to prevent the celebration of the Unity Congress.

As a matter of fact, the struggle with groupism was sometimes flared up, sometimes kept burning under the ashes, but always continued uninterruptedly throughout the developing and maturing process of the unity thought and during the works for unification. Moreover, in many cases, the groupism showed a re-actionary resist-

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ance and even succeeded to dominate by using the arguments such as "a healthy unity", "a principled unity", "a revolutionary unity" and etc. The failure of the first period of the work for unification came to agenda as a result of the temporary domination of the re-depressed reaction of groupism against the revolutionary tendency, which the organisations had overcome, but were not yet able to let it to suffer absolute and final defeat and to eliminate its very deep roots.

The Meeting of Evaluating the Opportunities for Unity emphasized the fact that "every important problem causes a serious groupist reaction among the ranks of our organisations". Groupism which showed itself in the ranks of one of the organisations provoked and activated its contrary on the other side. Mentioning on the relation of the interruption in the process with groupism, the April Meeting exhibited that *the interruption process "caused the strengthening of not yet*

entirely defeated groupist tendency and attitudes, and reorganisation of such ties which are partly slackened".⁽²²⁾

In its report presented to the Unity Congress, BKOK explains the basis of groupism with the following words:

"The effects on the process of the objective reality that the organisations which are involved in the unity work have their own specific history and carry out the unity work under the pressure of their own histories, should always be calculated. We can say, -at first, for the most important decision-making moments- during all the prominent moments of the process, the organisations showed a tendency to consider the development of the unity work and settlement of the problems under the pressure of their own histories and from the point of view of their own position (traditions, the way of thinking, internal difficulties etc.). This situation has always made it difficult to find solution to the problems and advance in the work for unity."⁽²³⁾

This was "a natural, spontaneous tendency conditioned by the own historical embody of each one", but should not be continue as it was. It, in many cases, went further of being spontaneous and took the character of being a subjective, deliberate situation.

The "Call for an Extraordinary Congress" made by some people among the ranks of the TKP/ML Movement just before the Unity Congress represents such situation. Their aim was to prevent the gathering of the Unity Congress through conspiracy theories, by producing fabricated reasons, by accusing the leadership(s), through the threats of division and etc. They nominally vowed on their willingness for a "healthy", "principled", "firm" unification; but, in reality, they were against the unity of the communists. they were raising the black flag of groupism. They were extra-provocative and destructive. They, however, were not able to go further than being an open and hopeless stand of groupism. This attempt was deciphered and defeated among the TKP/ML Movement. The call for an extraordinary congress was refused by overwhelming majority. The destructive element and his like-minded, who were in the tendency to decay, temporarily withdrawn by bowing their heads to the result compulsorily and accepting to take part in the election of delegates for the Unity Congress.

PART 2

FOUNDATION

Unity Congress

"Workers, labourers, youth, revolutionaries,

"The Unity Congress which ended with the foundation of MLCP-F (Marxist Leninist Communist Party - Foundation), has been convened in our lands between the dates of 5-18 September.

"Our Congress which begun with one minute of silence for the martyrs and singing of International have continued in a communist atmosphere dominated by lively and enthusiastic discussions, sensitiveness of comradeship and strong desire for unity. Our Congress, where enthusiasm reached to the sky after the announcement of MLCP-F, ended with shouting of combatant slogans and once more singing of International."⁽²⁴⁾

The Unity Congress was a founding congress without any defect. It decided the programme and constitution. It drew the theoretical and ideological frames of the party unity and built its jurisprudence. It defined the political strategy, specified fundamental tactical questions and set down party's organising strategy and political route.

It took the decision of founding the Communist Youth Organisation. It has elected and entrusted the Central Committee that would lead all activities until the 1st Congress which would organise MLCP.

The Congress's decision on the unification of TKIH and TKP/ML Movement is of historical importance. Following the discussion and definition of programme, strategy, fundamental tactical and organisational questions, there was given a short break to the Congress. Then the delegates of TKIH and TKP/ML Movement gathered separately from each other. And they decided on the abrogation of the organisations and realisation of unity that would take the ongoing and fully matured struggle and work for the unity of communists to the target, and in order to create the vanguard staff of the revolutionary proletariat. The decision of abrogation by these two organisations presented to the Congress.

"The foundation of the new organisation was decided unanimously in the voting that was carried out by reading out the names one by one."⁽²⁵⁾

"The members and candidate members of both two organisations" were accepted as "founding members and founding members of MLCP".

TKP/ML-YIO (Communist Party of Turkey (M-L)/Reconstruction Organisation) was also represented in the Congress as status of invited delegation. The Congress announced the unification with TKP/ML-YIO as a principle question, an actual political question and task. And it decided that the members and candidate members of TKP/ML-YIO would be accepted as the founders of MLCP if unification would be achieved.



The Congress announced that the struggle for the unification of communists was ended with victory. While closing one period of the history of the communist movements, it opened the new period. "The most important step of creating the party, the vanguard staff of the proletariat from Turkish, Kurdish and various other nationalities" was taken. The Congress developed the conception of party by fighting against the spontaneous approaches.

The Unity Congress is a communist and revolutionary reply that has been given to the world bourgeoisie's lies that socialism has died and the fight for socialism has finished. It is the expression of damning anger and hatred over capitalism's world of exploitation and cruelty, and unceasing desire for the humane and free world of socialism.

The Unity Congress is a blow that has been given to the disgusting sultanate of the collaborator monopole bourgeoisie and the big landowners, and a challenge to the fascist dictatorship. The communists, who came together as one fist for the greater struggles and victories, were shown their commitment and point of views in the struggle for power.

The Congress, which emphasised that the Kurdish nation's national democratic demands are just and legitimate, stated that "*without the recognition of these, none of the fundamental problems could be solved*", and that "*the unity which must be equal, free and voluntary can only be possible by the full abolishment of the colonial yoke and by the recognition of the Kurdish nation's right of determining its own future, i.e. the right of founding a state*".

The Congress called upon the "*Turkish workers, Turkish labourers and Turkish youth to refuse strongly the shameful plans and wishes of the fascist colonialism and to run for helping the Kurdish people those who have been suffering from genocide, to organise strikes, demonstrations, boycotts and meetings for this purpose and to refuse to go to military service*".

The Congress, which saluted the revolution of Kurdish national liberation, drew the attentions of the Kurdish proletariat and labourers to combine "*the struggle for national freedom with the struggle for socialism*" and called upon them to unite for this cause in the ranks of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party.

The Congress protested the oppression on the Laz, Georgian, Abkhaz, Gipsy, Armenian, Greek, Arab and other national societies. It emphasised the importance and the urgency for the workers and labourers from all nationalities to join in the struggle by uniting as a political army in the ranks of MLCP whose groundwork was constructed in the sake of their democratic demands and socialist desires.

The Unity Congress called on "*all the oppressed to join in the struggle for anti-imperialist democratic revolution in order to pass into a socialist society which leans on the sovereignty of the majority under the leadership of the working class and where the exploitation, unemployment, homelessness, illiteracy, long-waiting-hours in front of the hospitals, national oppression and privileges, sexual repression and inequalities would be abolished, where personal degeneration and human dirtiness would be prevented, where the prostitution, bribery and rascality would be destroyed, where the pollution of nature and historical surroundings would immediately be stopped and where the working class democracy would be implemented; and to unite in the ranks of MLCP-F that is the vanguard and combatant staff of this fight*".⁽²⁶⁾

The Congress addressed to the advanced workers and communists in following words:

"Comrades, advanced workers,

"The communists organised in the ranks of TKIH and TKP/ML Movement have succeeded in the duty, the unity which has been considered as not achievable in this country. They achieved it and founded MLCP-F which takes as guidance the Marxism-Leninism. They have taken the biggest step for the Party. Now the duty is yours. Let's speed up the foundation process by turning the slogan 'Workers to the Party, to the MLCP-F' into a reality. Let's uphold the communist structure and make it something that cannot be destroyed and defeated. Let's turn the slogan 'Party, Struggle, Victory' into an anthem of victory, red projectile of an artillery that could destroy the fusty world of exploitation and cruelty."⁽²⁷⁾

At the Bridge

After the Unity Congress, there started intense organisational activities. The Central Committee, which was elected and entrusted by the Congress, took over all achievements of TKIH and TKP/ML Movement, organised them by putting in order and gave new form. The local organisations were reconstructed from top to bottom under the leadership of provisional committees established in more than 10 cities, and all relations were rearranged. And a political activity with two sides was mobilised: On one side, the cadres and sympathisers are tried to be comprehend with the decisions of the Congress, the programme and political line, and the work of letting public opinion to be aware of the unity and foundation of MLCP on the other. These two activities were organised at the same time. The new organisation institutionally founded by the Unity Congress begun to exist in practice by reorganisation, resetting of forces and their mobilisation for the political activity; it started to take a "life elixir" in the fire of the revolutionary action.

The decision of the Congress on the independent organisation of the young forces was implemented without delay. The Communist Youth Organisation, which was founded on the 25th of October 1994, rapidly begun to organise young communists and mobilise them in the struggle. During this period, MLCP attracted attentions through its widespread organisation, sensitivity, courage and energy in the political struggle. The activities and works among the labouring women is another front of struggle that came to the fore.

At the first period, the publicity campaign was in the centre of political activities. Propaganda-agitation activities were organised widespread and in a broad sphere from Dersim to Hatay, Corlu to Izmir and in various European countries. It attracted the attention of the progressive, revolutionary public opinion by being energetic and strong as well as of being widespread. Erdal Balci, a Party militant, became the target of fascist bullets while hanging a banner on to a bridge that announces the unity and foundation of the party. He watered the unity tree with his blood. The campaign was conducted in a strong form by the using of numerous widespread and coordinated tool and methods such as posters, stickers, leaflets, wall-writing, trips, picnics, festivals, mass meetings with different sizes, seminars, banners with bombs, participating, supporting and speaking in the activities organised by democratic forces and etc. The success of the struggle for unity has turned into a revolutionary wind among the progressive revolutionary circles, advanced sections of workers, labourers and the youth, sensitive and lively intellectuals and in the ranks of the communist movement.

The reorganisation of the forces by putting them in order and the first political activities brought open the widespread surveillance and repression of the political police and various important difficulties as well. The break-off of cadres from the old one and their reshaping, their internalisation of the new identity and their integration were not achieved quickly and easily. The certain level of introversion that brought by the Unity Congress and its preparations, partial inertia, passivity and weakening of discipline among the cadres and sympathisers have blocked the political surge, together with the duty of prior reorganisation. It caused evidential ponderousness and malfunctioning, even abstaining and the tendency of waiting. It took the shape of uncertainty, time to time escaping from the unity, destructive, reactionary effort and initiatives in anti-unity forms.

It was obvious that the progress was going to be achieved through coping with all internal and external difficulties.

Through the struggle for unity, the communists had entered into not only organisational but also the search and direction for an ideological and political surge and breakthrough. The struggle for unity and Congress institutionally clari-

fied some elements of them and built new orientations. The signs of new orientations, on this ground, begun to appear, root in the style of political leadership and struggle.

Political Surge

Having being given importance to the organising itself, the party concentrated on accelerating its political activities by leaning on to the achievements and successes that it has obtained. The internal tension was increased and the wish for political surge was multiplied. The forces were tensed. The revolutionary pressure became evident also through expectations of revolutionary public opinion and circles of sympathizers.

MLCP's silhouette in steel-blue rose in the flames of the Gazi barricades. As a reflection of its revolution on the consciousness level, its revolutionary will and its perspective for taking the power, the Party followed a route which was mainly based on the aim of spreading the uprising to other regions.

The political campaign against the civil fascist movement, the activities among the women and the youth front and the mass agitation concentrated in the labouring neighbourhoods begun to make their own noticeable. Organising the workers resistances, participating and interfering within the Istanbul Workers' Assembly and etc. all these are the reflections of increasing political sensitiveness and activeness. A political mobilisation with gradually escalating tempo was developed.

On 12 March 1995, the counter-guerrillas made an attempt of mass killing by firing with machine guns to the coffee shops in Gazi District. The counter-guerrillas' massacre attempt in the Gazi District, where the social problems and contradictions were accumulated extraordinarily, the revolutionary influence and activity was always and quite organised, has blown up the anti-fascist anger of workers and labourers, the poor, unemployed and the youth. The labourers upraised by using their right to resist, to protect themselves and bring perpetrators to account: The police sta-

tion was the target. Thousands marched towards to the police station, the centre of torture and cruelty. The police opened fire against the masses and there were many deaths and wounded. Barricades were set and street clashes begun. Even declaration of martial law was not capable to repulse the masses in action. The Gazi uprising, which started on 12 March and lasted few days, was shown the tendency of extending and spreading into the other labouring districts. Gazi uprising was a new situation and has started a new period in the anti-fascist struggle.



MLCP's silhouette in steel-blue went up in the flames of the Gazi barricades. The party took the way of both strengthening the fire of rebellion in Gazi and spreading it into the other areas. It concentrated on the tasks of increasing the organisational and practical leadership level of the Gazi uprising, reorganising the relations between the progressive and revolutionary forces those who participated in the movement, ineffectuating the attempts of calming down the movement, extinguishing the fire and encouraging the surrender by different reformist circles and centres, increasing the level of consciousness and organisation of the masses participated in the movement, strengthening the opportunities of military defence, organising the militia and etc.

As a reflection of its revolution on consciousness, its revolutionary will and its perspective for taking the power, the Party followed a route which was mainly based on the aim of spreading the uprising. But the old style of political leadership and political struggle that was still dominating among the cadres and organisations, even though it was shaken, prevented the implementation of this route. It was very important to keep the Gazi Uprising on the stand for long time by increasing its level of organisation and capacity to resist, for letting masses realize their own

strength and opportunities of resistance and for deciphering the fascist regime. But the movement had to be generalised in whole country, at first in other regions of Istanbul. The protests and demonstrations against the counter-guerrilla's massacres and Gazi massacre, to bring perpetrators to account, to be in solidarity with the uprising Gazi people, asking account from the fascist regime have to be increased in every sphere. The uprising of the Gazi people who ignored the danger of death had to be saluted by barricades, demonstrations and protests and flaming up new resistances in ever place. MLKP concentrated on directing all the oppressed and exploited, at first the workers and labourers, to the line of General Strike General Resistance against the fascist regime:

"We call on our working class, labourers in the public service, our young people, women, urban poor to resist and rise up against fascism and fascist plans and massacres in Istanbul under the banner of General Strike General Resistance. Being silent is a crime; we cannot keep in silence, today however is the day to fight fascism through united, massive and militant actions.

"Forward for a General Strike and General Resistance."⁽²⁸⁾

On the night of 18 March 195, it carried out an attack with rocket against the Bagcilar 100. Yil Kemalpaşa Police Station. MLCP declared to the public that "as long as the police officers who carried out the massacre in Gazi and Umraniye; these torturer police chiefs are not dismissed from their jobs and judged, than the actions against these killers will continue" and it "approved this as a legitimate, moral and obligatory attitude".⁽²⁹⁾

The "provocateurs" and the "leaders" of the attack would have to be found and shall be tried before the oppressed and exploited! The dictatorship which did not stop with the massacre that it carried out was asking for more blood and looking for revenge. The attacks and surveillance locked on MLCP of the political police were increased. Hasan Ocak, one of the delegates of the Unity Congress, kidnapped on 21 March by the political police. Detention, torture and imprisonment attacks were continued by spreading. The Gazi commander became the target of the policy of "disappearing" of the patriotic, revolutionary and communist militants, leaders and respected popular leaders, which developed by imperialism and imposed on its servants in all countries.

The colonial fascist regime had massacred hundreds and thousands of patriots, revolutionaries and communists with extra-judicial killings, and disappearances, which especially amounted in the 90s'. Party developed a stubborn and brave struggle against the dictatorship's policy of disappearances that aims intimidating the revolutionary forces and surrendering labouring masses by spreading the wave of fear. Party had the experiences of struggle against the kidnapping and disappearing of Huseyin Toraman on 27 October 1991. But there was a need for comprehensive, stronger and insistent initiative.

The honourable and not yielding attitude of Ocak family merged with the insistent mobilisation of the party forces. Party used the armed and unarmed methods of the struggle and directed all of its forces to the same target. Occupations, hunger strikes, press conferences, demonstrations and protest actions have also put in action the progressive, democrat individuals and institutions, human rights organisations and neighbourhood associations. The slogan "Do not be silent, if you be silent than it will be your turn" turned into a cry out in the later period in the hands of the wide masses and of all the forces who clash with the fascist regime; a cry out that calls inactive masses to join in the struggle.

The institution of police, Interior Ministry, Human Rights Ministry, National Assembly, Prime Minister, President were the collocutor of the struggle against the disappearances policy.

The morality and determinacy of progressive and anti-fascist forces multiplied every passing day. The "Campaign against Disappearances" was supported by many different circles. The pressure of the movement also affected the bourgeois media. "The question of disappearances" and the dictatorship's policy of "disappearances" became the centre of the political agenda. The fascist regime gradually was unrolled; those responsible were driven into a corner. The groundwork for the Saturday vigils in Galatasaray of the Mothers of Disappeared, those who became the symbol of resistance against fascism, was built. Gazi commander became the symbol of Gazi uprising, of the disappeared and of MLCP. The struggle revealed the list of those who disappear the people, drew the regime into the corner and the lifeless body of Hasan Ocak, who was killed under heavy torture on 26 March 1995, was found. The massive funeral ceremony of Hasan was also

turned into a magnificent anti-fascist demonstration. The next step was to find the murderers and ask account from them. The slogan "we want the list of those who disappear people", which was shouted by ten thousands, reflected the tendency and wish of anti-fascist masses in asking account.

The party entered the preparation process of 1 May 1995 celebrations with the enthusiasm and the anger created by the Gazi uprising and with the atmosphere of the campaign against disappearances that turned all into a successful political offence. The May Day, which is the international day of unity, solidarity and struggle of the working class, was representing a "moment" where party will show itself in all regions and where the gained struggle for unity of communist would be tested politically. On the basis of political mobilisation towards the daily tasks such as the Gazi uprising, the ongoing campaign against disappearances, Istanbul Workers' Assembly and etc., Party prepared the May Day in a different style than the routine, habitual ones.

The splendid, lively, militant and massive 1* May Celebrations witnessed to the growing of revolutionary communist influence among the anti-fascist crowds. Thousands raised the slogan "Workers to the Party, to MLCP" behind the banner of MLCP in Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Adana, other regions and in the European countries. The victory of the struggle for unity also gave important and meaningful political results. One side of this was the love and sympathy extending among the masses, and the other side was the political commitment and growing wish of fighting. Development of the political leadership and the struggling style by renovation on the direction of responding to the needs of the revolutionary process was a much more important achievement. The 1* May celebrations brought the open that the party was one of the prominent forces among the revolutionary movement.

Party evidentially came to the fore in the organisation of revolutionary work among the labouring women. The Mothers' Assembly, gathered in May '65, is an important achievement gained in the women's front. Together with the forces coming from different cities of Kurdistan and Turkey, it became the scream of women for freedom against the oppression and tyranny.

The forces, which were atomised, put in order and reorganised, became party within the fire of the political struggle. MLCP positioned itself at

the frontlines of the struggle of the working class, the youth, labouring women, labourers in the public service and the urban poor accumulated in the suburbs; in the frontlines of the fight for freedom and socialism against capitalism and fascist dictatorship. The vanguard party was achieved in the first summer of 1995.

Towards the Announcement of the Party

The unity was also tested politically. There was a leap in the political leadership and style of struggle and the level of the organisations that founded MLCP was being exceeded. The break-off with the old style, which had been created in its own historical conditions and reached its borders, and the leap into the new style, was being carried out. Following the political surge, party

Although the main forces had entered into the path of identification with MLCP, another important fact; the distinctive striking problem of the period in the party's development came to agenda. This was the reality of the existence of, and the problems caused by the cadres in the ranks who showed uncertainty in breaking off with the old, were not able to identify themselves with MLCP and to internalise the unity.

wanted to evaluate, digest, turn its political successes into a material force, and at the same time, to analyse, enlighten and solve its problems of development. For a few months, party introverted to some extent, turned its attention to its own.

The speed and tempo of the political leap forward brought the dispersion of some organisations and the failing of discipline and functioning in some areas, regression of some cadres by not coinciding with the process and etc. Increasing attacks of the political police, detention, imprisonment and loss of cadres created some gap. On the other hand, party's political influence and esteem was eminently mounted up in the same process, there was a rotation towards the party. And the disposing of new extensive and broad

relations, organising the new warriors -that were brought forward by the struggle- and making them cadres forced themselves as the problems and tasks waiting to be solved immediately. The situation was making it necessary to widen the sphere of the political activity, to increase its level and to intensify the organisation and cadre work for the new political dashes and surges by adjusting the party work to much more firm organisational base. The party gravitated towards these urgent problems and tasks just at the right time.

But the party had to, at the same time, tussle with the very urgent problems of its development that affected concentrating on these urgent tasks. Now, before anything else, it was both possible and necessary to analyse and reposition the main cadres by basing on the data that lean on the MLCP reality, i.e. which is brought out by the practice of MLCP. Because; in the beginning, the only thing possible was done; the data and cadre evaluations of the former groups were taken as the base during the new cadre collocation. This was totally invalidated by the revolutionary practice that converted MLCP-F to MLCP. Now MLCP had the opportunity to analyse all the cadres within its own practice.

Although the main forces entered into the path of identification with MLCP, another important fact; the distinctive striking problem of the period in the party's development came to agenda. This was the reality the existence of and the problems caused by the cadres in the ranks who showed uncertainty in breaking off with the old, were not able to identify themselves with MLCP and to internalise the unity. Party went forward and advanced by solving the problems and serving the duties that were brought forward by the political surge on one side, and as a result of its internal development on the other.

The question of "resigners" that came out under these conditions was one of the phenomena of non-internalization of the unity. Two leading people -who "resigned" with the justification that the party was following a "balancing" and "subsistent" cadre policy, but, in fact, who threw themselves out of the party ranks- tried to draw the leadership and the party into crisis through their liquidator actions. These who deviated to liquidate themselves from the party did not understand, before anything else, the inevitability of the MLCP-F's cadre policy to be to some extent the continuation of the old. MLCP-F,

as the achievement of the struggle for unity, could develop a peculiar cadre policy only on the grounds of its own practice. Acceptance of the old data and evaluations over the cadres as a beginning point was both necessary and compulsory. *"Those who failed to understand and solve the specific and distinctive conditions and problems of the first period of the construction of MLCP-F; they themselves became a part of the problems of the period."*⁽³⁰⁾

Despite their valuable contributions on the political surge which was achieved, the "resigners" were not able to identify themselves with MLCP. *"As well as in the "boycotter" and "insister" attitudes within the leadership works, the liquidation produced by the alienation starting with the Congress showed itself also in the forms such as not operating the organs in the areas under their responsibility, the negligence of some spheres of activity, violation of the party law and etc. The indeterminacy in their relations with MLCP-F is standing in the political background of the 'liquidator resignation' action. And in terms of ideology, the main problem is the distrust over the cadres and organisations which is nothing but a manifestation of intellectual individualism. They did not understand the potential that MLCP-F had even if they saw it; they failed to take under control and overcome their biases, prejudices and antipathies over the leading cadres, and surrendered to their feelings and proclivities."*⁽³¹⁾ These cadres reproduced the alienation that they had dragged into, in the face of the solutions of new problems which they did not find satisfying. The dissatisfaction turned into hopelessness on the changeability of the situation in their point of views. *"The liquidator 'resignation' action that concretises in the break-off with MLCP-F expresses, just for now, the peak point of this hopelessness and dissolution."*

The "question of resigners" is quite important because of its characteristic of testing the unity from the inside. The "Unity" did not only come out successfully of this test, it at the same time took strength from this and gave water to its steel. It was turned into a tool of installing the party law and party style. None of the party members followed the resigners. They themselves neither did show any wish or effort to be followed. This, on one hand, showed the strong unity of will on the basis of party programme, constitution and line, the internalisation of the Unity Revolution, and, on the other, the attitude of the liquidator

resignation did not gain political-moral legitimacy even in the minds of its actors.

As all outcomes indicated, a new period was started in the organisational life. Our conference sealed the analyses of MLCP leadership on the "new period" by declaring that the characterisation of "Foundation", which was representing the last link with the world of groups as an aspect, had reached to the end of its lifetime.⁽³²⁾

The failure in identification with MLCP, which generally found its reflection in the fact that some cadres experienced difficulties in breaking off with the old and in reshaping themselves, appeared in a much different characteristic and form among the party organisations in overseas. An insisting and transforming struggle on the line that was developed through the definitions and analyses declaring the "end of a period" was started upon the cadres who had not been able to identify themselves with MLCP. Beside this, a struggle was waged against the rotting counterparty elements who, although bowed down to the unification, never tended to adopt or internalise it, moreover lied in ambush calculating a possible failure and made it their job to conduct destructive activities by creating displeasure and dissatisfaction. And the pus accumulated within



the overseas party organisations was burst. The leadership's signal for the attack started the revolutionary standing up of overseas party organisations against the corrosion. The organisations and cadres in overseas countries established the party on the revolutionary basis through the great struggle that they waged against the opportunist corrosion. The struggle continued during and after the Conference and reached success.

The activities for unity with the TKP/ML-YIO formed another aspect of the tasks of preparation for the 1st Conference and for the announcement of the party. It was aimed to mature the discussions and the ongoing activities and lead them to reach their goal.

The crystallization of the elements of the Party style, the style of the political leadership and struggle which were created within the revolutionary practice, its enlightenment in theory, the analysis of the distance covered, the achieved success and advances, deficiencies and faults, and the failures in the essential fronts of theoretical-ideological, political and organisational activities, were dealt with as the necessities of advancing the Conference preparations and becoming a party. They were discussed on the grounds of the pre-evaluations.

Unity Work with TKP/ML-YIO

TKP/ML-YIO showed interest and closeness to the struggle for unity of the communists that started in '89. TKP/ML-YIO and its collocutors' approach to each other developed in time. In addition to that, both its efforts in direct participation to the concrete struggle for unity and the efforts of other organisations in adding it to the struggle for unity were left weak and limited. A more or less contemporaneous development was seen. The other organisations conducting struggle for unity began to spend effort on developing the TKP/ML-YIO's evaluations regarding the communist movement and its approach to the question of unity. On the other hand, they discussed upon their own evaluations concerning TKP/ML-YIO.

After MEOU, there was an orientation towards closer and more proper relationships. TKP/ML-YIO was informed on the topics of the Unity Plan, the discussions and preparations concerning the agenda of the Unity Congress, the problems that arose and etc. Despite TKP/ML-YIO's desire to take its place within the unity activities prior to the Unity Congress, *"the question of unity with*

TKP/ML-YIO was postponed until after the Unity Congress" because TKIH and TKP/ML Movement *"could not create a common will that would make possible its participation in unity work that has been carried out in connection with the aim of the Unity Congress".*⁽³³⁾ However, unity with TKP/ML-YIO was evaluated as an actual political question which had to be dealt with in order to solve it.

TKP/ML-YIO approved the successful result of the lasting unity works at the Unity Congress. In connection with its preparations for the 3rd Conference, important questions considered differently, such as "the type of revolution", "the essence of the power" and regarding the past of the communist movement, were discussed with TKP/ML-YIO both in terms of the content and in terms of the question of unity. The other dimension of the relations was the development of closeness in the event that it becomes possible within the common works and unity in action.

The discussions assured contributions on the overcoming of the different point of views. However, the differences were not obviated. The 3rd Conference of TKP/ML-YIO reached the conclusion that *"the existing split views on the question of democratic revolution and the essence of the power which will be established after that, are the principle ones, but it does not form an obstacle to being in the same party"*⁽³⁴⁾ and also the different point of views on the evaluation of I. Kaypakkaya and TKP/ML (Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist) does not represent a barrier before the unity.

The 3rd Conference declared that it *"has crowned its efforts to achieve the principled unity that it has fought to mature with the thought that the pro-groupism has ended and lost its function by taking a decision to unite with MLCP-F"*⁽³⁵⁾ The summer of 1995 witnessed the unification of TKP/ML-YIO with MLCP-F.

Party and Unity Conference

The water given through the political surge to the victory of the struggle for unity blossomed unity revolution. The rising vanguard party was being concretised in MLCP. The break-off with some extensions of the past, which were living in form, the internalization of achievements, solving of the problems in a wide party platform, determining of new targets, the conformation and announcement of the gained party reality and the solution of the question of unity with the

TKP/ML YIO were the questions and tasks that made necessary the gathering of the Conference, determined the agenda of the Conference and brought to the open its place in the party's history. All party organisations were represented in the 1st Conference, convened in the summer of 1995. And TKP/ML-YIO were participated with its delegates whose numbers were fixed and elected by itself.

The Conference, primarily, dealt with the question of unity with the TKP/ML-YIO. The purpose was, by solving this matured question, to discuss and decide upon the other problems with the spiritual state of communists who united in the same organisation. The questions of the character of the power to be established through the democratic revolution, various organisations' ideological characteristics from the period of '71' to '79' when Mao Zedong thought was criticised and refused, and the assessments on the unity process were discussed. After that the TKP/ML-YIO delegates met separately in order to make internal evaluation and unanimously they decided to dissolve TKP/ML-YIO and unite with MLCP-F. The Conference had added a new link of success to the struggle conducted for the unification of communists.

The Conference dealt with the question of party both on the theoretical/thoughtful dimension and on the grounds of real development of MLCP's ideological, political and organisational existence. The understanding of Party was discussed during the Unity Congress and theoretical, ideological approaches which were dominant during the groups' period had become subject of criticism and discussion in some aspects. The Conference dealt with the question at the point where the Unity Congress was left, discussed Marxism's teachings on the party in the axes of "group, organisation, and party" as different levels of vanguard organisation, evaluated the reality of MLCP under the light of this and reached the following conclusion:

"MLCP is a party", because;

"1) Its Marxist-Leninist theoretical base is built strongly and reached to a level which it could settle accounts with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies on every aspect.

2) It has got a revolution strategy and, an expression of this, a programme that leans on the Marxist-Leninist analyse of the social material realities of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan.

3) It carries an experiences leadership reality and potential, reached to the level of an organisation which created by local centres and affiliated organisations and, finally, it forwards with a discipline that obligates every member through a constitution which is the work of organisational functioning and collective will."⁽³⁶⁾

The Conference emphasized that in our country "bringing together the communist cadres through the unification of groups as a duty before the process of being party"; the maximum of this

"MLCP-F has gained the essential features of being a party on its current ideological, political, organisational level and quality, and has succeeded the task of integration and merging." It determined that the supplement 'Foundation' which was a remnant of the past and the reflection of a bridge from the past to the future -the reality of transition period- had become unnecessary by the completion of the process.

which could be obtained instantly and directly was succeeded. The Conference achieved a break-off from the period of groupings through the understanding of party that it has developed. It strongly criticised the spontaneous approaches that refuse the wiling character of establishing the party by sheltering behind the formula "party is the unity of workers' movement and socialist movement" through leaning on its abstract, mechanic and perfectionist interpretation, and leaving out the party foundation to unclear future. It declared that the "groupism which reached its peak at the end of the years of '70s' played special role in the creation" of such approach⁽³⁷⁾. The Conference had also strongly emphasized that the duty of leaning on to the working class movement, bonding on the working class movement that stands before the party is "indispensable", and the impossibility of being the leader of revolution and marching socialism without succeeding in this. The Conference reached the following conclusion:

"MLCP-F has gained the essential features of being a party on its current ideological, political, organisational level and quality, and has succeeded the task of integration and merging as a specific process."⁽³⁸⁾ It determined that the supplement 'Foundation' which was a remnant of the past and an the reflection of a bridge from the past to the future -the reality of transition period- had become unnecessary by the completion of the process, and decided to move off the supplement 'F' from the party's name.

The of the 1st Conference in the history is can be defined by the expression "party and unity". In essence, it is nothing else than very practical and concrete outlook of the "party and unity" reality when Conference discussed on the developments, problems, tasks and lessons of all spheres of the work and all fronts of the activities. *"The party style"... "relates, in essence, to the practice, daily political activity and its necessities."* In another word; the break-off from *"the style that is turned inside, problems of inner-organisation"* was achieved.



As a problem that appeared in the party life and as an important and meaningful problem in terms of the party's development, the Conference seriously dealt with the destructive and subversive activities of *"few like-minded people who tried to form a draft of fraction"* against the party by stationing in the organisations of overseas. In the face of these tatters' numerous behaviours which violate the constitution, tending to break the morale of the party, the Conference, by criticising and judging the leadership's *"exhibiting of an attitude that is half-willing, postponing of the matter and on-looking to the guilts"* as *"practices opposite to the party traditions that are being tried to be installed, and the content and spirit of the constitution"*, demonstrated on which direction the party leadership should be developed.

The Conference played a very important role in the struggle against the opportunist corrosion which came to the open in overseas' organisations. The strong revolutionary atmosphere of the Conference, the moral power of the party reality thanks to the victory of unity revolution and the successes in political surge, influenced very deeply the delegate who participated in the Conference from the overseas' organisation and impelled him to explain mostly known or predicted extra-constitutional relations that he penetrate into. The explanations of this cadre, who became the victim of his own revolutionary good will, but who was also influenced by opportunist decay and to some extent, entered into factionary relationships, revealed with all of its dimensions the decay that was lived by the megalomaniac and a group of few people that he gathered around him, relying upon the failure of the party, and rather becoming a reaction in the face of the unity revolution and later daring to become an informer. The Conference added strength to the revolutionary move against the draft of fraction formed by handful reptiles those who poisoned from top to bottom the environment of overseas organisation and tried to blemish the unity revolution. The organisations in overseas raised up following the struggle which spread into some months after the Conference, renewed in terms of being revolutionary; reached to a revolutionary environment, a real party atmosphere and party unity.

When leadership was not able leap forward

The destruction and extermination of the revolutionary spontaneity which was the understanding and method of political struggle and style in the epoch before the party, and the jump of mentality that concreted as the appearance of the party method, is the essence and summary of the unity revolution.

Should be looked from the success of the reality of establishment of the party, the struggle for unity bears a specific sense as an extensive preparatory work for party. The reality which was created by the revolutionary action during the foundation process, the destruction of revolutionary spontaneity and the appearance of the party style were prepared by the revolutionary critic -on the ideological and intellect sides- of the mentality of leadership of the party predecessors and revolutionary movement at the period of struggle for unity. However, the party, in the foundation epoch, was not able to create opportu-

nities to digest theoretically the leap that it had experienced in its understanding and style of struggle and take it to organisational results.

The victory of the struggle for unity, the unity revolution and the establishment of the party was appeared as a new reality, but the structure of leadership, which the party predecessors had determined, remained as direct continuation of the old within this reality. Party was a new creation of the unity revolution, but the structure of party leadership was an old and exceeded thing, which was determined by the predecessors. In fact, there is nothing wrong that the structure of party leadership to be determined by the predecessors. For they were the cadres who led the unity revolution. And this would not mean that the party and the leadership were in disharmony, but, nevertheless, there was a main problem about whether the party leaders, like other cadres, comprehended the unity revolution and the party reality, and, because of their position, whether they succeeded in themselves the leap to the party in form of a leap to the party leading. The more important was that the party leadership -as an organ- was not able to reconstruct itself with the mentality of the unity revolution which the party experienced, was not able to leap to the level of the unity revolution in terms of leadership and management style, and perhaps was not able to create the opportunity to fulfil this.

A fundamental reality of foundation epoch was the failure in building a leadership style and structure that can reply the new party reality and the needs of the growing, intensifying, hardening political struggle. As it was shown by the line of anti-revolutionary and anti-communist war implemented in the period of 1995/96, the enemy had analysed and understood before the leadership of MLCP the power of the MLCP reality and the qualitative progress that it can create and also the actual and potential danger that it posed. However, despite the rising MLCP reality, the leadership of the foundation epoch tried to lead the party overwhelmingly as its predecessors through its restructure, leadership style and understanding, and remained behind the party reality or on the level of its predecessors. The struggle for unity and the unity revolution were a great forward-leap and a big political move. But the leadership could not prevent the enemy getting the initiative when it could not comprehend the rising reality of the war party and when it could not design its leadership style and under-

standing, its structure in accordance with that. The primitiveness, amateurism which it had got from predecessors, eased the enemy's job.

The rising party reality meant the destruction and defeat of the leadership understanding and style, which was disabled by the revolutionary spontaneity of the pre-party period and predecessors of the party. Considering as whole, the new defeated within the party's reality the understanding and style of leadership which do not overlap with the level of the party. However, the new qualitative level, which appeared in the whole, basically was not internalised and developed, although it was unequal -organs including cadres and leadership- in each parts creating the whole. The political police followed the struggle for unity with a great attention and it formed a new strategy covering political liquidation as it was brought to the open in later processes.

The political police, which noticed the great danger that it posed, tended to destroy and disable the MLCP before completing its formation. They dealt heavy blows during the period 1995/97. The number of MLCP prisoners increased rapidly in dungeons. The leadership, which was failed to protect itself and the party from attacks of the political police, gradually lost its domination of party and began to vacillate that was also affected by the blows and its losses. The increasing political and organisational expectations of the party organisations, the effects of the police attacks and the accumulated and continued pressure of conditions start corroding the revolutionary will of the party. The resignation of Province Committee of Istanbul under these conditions was a stunning indication of the difficulty experienced by the party will. As a result of the ongoing attacks and losses, eventually, the party leadership was mostly liquidated. At first because of its losses, the party -whose collective leadership was destroyed, came face to face with a danger of an organisational chaos before the 2nd Congress. The deep effects of losses of the party would come to the open in the future.

Some Lines of the Party Style

Despite the programme, strategy and tactics, and also the theoretical/ideological ground that all these are built upon, it is the action of self-existence that makes the party as party. Eventually, for all the parties, it is the style of self-existence which gives meaning, life and soul to the theoretical/ideological grounds, programme, strategy

and tactics, to the organisational perspectives and plans. The history of any party, in essence, is nothing else than the style of self-existence and reproducing its existence. The action of self-existence, which always exists under the given conditions that are always ready but are not absolute and non-changeable, its self preference and direction, its will can only work under the opportunities of existing conditions.

MLCP positioned itself among the working class, public sector labourers, youth, labourer women and urban poor gathered in suburbs. It tended to interfere within all problems and demands of the fore-mentioned sections. It put in the centre of its political action and political route the solution of the question and demand of political freedom. It took part in all struggles of the

"The capacity of uniting different forces" appeared as one of the specific and determining elements of the party style not only as a natural extension and achievement of the struggle for unity and the unity revolution, but at the same time by being a result of political perspectives and orientations.

working class, public sector labourers, youth and urban poor. It participated and supported the Kurdish national liberation fight; it concentrated to reply the national liberation revolution by developing revolutionary workers` and labourers` movement, the second revolutionary front in the west. Despite to the cost of being stamped by the "left" with giving concessions to the nationalism of the oppressed nation and separatism by the bourgeoisie, it is contrary with its proletarian internationalist stance. On the other hand, it tended to break-off with national nihilism which is rather rooted in the revolutionary movement, and to form an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist patriotism. MLCP became visible as the "vanguard" party by positioning itself in the forefront of the battle of the oppressed and exploited social forces, with its political reflexes and foreseeing. Being "vanguard" is one of the fundamental lines that would characterize the party style and, doubtlessly, would be developed and matured together with the party.

The "revolutionary spirit of surge", the party style's evidential line, is the result of the "unity revolution" of which its seeds begun giving flowers and fruits in the fire of the achieved political surge. The political surge concretised the unity revolution. Break-off with the old, identification with MLCP was the reality that was developing and determining the party's future direction. The political surge did not only concretize the "unity revolution", but also gave it strength and energy, pushed it forward and widened its sphere. It cleared its way for deepening and increased its perspective and assertion. The unity revolution does not only consist in the organisational atomisation of the old structures, the predecessors of MLCP, and in the foundation of MLCP. Almost everything more or less changed, faced transformation and redesigned both on the content and in the form by being synthesised in the fire of political struggle with break-offs and leaps. The unity revolution smashed the mentality and the forms of thinking that had stamped its mark on the specific revolutionary style which was created within its own historical conditions and had reached to its limits. It paved the grounds of the new style by clearing its way, built it or brought to the open in order to develop it essentially.

When searching the method of its self-existence, even at that period of the history, the development of concrete policies to the concrete situation; spreading, generalising, deepening of each concrete demand, problem, contradiction and clash with the perspective of destroying capitalism would attract the attention. This, however, was in the struggle of the high school student youth, the work among the labourer women, in the singular workers` resistances and Istanbul Worker's Congress, in the Gazi uprising and in the fight against the disappearances policy at that period. Trying and tending to make policy of concrete situation made it dynamic and tied to the actuality. It was in conflict and break-off with the old style that was repeating itself fruitlessly without a horizon and that takes itself as the aim. It was a revolutionary challenge against the ongoing attitude that puts the principles, the pure realities of theory or the programmatic truths instead of making the very concrete politics of the very concrete situation. Conducting the revolutionary activity restricted and reduced to the "special days", became the target of open ideological fight.

Observing it closely, concentration on distinguishing the differences of importance and prior-

ity among the concrete problems, efforts and attention on the principal problems can easily be noticed. However, political work is a whole. The concentration of attention and efforts upon the priorities should not cause the neglect of other tasks in a one-sided manner. This, however, would necessitate the skill of conducting many duties at the same time.

Nevertheless, the limiting and conditioning characteristics of the objective nature of political situation, -which is always complicated, harbours together uncountable problems, contradiction and conflict, and puts many tasks before the party at the same time- on the will of the vanguard cannot be denied. The revolutionary practice, which shaped the MLCP, detected that the party's activity/practice should have been separated and intensified in durations of a few months for distinctive some problems and demands or protruded contradictions and conflicts. If necessities of these are not understood, responded and fulfilled in a revolutionary way for each cases, it will not be possible to become either a "vanguard" or a "leader". However, the concentration upon the main problem of that period could not have brought to single theme of the party activity. Vanguard always deals with couple of problems and tasks in changing concentrations at the same time. What is normal under the conditions of a normal and routine party activity is to deal with couple of task and problems. Although, the special moments of the clashes necessitate on one hand the special concentration on the problem, which is very much talked of, but also the other immediate tasks, that is the work of being competent in political leadership, domination of forces and in the art of management.

Another clear line of the discovered revolutionary method is the movement of the ready-forces in the form of "vanguard intervention", "vanguard emergence". The ready forces, beyond the mass agitation and general mobilisation of organisation, are considered as the firelighters and riveting motor of mass movement in suitable "moments". Based on right analysis of the demands and aims against the fascist dictatorship's policy of disappearances, the communist vanguard moved forward its ready forces with tools, methods and forms of struggle suitable to the "moment", created influence not only among the progressive and revolutionary circles, but also among the liberal democrats, and turned it into an effective force of political pressure by discov-

ering the accumulated dissatisfaction in the society. The willingness of the style also includes this catalyst role of the vanguard.

"Vanguard intervention" or "vanguard emergencies" do not mean party to settle itself before the masses and to fight on behalf of the masses or broken off the masses. The masses do form the centre of the party's attention when it even interferes within the problems by its ready-forces through vanguard emergencies. Vanguard intervention was set up upon the activating and gaining of the masses together with all of its elements. The vanguard intervention would face degeneration, could not play its role of being catalyst when distancing from this purpose.



When analysing the MLCP's existing itself, it is seen that, while organising itself underground on the basis of illegality, it at the same time had the aim of using widely the opportunities of open and legal struggle. Open and underground working methods, legal and illegal, peaceful and armed forms of struggle and organisation form a noticeable a richness in its practice. MLCP's revolutionary practice looks for the complementary connection between the mass movement and the forms of armed struggle. In the use of the forms of armed struggle, it fully avoids from the tendencies which would cause duel with the state security forces. But it also did not permit this to bring/to turn into a refusal in practice of the use of forms of armed struggle. Therefore, what is essential is to bring to the open and resolve in practice the connection between foresights of the party strategy and advancement of the actual situation in revolutionary direction. In principle, the appropriation of whole, even the most different methods of the struggle and concrete preparation to use them and practically the combination of the most appropriate methods of the struggle in each concrete situation shall be succeeded. This is the language of MLCP's revolutionary practice.

"The capacity of uniting different forces" appeared as one of the specific and determining elements of the party style not only as a natural extension and achievement of the struggle for unity and the unity revolution, but at the same time by being a result of the political perspectives and orientations. In fact, this is a very practical and meaningful phenomenon of assertion on "leadership". Leading communists to unite in one single vanguard party, the unification of advanced, vanguard and etc. workers on the basis of defending the vital interests of the working class and labourers, the oppressed, unity of the working class and all oppressed in the struggle against fascism and capitalism, unity of forces that are defending freedom against fascism... "Uniting capacity" necessitates the overcome of relative narrow-minded approaches and selfish interests, sectarian mentality from all colours. The Unity Congress formulated the essence and spirit of direction towards masses: to work together, to change within the common struggle. The revolution and also the party can only be developed through making revolutionary the huge masses, who do not think like party.

As one of the clearest lines of the new style, or let's say the "mentality", the effort of breaking off with the old style which dominates the revolutionary movement became clear in the approach to the history, revolutionary achievements and revolutionary structures. Beyond the organisational identity of their subject, therefore, whoever the subject/constructor, all values and achievements which are meaningful for the revolutionary were appropriated, absorbed and defended very consciously. It mobilised its forces in the propaganda-agitation work for the memory of the massacred combatants of the revolutionary organisations or attending in their funerals. Sectarian mentality, in essence, is pessimist and considers itself as everything. It very easily says "we will talk even if we are in silence, but when we are in silence everyone will stop talking". Party style is unprejudiced and without complex; it would draw a meaning and importance to everything -belongs to history or actual- revolutionary according to their heaviness, and would give value theoretically and practically. It would walk on the line of consciously breaking off with the idealist heresies of the old style, dominant within the revolutionary movement, and developing the materialist dialectic in the politics.

ADDITION

The place of "The Meeting of Evaluating the Opportunities for Unity" in our history

The shining sun of the beginning of the summer was fascinating. The sky was deep blue. Cool sea breeze was lightly blowing and the coming May Day was inviting to the fight. Under the peerless beauty of nature, they were meeting at a "nonsense" place as groups of two or three people. They were a bit more than the fingers of two hands in numbers. They had responsibilities and duties at middle or high level. Most of them were meeting for the first time and most of them were to participate in such a platform for the first time. The average of their ages was about a half-life. However, there were also younger and inexperienced ones. Their presence in that place was symbolizing a historical "moment" which definitely would be mentioned also in the future. They would either open a way to walk forward or this "work" would be postponed to a later future. They told too big words and too little words. They got angry; they got nervous. There were the ones with full excitement when speaking and the ones speaking too rarely. But a feeling of being comrades was making them become closer. And it made them feel as comfortable as if they had been struggling together for forty years. They discussed for days and nights. They formed a collective mind. And they walked away with the clear conscious of having achieved.

Just one year ago, while they were struggling in the ranks of TKIH or TKP/ML Movement, the communists who are the members of MLCP-F today were experiencing the tension of the struggle for unity which would determine all their future and of the coming Unity Congress. If we go back to the period of two years ago and look from the point of view of that period, we see that the situation was completely different. When we return to today and look at this process from this view, we see that the work for unity had come to the end of the long period of convalescence in which the had entered after being stagnated because of the crisis of trust and disagreement and despite the continuing regular relations, the developing work for unity and a collective line of struggle for unity hadn't been created yet. Though the biases and lack of trust had become tender, they hadn't been completely eliminated yet. The experiences of the unsuccessful first

attempt and efforts for unity have not been understood deeply through being subjected to materialist analyze and revolutionary criticism overcoming the pressure of the groupist preoccupations and the discouragement had not been cured. It was a bit inevitable that different organisations had their own views about the developments to some extent as long as they existed; since their own histories and their present existences had conditioned this. However, despite all the difficulties, TKP/ML Movement and TKIH as the actors of the struggle for unity have succeeded to keep their desire for unity alive and to keep their revolutionary sincerity.

In the future of MEOU (its future which has become "past" now), there stands the victory of the struggle for unity which was achieved through the general context of MEOU's plan for unification and there stands MLCP-F. Therefore, the meeting was a platform of unity which has succeeded its historical role. Undoubtedly, we could say that we have made the history and to register it is the job of historians. However, we can look from a different point of view and we must. We have to learn from the history of the party and we have to advance our political education on the base of the history of the party. Unfortunately, as communists of Turkey and Kurdistan, we cannot say that we are successful at learning from our own history. We were neither able to create a strong tradition nor a rich accumulation of knowledge and experience in the past about using the critical revolutionary method of Marxism. Yet, we see that all the big and successful parties give a great importance to their own experiences and they give a considerable place and weight to their experiences for the development of their party and for the political education of their members. To learn from the communist and workers' movements of the other countries and to comprehend Marxism as a whole theory is a must of internationalism as well as of the universality of the theory. In this sense also, there is a necessity of implementing the critical revolutionary method of Marxism. We feel the need of emphasizing our responsibility to comprehend the basic events, the basic steps and the phases of our history, to take lessons from them and to utilise them as the unneglectable educational documents for the members.

Formation of all the events making mark on history had been surrounded by numerous small problems, events and developments that encircles

it similarly to the complexity of the rings one inside the other, that influences it in this or that way, that makes its formation easier or more difficult! What is important is to comprehend the needs of the historical development, to push the events in the direction of the historical development or to open its way by eliminating the events, problems and attitudes that form an obstruction before the historical development. In any case, the ones who are held up with the details and minor problems cannot choose the main link of the chain and lose the chance of being the subject of the historical development. And they even turn into a hindrance. We know that it is not easy to grasp the needs of the historical development and push the events in this direction. However

All the importance of our act of unification can be summarized as doing the best and the most progressed that could be done immediately and directly to solve the vital problem of creating the vanguard party in order to respond to the most urgent necessity of the fight of the proletariat and the labouring masses in our country.

the subjects of the historical development are effective as long as they grasp their roles and act in accordance with their roles in a conscious and deliberate manner. When it is about the party life and development, this forms the focus of the each militant for evaluating him/herself.

Our action of unification as the fulfilling the most urgent and revolutionary duty of the day is a great success in the history of the communist movement which was written with the blood of the numberless martyr comrades and with the unending revolutionary self-sacrifices but is mainly characterised by its defeats. Achieving what is said to be impossible to succeed, we have deserved to call it as our revolution.

It is great, because it has the power and character to affect all the posterior development process of the communist movement.

It is great, because, it is an intervention to the process of regression and fragmentation into

small parts experienced by the communist movements all over the world for the last thirty years. It is an intervention both in terms of understanding and in practice, in action.

We have mentioned those at different times. Now there is the need to draw the attention especially to another point. Although it has not been comprehended clearly yet and our cadres of all levels yet have not shown the exact orientation that it requires, the greatness, value and importance of the success of our action of unification can be seen clearly looking at the composition of our cadres. The cadres of all levels are the special and main product of revolutionary struggle and communist work. If any development is impossible without learning from the history, the cadres are the living instruments that carry the experiences. MLCP-F has gathered and combined the experiences of TKP/ML Movement and TKIH (and TDKIH, therefore, TDKP to some extent) in its body on the concrete reality of the composition of cadres. The three generations of cadres who were shaped at the periods of '71,'75-'80 and after '88 is another qualificational dimension of the mentioned accumulation that has to be emphasised. The base for us to walk towards the future confidently and with big claims is, before all, the rich accumulation of knowledge and experience which is concretised in the structure of the cadres that we have achieved through the action of unification. To appreciate invaluable treasure in a way that it deserves, it is necessary to make the relationship style among the cadres more active, and to make clear our necessity for renewing ourselves by subjecting the revolutionary practice and the experience of the revolutionary and communist movement to revolutionary criticism. If we do not show a deliberate orientation, the qualificational development that we wanted to achieve through and was possible with MLCP-F will be at risk and the development in quantity will stand in the foreground. The need for developing in quantity and the fact that the action of unification did have such an aspect as well and this is another dimension for understanding it is beyond debate. However, what we have to concentrate our attention on is, first of all, the fact that a leap forward in terms of the level and capacity of political leadership has been achieved.

All the importance of our act of unification can be summarized as doing the best and the most progressed thing that could be done immediately and directly to solve the vital problem of creating

the vanguard party in order to respond to the most urgent necessity of the fight of the proletariat and the labouring masses in our country. If we leave out the distinctive and special case of TKP/ML-YIO, since we had also addressed to TIKB and TDKP, the responsibility of not succeeding more than this completely fall upon these two organisations.

Only if we take all of those into consideration, we can grasp the importance of the Meeting of Evaluating the Opportunities for Unity, which was held in April 1993, as a milestone for the existence of MLCP-F.

It sounds like that the MEOU meeting has been forgotten in our ranks. The comrades who participated in the meeting now speak of that as if it was just a "nice memory" or an interesting (!) meeting which is not necessary to be emphasised, they have difficulty in remembering the exact date of it, etc. MLCP-F is very young at the moment and tries to form its specific history and traditions. In any case, the party must have a strong memory. Above all, it mustn't let the historically important steps of its existence and the principal phases of its development be forgotten due to memory loss. If these are forgotten or disregarded, it would neither be possible to create continuity and accumulation nor to learn from history. This does not only distinguish the vital sources but also conditions the structural diseases.

As the comrades who participated had witnessed and as it was concreted in the reality of Unity Congress in a more advanced form, the Meeting of Evaluating the Opportunities for Unity is a summary of the two organisations that came face to face with taking determining decisions. This is so, as a meeting or a collaborative meeting. Questions, worries, biases, lack of trust, desire to understand and know each other, over-reactions and touchiness, optimistic or pessimistic attitudes, the revolutionary needs of the struggle and of the future, status quo and the pressure of the specific history of the organisations, difficulties in understanding each other and differences in formation and style, the warm comradesly feelings and becoming closer in the latter process of the meeting, a tense sensitivity at the moments of decision etc. In all typical examples, a formal and hands-off-attitude at first and later, comradesly warmth and becoming closer is the characteristics of this kind of meetings (even

some of the problems remains out of solution). Another typical and noticeable aspect is that there was a pessimistic and tense mood while discussing the past of the struggle for unity, the process left behind, "the negative contribution" of the organisations to the process while there was an enthusiastic, positive and optimistic mood when discussing the problems of developing and achieving the struggle for unity. This case is important as it shows that the cadres are shouldering the weight of the specific historical existences of each one's organisation. It shows the need to "liberate" the cadres in order to be able to use the critical revolutionary method of Marxism; the dialectic materialism without permitting the development of a rough denial of the history. The MLCP-F's need, as the continuation of TKIH and TKP/ML Movement, to internalise the history of these two organisations was making this liberation even more important.

The fact that the meeting in 1993 has been accepted as "The Meeting of Evaluating the Opportunities for Unity" shows that it has performed its mission perfectly. The meeting was responsible for putting an end to a process and crossing the road by making a new start. The meeting was aware of its historical role and succeeded more than this. It achieved a higher level in terms of the understanding of unity, the policy of unity and the most important one, the method of the unification. Succeeding the hardest thing by overcoming the crisis of trust and opening the door to develop the efforts for the unity is the historical role of MEOU in the struggle for unity. The meeting was aware of this and the comrades who participated it knew why they were there.

The unity was also including a change. The change was not only taken as a problem of each organisation but also as a common problem; this was the understanding.

The common decision defining the collective effort and responsibility was made clear by formulating the method of forming the platforms.

The dual understanding of unity developed the formulation of unity of organisations and of the communists united in the organisations. It would still be the organisations who would decide upon the unity, while the differences - instead of being differences between the organisations- would be taken as the differences between the communists organised in these two organisations which both had the desire for unit-

ing in one single organisation and the decisions upon the differences would be taken at the UC.

Those had made the MEOU reach the key to open the door. The Unity Congress was determined as the authority to solve the problem of "past" which was obstructing the work for unity under the conditions of a crisis of trust.

"The capacity of uniting" is possibly the most needed thing in such a difficult process as the struggle for unity. The discussion at the MEOU about the party unity which was taken as a separate agenda itself beside other topics was especially important in this sense. The capacity of uniting was concretised in the search for a common solution of the problem which had caused the occlusion of the process. "Will" and "flexibility" were the name of the capacity of uniting which was strongly needed in the struggle for unity and the fashionable "magic" words at that period. The capacity of uniting -which we needed at every phase of the struggle for unity that concluded with a victory in the UC- is one of the hint points of MLCP-F's policy making style.

MEOU had clearly concreted the policy of unity by deciding upon a unification plan connected to the celebration of UC. The work for unity achieved its goal by being fulfilled in the context of this plan.

When emphasizing the place of the MEOU in our history we should definitely draw attention to the following point which is the most interesting: the MEOU had the right to take decisions about its ideas. However, it had no authority in terms of law, no power of sanction and no binding force for the organisations. The decisions could have the possibility to be carried out only if they were accepted and adopted by the organisations and the leaderships of the organisations.. The authority of the meeting was consisting of the convincing power of the decisions and the capacity of the comrades who accepted the decisions unanimously to influence and persuade their organisations and the leaderships. It can be accepted as a considerable paradox that the results of the MEOU were widely and generally considered as a "surprise" and had flared up the internal discussions of the organisations while on the other hand, they were accepted strongly. At the cost of having exaggerated it to some extent, we must emphasise that we owe MLCP-F to the MEOU and that the MEOU was an expression of a leap forward in conscious and will.

The comrade who spoke in the Unity Congress in the name of all the participators of the MEOU sincerely said: *"In that period, I thought that the unity was a very difficult job to achieve, but soon I saw that it was even more difficult than I had thought"*. To achieve that difficult job in MEOU was a magnificent example of communist will and it prepared us to come over the bigger difficulties by raising the revolutionary will in a stronger manner.

To organise the education of all the members and the sympathisers of the party on the base of these nice pages of our history, which has been

written on the memory of our dear MLCP-F with a steel pen, is the concrete task in our work for construction. To organise meetings in all regions for our members, sympathisers and supporters and to use the experiences of unification as a material of political education on the 3rd anniversary of MEOU will energize our work for construction and will contribute to the formation of MLCP-F members. The report that was presented to the Unity Congress by the Organisation Committee of the Unity Congress (KBK) should be assessed as the basic resource in the mentioned work. ﷻ

Footnotes and References

- 1- *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, Karl Marx 1852
- 2- "Flag of Labour" Newspaper, "Joint Statement of TKIH, TKP/ML Movement and TDKP in Relation to the Unity of Communists", No.20, 11/11/1989.
- 3- A group, which was separated from TDKP in 1987, united with liquidator elements split from TKIH and TKP/ML Movement. The group, naming themselves "Ekim" (October), is the matured version of liquidator tendency for unity that was seeded by the defeat of 12 September. Refusal of the theoretical, programmatic and particularly the political and organisational achievements of the communist movement is their characteristics.
- 4- Flag of Labour Newspaper, No.20.
- 5- The Coordination Committee for Communist Unity was set up at the end of 1989 by TKIH and TKP/ML Movement. TDKP and TIKB were invited to all KBK meetings. It was dissolved at the beginning of 1992 because of the failure of the unity work.
- 6- Documents of the Unity Congress, Evaluation of Unity Process and Lessons for Communists, p.200, BKOK Report.
- 7- Ibid.
- 8- "Communist Unity" was an organ of discussion published by KBK and distributed among the cadres of organisations which were involved in the unity work. It was published in four issues.
- 9- TKIH Conference and Congress Documents, p.177.
- 10- Unity Will, Issue 1, Delegations' Statement on the Unification Plan declared by MEOU, under the heading of "To the Central Committees and Organisations of TKIH and TKP/ML Movement.
- 11- Unity Will, No 1, p.7.
- 12- Unity Will, No 3, p.5, Commission Report, dated 13 August 1993, under the heading of "To know how to learn and to strengthen the will of unity".
- 13- Unity Will, No 1, p.9, MEOU Unity Plan.
- 14- Unity Will, No 3, p.5, Commission Report dated 13 August 1993.
- 15- Unity Will, No 4, BKOK Statement dated October 1993.
- 16- Ibid.
- 17- Unity Will was an organ of discussion published by BKOK and distributed among the cadres and organised sympathisers of organisations which were involved in the unity work. It was published in 24 issues in 1993-1994.
- 18- Unity Will, No 4, p.3.
- 19- Unity Will, No 4, p.4.
- 20- Unity Will, No 13, BKOK Report, dated April 1994, "The direction and tempo of the unity work".
- 21- Ibid.
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- 23- Documents of the Unity Congress, p.202.
- 24- Documents of the Unity Congress, p.233, "The announcement and call of the TKIH and TKP/ML Movement Unity Congress.
- 25- Ibid.
- 26- Ibid.
- 27- Ibid.
- 28- Barricade Days, p.182, Statement of MLCP-F Central Committee, dated 15 March 1995.
- 29- Barricade Days, p.185, Statement signed by MLCP-F on 19 March 1995.
- 30- Statement to the Party by the 3rd General Meeting of the Central Committee.
- 31- Ibid.
- 32- Decisions and Evaluations of the Party and Unity Conference, p.9.
- 33- Documents of the Unity Congress, p.207.
- 34- The Atılım Newspaper, 3 June 1995, No 34, Declaration of the 3rd Conference of TKP/ML-YIO.
- 35- Ibid.
- 36- Decisions and Evaluations of the Party and Unity Conference, p.6.
- 37- Ibid.
- 38- Ibid.
- 39- Party's Voice, No 3, April, 1995

1st KURDISTAN CONFERENCE OF MLCP: A HISTORICAL HINT POINT FOR OUR PARTY

1st Kurdistan Conference was one of the directives of the 3rd Congress of MLCP. The Conference evaluated the activities of the Kurdistan Organization since the 3rd Congress until today and took important decisions about the direction of the developments. Departing from the fact that the Northern Kurdistan revolution had been defeated and its national revolutionary vanguard had decided a political reformist strategy and ideological surrender, due to its broken will, the 3rd Congress had stated that the task and the position of our party in Kurdistan had changed and, in this context, had reorganized its section in Kurdistan, had defined concrete policies for our country and had announced its will of being more active in realizing these policies.

On those days where a group, consisting of JITEM⁽¹⁾ members, of the counter-guerrilla state was caught red-handed in Semdinli while they were carrying out another dirty action, and where magnificent serhildans⁽²⁾ were being realized against this, the communists from Turkey and Northern Kurdistan were sharing the good news of that they had taken a step which had an historical importance for them, with all our peoples. The 1st Kurdistan Conference of MLCP was convened with great success, and the socialist patriots had arrived a new crossroads on the correct way that they had entered for the Free Kurdistan. MLCP's Kurdistan Organization, which has the task of being the vanguard and the leader of the national and social liberation struggle in Kurdistan, had taken a historical step. The Kurdistan Conference, which is a "first" for the history of our party, was one of the most important Kurdistanish⁽³⁾ products of our work and it was a great school which will add a new force and dynamism to our work and will create a new horizon.

There is no doubt that whether this leap forward will become a "historical" value for the people of Kurdistan or not depends on materializing the decisions of the conference, our will's passing the exam of life and the meeting of this act with our people by our interventions in the developments of the coming process. All the spirit of the 1st Kurdistan Conference of MLCP is constructed upon the will of materializing this. The Conference has emphasized, beside the confidence in the Party and in the line of the Party, the

confidence in the people and the faith in the victory of the revolution. Confidence in the masses which gave its colour to all the steps of the Conference and the fact that the dynamics of struggle at the bosom of our people are still alive have come to the light once more and the magnificent serhildans of the patriotic Semdinli, Yüksekova and Hakkâri people have been the confirmation of these discussions.

The 1st Kurdistan Conference of MLCP is a clear declaration of will and a concrete step which was taken in order to make it an action more than being a wish to participate in the national liberation struggle in a vanguard-manner, and to conduct an active struggle with a spirit of self-sacrifice. As it can be understood from the Announcement and Call of the Conference, the will of giving concrete answers to concrete questions and doing this by putting itself on the centre has been the main directing conscience of the Conference. The Conference, which set its foot on the real ground and came to the agenda as an action aiming to face with real problems, is the expression of the beginning of a new process for our Party and Kurdistan Organization. Now we are in such a period that action says much more than words. For the reason that the Kurdistan Organization of MLCP had organized itself with this conscience for a long time and had directed its forces and action towards the trenches with this perspective, the Conference, in this context, means a will and orientation of leaping forward from this point.

From the 3rd Congress to the 1st Conference

1st Kurdistan Conference was one of the directives of the 3rd Congress of MLCP. The Conference evaluated the activities of the Kurdistan Organization since the 3rd Congress until today and took important decisions about the direction of the developments. Departing from the fact that the Northern Kurdistan revolution had been defeated and its national revolutionary vanguard had decided a political reformist strategy and ideological surrender, due to its broken will, the 3rd Congress had stated that the task and the position of our party in Kurdistan had changed and, in this context, had reorganized its section in Kurdistan, had defined concrete policies for our country⁽⁴⁾ and had announced its will of being more active in realizing these policies.



The Unity Congress of MLCP in September 1994 had determined that the Kurdistan Revolution was at the stage of "strategic balance" and had based its strategy on opening a second revolutionary front in Turkey for the victory of our anti-imperialist democratic revolution which had already begun in Kurdistan. In order to materialize the line which has this understanding on its centre, our party had organized its activities in Kurdistan according to the goal of hindering the possible reactionary civil wars and to eliminate the possibilities of manoeuvre of colonialism on the basis of reactionary civil wars by the fraternity of the peoples and their united struggle. For this reason, it concentrated its work mainly at the "strip"⁽⁵⁾ which has many social contrasts on it, such as those between the Turks and the Kurds, Sunnites and Alaouites and etc. On the other hand, under the conditions where the Kurdistan Revolution had been defeated and its national revolutionary vanguard had adopted a petty-bourgeois national reformist programme and

strategy, the 3rd Congress which was convened in April 2002 had raised that our Party, which had always defended unconditionally the right of the Kurdish nation to establish its own state, beginning from its predecessors, on the theoretical and programmatic level but was not able to show an orientation which takes the revolutionary solution of the national contradiction as a current issue, in sense of a concrete comprehension of the question and in its practice, and had reached a clearance in idea and practical orientation only by the Unity Congress, from now on, is face to face with the task of shouldering the vanguardance and the leadership of not only the social emancipation but, at the same time, of the national liberation in Kurdistan. It is, before all, the perspective of spreading the political activity among all parts of Northern Kurdistan, the perspective of changing the line of organizing the second revolutionary front in the West for the united revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan and passing to the line of organizing the revolution in both countries. In accordance of this perspective, the Party turned its face to the interior of Kurdistan. The meaning of this was, at the same time, becoming more Kurdistanish, becoming more and more "the real owner of the problem".

The ground for active existence,
consistent politics

In the period that we have left behind, the main ring of our activity in Kurdistan was to make the content of the political work harmonious with the perspectives of the 3rd Congress, to achieve a political revival and to widen the area of our work. This was the basic condition of turning our Party into a dynamic, a considerable force and gradually the vanguard and the leader of the Kurdish national liberation struggle. This had to be taken into consideration in determining the organizational perspectives, choices, means and forms. We would not be able to realize our claims of becoming Kurdistanish by repeating or imitating the activities carried out in Turkey.

The national question and the principled and actual necessities of this had to be concretised in our political struggle, in our every-day-agitation-work and in our publications. Beyond everything else, for the ideological struggle with nowadays' petty bourgeois national reformist PKK, which had leaded the national awakening and the Kurdistan Revolution and which still can canalise millions of Kurds (and indeed, in four parts⁽⁶⁾)

into the political life and can mobilise them, to have a meaning and worth in the opinion of wide masses, it was necessary to develop a practical-political criticism. Since, if one does not have an action, his word has no worth. Acting with this conscience, the Kurdistan Organization of MLCP tried to show an active posture and to raise the flag of national liberation and socialism with high determination and effort, and according as its power and energy.

There is no doubt that this was not an easy process without any problems. Despite the habits of policy-making-style inherited from revolutionary spontaneism, the attacks of colonialism to hinder this, the ideological, political and practical siege of the other political groups and some troubling and difficult processes at the organizational level, it was succeeded to make the will of the 3rd Congress dominate in the party work in Kurdistan and we came to the process of the Kurdistan Conference with this conscience and faith.

To construct a strong future

Having a look at the data of the previous period, we can easily say that the line of the 3rd Congress have been constructed in our work in Kurdistan. But, although our party has reached a certain level in its orientation of becoming Kurdistanish, it knows that it has a long and hard way to go through. Due to the activities, the attempts of creating an area for itself and the orientation of spreading from the centre to the periphery, the name of the Party has gradually been heard not only in the mentioned strip (Malatya, Antep, Dersim, Sivas etc.) but also over a wider area containing Hakkari, Batman, Van, Amed and other provinces and the socialist patriots began to be more well-known. Our people which live in the districts such as Ergani, Silvan, Bismil, Gevas, Baskale, Suruc, Halfeti, Siverek, Lice, Dicle, Yüksekova, Semdinli and others began to get to know our party and its tools that reach them. Whether this relation which is yet limited and is at the level of "knowing" us will reach to the level of "believing" us and "joining" us or not will depend on the insistence, continuity and the actions in our work. The socialist patriots, who know the fact that it is not possible be a force without using all forms and means which the struggle requires, have a complete determination on this subject. And this is exactly the will of the 1st Kurdistan Conference and the conscience which gives its colour to all the process of discussion.

As it was declared in the "Announcement and Call" the Conference *"discussed; the political situation, national and social realities in Kurdistan, beginning from its Northern part; the positions and roles of different national parties and groups, PKK being in the first line; the activities of our Kurdistan Organization in Northern Kurdistan since our 3rd Party Congress and its' role in the future"*. In the light of these discussions, it will be in an orientation which concentrates on Northern Kurdistan but, at the same time, keeps its interest in the other pieces. It drew attention to the necessity of showing a higher sensitivity towards the problems and needs of our people in the Eastern,

Drawing attention to the conscience of the necessity of being a force among the youth, women and the labourers of Kurdistan and to become the symbol of their hopes and their struggle in order to become a more and more Kurdistanish force, the Conference have pointed out some important aspects about the national forces in our country.

Southern and South-western pieces of Kurdistan and of the political exiles and the immigrants in different countries. For this to be concretised in actions in different forms instead of staying at the level of words there is no doubt that it is necessary to develop a political manner in accordance with this orientation and to break off with everything that impedes this.

For the Free Kurdistan

The topic which took the first place in the agenda of the 1st Kurdistan Conference of MLCP was the problem how and in which forms the national and social liberation movements in our country must be considered and how they must be united. The role and the tasks of the Kurdish workers and labourers in the national and social liberation movement was also one of the titles of discussion in the Conference. Emphasizing *"the indispensability of the right of national freedom and social liberation of the Kurdistan working class, peasantry, labourers;"*, the Conference confirmed once more *"the necessity of our working class to show the highest interest to the right of*

national freedom and national democratic demands and to struggle in the forefront in these matters for our working class to become the vanguard of the liberation of our people in Kurdistan and to march towards socialism". It gave the socialist patriots the task of carrying this conscience to the working and labouring communities. Likewise the Conference underlined strongly "the historical and political importance of the unity of Kurdistan and Turkey working classes in a single party and in the same way, the mission of the unity of workers and peoples of the world, our region in the first line". In such a period that the expression "becoming a part of those from Turkey" rather means "reconciliation" with the ruling ones and the expression "nationalism" means increasingly the Barzani-Talabani mandatarism, the 1 Kurdistan Conference of MLCP emphasized again "the necessity of our oppressed peoples to firmly unite their destinies -the working class and peasantry of Kurdistan; the prole-*

“Our people in Southern Kurdistan should base on the spirit and action of national freedom, which is existent in its historical traditions; and should develop an equal and brotherly unity with Arabic, Turcoman and other peoples.”

tariat and labourers of Turkey; oppressed national communities of Syrian, Laz, Georgian, Circassian, Abkhaz, Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Gypsies identity- for the overthrow of the fascist and colonialist regime of the Turkish bourgeoisie which is the source of the national and social enslavement; and the establishment of a Union of Workers'-Toilers' Soviet Republics -which is characterized by a voluntary unity, the right of separation and equality of the peoples". It drew attention to the necessity of raising the flag of international revolutionary struggle. It expressed once more its faith that the Free Kurdistan can be achieved through such struggle. This must be considered as an emphasis to the importance of the international struggle and as a sign of the confidence in the world's people, under the conditions of the imperialist globalization.

Struggle for national and democratic demands

Emphasizing that the ground where the revolutionary line for national liberation and social-

ism should be discussed in the context of the struggle and the conditions belonging to Kurdistan, the Conference drew attention to the reflection of this in practice in the actual period. Announcing that *"It is a national and social right and duty of our people -who is under colonialist yoke and whose national existence is denied- to struggle by all means, with military fight and mass violence coming in the first place, against the militarist forces of colonialism, its' ruling bureaucracy, its' economical and political institutions, for making it impossible for them to live in Northern Kurdistan and for throwing them out;*

It supports and defends the national democratic demands such as the recognition of the national existence of our people, the freedom for our mother-language^(?), the freedom to politically organize with Kurdish national identity, the dismantlement of the "state of emergency" machinery, the return of the peasant refugees to their villages and the complete compensation of their damages, the ending of military attacks against Kurdistan, the clarification of the places of mass graves, the detention and judgment of the fascist killers and their chiefs who are responsible for the disappearances, unsolved murders against the Kurdish people, killings and torturing against the Kurdish guerrilla, the unconditioned release of the Kurdish prisoners of war, Abdullah Ocalan coming in the first place", the Conference emphasized that the struggle for those demands is at the same time a necessity of socialist patriotic policy.

Support to the struggle, no to the reconciliation!

Drawing attention to the conscience of the necessity of being a force among the youth, women and the labourers of Kurdistan and to become the symbol of their hopes and their struggle in order to become a more and more Kurdistanish force, the Conference have pointed out some important aspects about the national forces in our country. The conference declared that the struggle of PKK, which is the blank of the attacks of colonialism, imperialism, social chauvinism and internal reaction, *"against the national denial policy and racist-fascist mangle of the Turkish bourgeoisie, on the basis of national democratic rights, is legitimate and just", and it "is on the side of national democratic demands with all its power", but it "condemns the petty-bourgeois reformist strategy, line, viewpoint and practices of the PKK which is embodied in the retreat from the target of breaking the colonialist yoke in Kurdistan and our people's freely self-*

determination, and the tendencies of compromise with imperialism and the Turkish bourgeoisie". The Conference drew attention to the ideas within the ranks of the national democratic movement which hide then open support of the EU imperialists to colonialism and their anti-people imperialist character and which spread the dreams of "EU solution to the Kurdish question" and emphasized the task of ideological struggle and of explaining the facts to our people pertinacious and persistently. Likewise, the Conference discussed the place of HPG®, which is at the centre of the colonialist and imperialist attacks, in the national democratic struggle and stated: *"The right of armed resistance and armed fight of our people is legitimate, virtuous and unavoidable because their country is under fascist colonialism and their national identity is denied. In this manner, any attempt to decompose HPG will have a reactionary character and will serve denial and colonialism. HPG made a just, fit move and a step forwards by ending the unilateral cease-fire® and getting the position of active defence with national democratic rights."*

The Conference also discussed the situation of the and reformist forces of denial and surrender who try to function particularly in our country and mainly in Europe: *"Parties like Hak-Par, PSK, PWD, etc., all the internet chatterers and crews living in the arms of imperialism are bourgeois-nationalist barricades for the national freedom struggle and social liberation aspirations. Because, despite all their sharp bourgeois nationalist statements, in reality, they never even bring to their minds, any serious practice against colonialism and denial. They use all their faculties to mislead our people to enter under the yoke of US and EU imperialists. The anti-PKK blocs which such parties form have no progressive character"*. It has exposed once more the reality of these forces which establish relations with EU and US imperialism and with colonialism in the new period, which hopes their aid and which dream of appropriating the values created by the struggle for themselves, basing on the results of the aggression policies of the imperialists and colonialists. It has emphasized the importance of giving ideological and political struggle and showing a political posture against the illusions which these forces, who do not even throw a stone for the freedom of our people, try to create.

While these forces who see the developments in Southern Kurdistan as a ground to leap for-

ward for themselves, who slander the national democratic struggle at the North with a complete unawareness and who adopt a pro-Barzani, pro-Talabani line, are advising our people to do the same thing, the Conference announced the socialist patriotic outlook on this subject: *"The self-determination of our people in Southern Kurdistan as a Kurdistan Regional Government inside federal Iraq is indisputable in terms of national legitimacy. Concepts like "Second Israel" used to define the tendencies or practices of founding a nation-state in Southern Kurdistan root from a colonialist and chauvinist perspective.*



Despite of that, the choice made in Southern Kurdistan is completely wrong in terms of its class and social content. This choice is developed on the basis of collaboration with the US imperialism and supporting the Iraqi invasion. This choice wounds the national honour of our people in all the pieces of Kurdistan and abroad; gives a grave harm to the possibilities of common struggle and brotherly unity of our people with the peoples of the region; strengthens the most aggressive enemy of world peoples, i.e. US imperialism, in our region. For these reasons, Barzani-Talabani nationalism cannot be supported.

Our people in Southern Kurdistan should base on the spirit and action of national freedom, which is existent in its historical traditions; and should develop an equal and brotherly unity with Arabic, Turcoman and other peoples."

Emphasizing this task, the Conference drew a definite and sharp line of demarcation between itself and different illusive outlooks.

Dîsa Dîsa Serhildan!⁽¹⁰⁾

Apart from the decisions declared in the Announcement and Call to the proletariat and our peoples, the Conference also took into its

agenda of discussion a critical evaluation of the party work, development dynamics, the necessities of the way to the victory of revolution, the problems of institutionalization, sectoral activities, preparing cadres, becoming Kurdistanish and socialist patriotism. Different topics like the peace-policy, EU question, the strategic tendencies of USA in the region, the developments in the other pieces of Kurdistan, the actual problems of our people, the strategic necessities of our revolution took place in the agenda of the Conference. Evaluations and decisions on all of these topics will be strong basis for the development of our party work in Kurdistan.

Underlining that despite the damages caused by the developments after 1999 and their consequences in our country, and despite all the siege of colonialism and imperialism, our people insist on their honourable march to freedom, the Conference determined with joy and enthusiasm that the conditions are more favourable today for freedom and revolution than it used to be yesterday. It has sharpened its will of war and victory. It gave the party warriors the task of being at a situation of mobilization in order to turn the slogan "*Dîsa Dîsa Serhildan, MLCP-Kurdistan*" into a more and more definite reality.

The Conference showed clearly the way that the socialist patriots will follow, by announcing: "*The MLCP Kurdistan Organization will continue its' ongoing struggle with a higher level of determination and will, with the perspectives and objectives formulated above. In our country which experiences a revolutionary situation, MLCP Kurdistan Organization will give all its' power and faculties in a full spirit of devotion and sacrifice, for gaining a level which responds to the*

needs of the fight. MLCP KO will be in alliance with the forces that defend our people's revolutionary and national democratic demands against fascist colonialism and denial. It will be loyal and respectful to the values created under big pains and heavy prices, with spilt blood and lost lives, in the process of national freedom struggle". It drew attention to the tasks of our patriotic people in this struggle and it called for more serhildans.

Finally the Conference "*called the Kurdistan working class, poor peasantry, labourer women, youth and all the people to raise the flag of national freedom and social liberation and to listen to, strengthen and join the ranks of MLCP and its Kurdistan Section, MLCP Kurdistan Organization for throwing out the fascist colonialism of our country which embodies in the occupation army, police stations, tax offices and prisons in terms of political annexation; in economical annexation institutions which plunder our mineral and over ground resources; and in the denial culture and assimilation centers and for the urban and rural workers, landless peasantry, urban and rural poor to achieve a free and decent life.*". The conference underlined strongly that the only way for Kurdistan to reach freedom and honourable life and this way passes from defeating colonialism.

The way to follow is clear. We will walk to the future with a high spirit of self-sacrifice, with a strong desire to win, and with the hope to wave the flag of national liberation and socialism everywhere in our country from the poor cities to the purple mountains. Our tasks are heavy, there are a lot of things to do, we have hard way to walk, but still we believe that we will win, because we are the future, and the future is revolution! ﷲ

Footnotes and References

*This article was taken from *Dengê Kurdistan*, organ of the Kurdistan Organisation of MLCP, No 14, October-November-December, 2005

- 1) JITEM - Intelligence and Anti-terror Service of Gendarmerie
- 2) Serhildan - Kurdish uprising
- 3) Kurdistanish - The word used by our party in order to express the idea of, not only being "Kurdish" but also being "of Kurdistan and in Kurdistan", being a force "belonging to Kurdistan".
- 4) The Kurdistan country
- 5) This strip contains the Kurdish cities like Malatya, Antep, Maras, Sivas, which are located at the border of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan and where peoples from different nations, nationalities and religions live together. There have been many

provocations of the Turkish colonialist state in these regions during which hundreds of people were killed.

6) Kurdistan is divided into four parts which are the Northern part within the official borders of the Turkish Republic, the Southern part within the official borders of Iraq, the Eastern part within the official borders of Iran, and the South-western part within the official borders of Syria.

7) The Kurdish language

8) HPG are the Popular Defense Forces which are the Kurdish guerrillas affiliated to PKK.

9) The unilateral cease-fire was ended in June 2004.

10) *Dîsa Dîsa Serhildan!* - "More and more uprising!" in Kurdish language.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE COORDINATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Introduction

First of all we must create regional anti-imperialist struggle co-ordinations in the regions where the inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpened at most, together with all forces which could be united against imperialism and fascism, the progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, revolutionary and communist forces, and we must unite these co-ordinations on the international level.

US imperialism's militarism and its development of the method of imperialist war and terror, the increase rivalry for re-sharing among the imperialist monopolies and states are inevitably sharpening the contradictions among the imperialist states and increasing the danger of imperialist re-sharing war. That is to say that the inter-imperialist contradictions are deepening. The conflicts among the imperialist countries for the re-sharing of the world have reached to the level of occupying the strategic areas and the resources of raw-materials. Imperialism's economic and political enslaving attack deepens the political reactionary. Such increase of financial, economical and political enslaving is intensifying extraordinarily the contradictions among imperialist bourgeoisie and peoples. They are organising counter-revolution and reactionary violence; the colonialism and imperialist aggression in the foreign policy and the internal reaction in at home. They are continuing to surround and wage wars against all kinds of resistance, tends of organising, search for rights and the legitimate struggle, based on the revolutionary violence, of the working class, the peoples and the oppressed.

The imperialist occupation, domination and neoliberal attacks make more convenient the objective conditions of the international proletariat's fight for anti-imperialist, democratic and socialist revolution against imperialism. Today's realities necessitate more than ever the international actions and unity of the revolutionary proletariat, the peoples and the communist vanguards for the victory of revolutions.

The regional federations, as a form of peoples' brotherhood, bear special importance both because of the fore-mentioned reasons and in face of the imperialists' and local bourgeoisies' drive people into chauvinist clashes. This is especially

valid for the Middle East-Balkans-Caucasus, the regions where imperialist aggression and wars have been intensified at most for today. Our party defends the democratic federation of our peoples in the region. There is no doubt that, despite the increase of the conditions of the united and internationalist actions, the revolutions will develop in unbalanced manner. Our party, however, puts the peoples' democratic unity as a programme for the revolutions of the people in the region that will not gain victory simultaneously or synchronously, and tries to realize this possible goal.

Starting from the October revolution, the inter-imperialist contradictions and struggles, the capitalism's law of unequal development made and will continue to make possible the revolution in single country, that is to say in the each link of the imperialist chain. In today's conditions, as the imperialist aggression and the developing inter-imperialist contradictions have shown, the possibility of regional revolutions, beside the revolutions in single countries, is also strengthening.

The workers, labourers and youth waged great and intensive mass actions against the US attack and occupation on Afghanistan all over the world. In these demonstrations where a great anger was raised up, millions of people participated in, the US flags were burnt, the masses marched towards the buildings representing the USA. Yes, the imperialist coalition under the leadership of USA has occupied Afghanistan, but could not dominate the country.

The Palestinian Intifada rose again. The Palestinian people did not surrender to the Bush-backed Israeli occupation; on the contrary they have developed an unyielding resistance. Zionism, backed by US imperialism, could not break the Palestinian resistance, the resistance of the oppressed people. Israel did not achieve its

goal also during its attack on Lebanon. The occupants who thought that they would be welcomed with flowers in Iraq have been surprised with the resistance. However, there is nothing to be surprised with it: the Iraqi people are defending their homeland against imperialist occupation. Despite its religious motives, the Iraqi resistance is a resistance against the US imperialism. The Palestinian and Iraqi people have shown the way of resistance against imperialist occupation. This struggle must be supported and learnt from. US imperialism or any imperialist country who dare to occupy other countries will come across with new Iraq syndrome.

We should not forget that Palestinian and Iraqi people and now the Lebanese people are at the same time resisting on behalf of the whole people of the world. This is a resistance on behalf of the world working class, oppressed peoples and nations. The resistance slows down the aggression of USA and other imperialists forces, prevents their strategic plans and policies; weakens imperialism and plays a dissuasive role before their hegemony and aggression.

First of all, we must create regional anti-imperialist struggle coordinations in the regions where the inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpened at most, together with all forces that can be united against imperialism and fascism; the progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, revolutionary and communist forces, and we must unite these coordinations on the international level. For instance, such platforms must be created within the struggle in Balkans, Middle East, Caucasus and Latin America, where the inter-imperialist contradictions are extremely sharpened today. The co-ordinations must prove themselves within the de facto struggle and they should have the skill to centralize and direct the anti-imperialist struggle in these regions.

Our party considers the development of united action of the progressive, anti-imperialist, revolutionary and communist forces of these regions as one of its important tasks. Our party is of the opinion that it is inevitable for the people of our region to act in common in order to kick out imperialism and liberate the Middle East from imperialist occupation and plunder, the region where the inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpened at most and where the occupation and resistance are seen at the same time. Our party is of the understanding that it is an obligation for us to unite our forces against the same imperialist enemy, the

same local collaborators those who oppress and loot all peoples of the region without making distinction whether they are Turkish, Kurdish, Arab or Persian.

Our party is of the understanding that it is the common problem of our peoples to kick out the occupants from our region, and this common problem makes inevitable the common struggle and organisation among our peoples. In our day, the Middle East Anti-imperialist Struggle Coordination is the most suitable form of organisation to reach this goal.

Our party, which struggles in the line of this understanding, was trying for more than two years to bring together in the regional conference the region's communist, revolutionary and progressive forces and to discuss on the opportunities of regional struggle. For this it has carried out bilateral talks with many parties and organisation in the region and discussed on the possibilities. The weakness of the region's parties and organisations on the consistent anti-imperialist line represented a factor that made difficult taking such a step. But our works started giving results in 2006, and our party, PFLP and PDFLP announced through a joint statement that they will hold the Anti-imperialist Struggle Conference of the Middle East. Many parties and organisations from Middle East were invited to the Conference.

The Conference, which was held on 11-12 June 2006, took place by the participation of representatives from Turkey/Northern Kurdistan, Palestine, Iran and Iraq, and also by an organisation interested in anti-imperialist struggle and organised in Austria, Germany and Italy. The Conference pointed out the necessity of founding regional co-ordinations that have the capacity of centralizing and directing the anti-imperialist struggle in order to develop the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East, where imperialist occupation and aggression is intensified. The Conference, which stressed that the withdrawal of the occupants from our region is the common problem of our peoples and this problem necessitates the common struggle and organisation among our people, has therefore created the Anti-imperialist Struggle Coordination of the Middle East in order to be an answer in relation to the demand for anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle in our region.

We are sharing with our readers the documents of the Anti-imperialist Struggle Conference of the Middle East.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE COORDINATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Declaration

1) The discovery of oil and rise of its importance as a source of energy have turned the region into an important sphere of ongoing rivalry among the imperialist hegemonic forces. Having taken the role of gendarmerie of the capitalist world after the World War II, the US imperialism has become superior in the rivalry that they conducted with British and French imperialists over the Middle Eastern oil; the US imperialism has gradually started to be the dominant power in our region. And today also, the US Imperialism is trying to strengthen and deepen its domination.

2) The US imperialism, who wants to own the world economy without any rival, tries to make ineffective its rivals through its military and economic superiority. But, despite its superiority, the American imperialism feels just behind its nape the rivalry of other rival imperialist powers. It is equal with dreaming to think that the prominent imperialist powers; the EU as a whole and the imperialist countries such as Germany and France within this economic integration, China, Russia or Japan would accept the unilateral US hegemony in the Middle East. These imperialist powers do want to have a word in the re-division of the world, and are trying to prevent the use of the region's energy resources against themselves by the USA. Therefore the inter-imperialist contradictions in our region are extremely sharpened.

3) The ongoing hegemonic fight upon the world markets and raw materials shows that the rivalry among the leading imperialist countries, the inner-imperialist contradictions is sharpened in certain regions: These regions are the Balkans, the Middle East and Caucasus/Caspian Basin and Latin America.

4) The hegemonic imperialist powers such as the USA, the EU (Germany and France at first), and other imperialist powers are mercilessly competing with each other to dominate the world markets and, at the same time, they are acting in common against the peoples and oppressed nations who resist them, who do not yield to the occupation and fight for national independence, and trying to take them under their yoke.

5) Because of their energy resources, the Middle East and Caspian Basin are essential regions for the imperialist powers. The geopolitical fictions that were/are prepared yesterday and today for the world hegemony suggest the occupation of these regions. We see that the world hegemony passes from the occupation of these regions in the recent geopolitics of Germany, Britain and France, in the current geopolitics of the USA and other imperialist powers and in the statements made by the most prominent geopoliticians.

6) The contradictions among the main imperialist countries are not yet sharpened at the level of turning into a direct war with each other. But, as the last 10-15 years have shown, they carry out their invasions serving their own strategies by forming coalitions or by benefiting from other's weaknesses. This hegemonic row, contradictions and conflicts will keep the Middle East face to face even for many years with new relations and balances of power, new alliances and separations, new conflicts and wars. Imperialists will not leave until the peoples of the region would kick them out.



7) The national liberation struggles did not lose their importance and rightness. The oppressed nations and peoples are continuing with their fight against the imperialist occupation, war, repression and plunder. The resistance of the Palestinian people against Zionism and imperialism, of the Iraqi people against the imperialist occupation and of the Kurdish nation against national yoke represent an experiment for all oppressed nations and peoples.



8) However its strength is, the imperialism is not invincible and it is not omnipotent. This is proven by the anti-imperialist resistances, the national liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and the social liberation struggles of the peoples and the proletariat. It has been shown by Vietnam in the past. And now Iraqi and Palestinian resistances are proving it. The announcement of organisations that fight for national liberation as "terrorists" by the imperialist forces does not change anything in the essence of the problem. The revolution in Nepal, the resistance in Iraq, the Intifada in Palestine, the Serhildans and the guerrilla of Kurdistan are inevitable and legitimate.

9) Nowhere the occupiers have been welcomed as they had hoped for and no one has considered them as liberators. This however is very meaningful. Occupation means being dependent of the foreign will-power. Occupation means being honourless. Therefore the peoples and nations who do not obey and who do not accept national dishonour have chosen and are still choosing the path of fighting against the occupiers together with their workers, peasants, youth and elderly, their dynamic forces in all.

10) Imperialism unites the struggle of the working class, labouring masses and the oppressed nations. Whatever its appearance may be, imperialism means reaction, aggression, occupation, war and plunder. Everywhere the peoples of the world are exposed to reaction, aggression, occupation, war, exploitation and plunder. These all show that our struggle is an international struggle and it is, therefore, a necessity to organise it commonly.

11) Our first task is to create Anti-imperialist Coordinations that would prove and produce itself within the struggle in practice, and would be capable of centralizing and leading anti-imperialist struggle in the Balkans, Middle East, Caucasus/Caspian Basin and Latin America which are the regions where the inter-imperialist contradictions have been sharpened at most. There exist the material conditions to form such coordination in all of the aforementioned regions. And such coordination has already been established in the Balkans.

12) Doubtlessly there exist anti-imperialist organisations, centres of resistance and platforms those who are active on the international and regional level. But, as life has shown, they are not in the position to practice the mission that they drew as their aim. The task to change the situation down at first on the regions' progressive, anti-imperialist, revolutionary and communist forces. In this meaning; the creation of a regional coordination is again a necessity for revolutionary and communist forces to realize an active intervention to these platforms. As proven by the political developments in our region, this task can only be served through creation of a regional Anti-imperialist Coordination.

13) It is inevitable for the peoples of our region to act together to liberate the Middle East -the region where inter-imperialist contradictions sharpened at most and which involves both the occupation and the resistance- from the imperialist occupation and plunder, and to expel imperialism. Yes, this is an obligation, because the problems of the peoples, the Turks, Kurds, Arabs and Persians, have become the same.

The Middle East is continuing to occupy the world agenda through the oil, the rivalry and aggression upon the oil pipe lines; the occupation of Iraq, threatening of Iran and Syria by the USA and coalition forces; the Lebanon, Palestine and Kurdish questions; the anti-imperialist struggle,

Islamic movement, and etc. And each of these problems is affecting the countries of the region directly or indirectly. In that case it is inevitability for each progressive and revolutionary party of our region to be prepared for a struggle on a regional level with an increased spirit of solidarity.

14) It is the common problem of our peoples to make occupants leave our region. The common problem makes necessary the common struggle and organisation among our peoples.

The dynamics and opportunities of turning the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle on the regional level into a material force are growing; its political and social conditions are getting matured more and more. This situation points out the task to coordinate the progressive, anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces' fight against imperialism, and to continue with it as a united struggle. Therefore, the Anti-Imperialist Struggle Coordination of the Middle East is a tool serving this purpose. The parties and organisations which are fighting against imperialism and their collaborators in our region should participate in this Coordination and support it.

15) The world reality facing us is increasing the level of international organisation and struggle of the anti-imperialist struggle. There is no doubt that the best one is to create an international anti-imperialist front. Formation of regional Anti-imperialist Co-ordinations, however, is a necessary step that should be taken from today in order to build such international coordination or front.

16) The 1st Middle East Conference has successfully been realized on 11-12 June, 2006. Thus, the patriotic, revolutionary and communist forces of the Middle East have taken the first step on the way to advance the anti-imperialist struggle in our region. The next task for the pro-independence, anti-imperialist, revolutionary and communist forces of Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, Kurdistan, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia and Egypt or, to put it a nutshell, all countries considered in the Greater Middle East Project, are to take part in this platform; to increase the united and consistent anti-imperialist political struggle.

17) The anti-imperialist struggle, support and solidarity must be taken out from abstract, general and verbal levels and must be conducted with concrete, actual and practical task and goals and go beyond only protesting against something. It must target the militarist, political, economic and

institutional presence of the imperialist forces. As well as actions against IMF, WB, G-8 and NATO, this could also be carried out in the form of organising militant actions to prevent the visits of imperialist chiefs to various countries, and the sale and transportation of weapons.

18) The anti-imperialist, anti-war struggle must be combined with the fight against the neo-liberal attacks. It is because the imperialist aggression and occupation reflect to the imperialist countries in the form of unemployment, restriction of freedoms, racism and chauvinism. The economic crisis, unemployment and cuts on the social rights in these countries are predicated on the existence of immigrants, and are being made a pretext for the new anti-terror laws and fascist-reactionary institutionalisations.



19) There are serious political and ideological illusions about anti-imperialist struggle in the world. For example, some "leftist" forces consider that the resistance and actions based on Islamic motives are not part of the anti-imperialist struggle. Or in the struggle against imperialist war, they avoid targeting NATO. A strong anti-imperialist struggle is making inevitable also the struggle against such understandings.

20) The anti-imperialist struggle cannot be considered without the anti-capitalist struggle. But the two are not the same and identical. Regarding their components, the anti-imperialist platforms are more flexible and require diversity and colourfulness.

21) There is no doubt that the anti-imperialist struggle will benefit from indirect reserves. But it shall take as the main its own power and inner dynamics.

22) Regional Anti-imperialist Coordination means a strong coordination of the regional struggle.

23) The Anti-Imperialist Struggle Coordination of the Middle East will help to strengthen and advance the anti-imperialist struggle on a national and international level.

24) Through the Coordination, both the resistance is going to reach active internationalist support in the region and the steps of developing a consistent and united anti-imperialist struggle are going to be taken.

25) It is going to end the estrangement among the revolutionary and communist parties, and cause them to come closer by intervening within the political developments.

26) It is going to develop an active intervention in various platforms that are established on international scale -such as the ESF and WSF- through a revolutionary centre.

27) The Coordination will practice a principled stance against the anti-imperialist illusions, chauvinism and social chauvinism and the reactionary forces in the process of fight against imperialist war and occupation, and will undertake an influential political and ideological struggle.

28) In order to convert the anti-imperialist struggle in our region in a real force, to "Middle Easternize" the anti-imperialist fight, a secretariat must be founded for the Coordination.

29) A central bureau has to be found in a country which is considered as appropriate. The bureau should be equipped with necessary technology in order to ensure communication, and friends who know different languages should be placed there.

12 June 2006

**Anti-imperialist Struggle Conference
of the Middle East**

ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE COORDINATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Principles of Functioning

1) The Middle East Coordination shall meet once a year. The decision for an extraordinary meeting can only be realized by the 2/3 will of the parties.

2) To organise the meetings and relations, the coordination will elect a secretariat that will guarantee the coordination among the participants.

3) To guarantee the continuity of the work and be able to transmit information from a central office under all circumstances, the coordination will establish a bureau in a country according to the needs. The Bureau shall be equipped with the necessary technology in order to ensure communication. And there shall be put on duty friends who know different languages.

4) The expenditures of the coordination work shall be shared on the basis of equality among the participant organisations.

5) The common language for communication among the participants is English.

6) Each party, organization or group which accepts the declaration may become member of the coordination. The adoption of membership requires a simple majority.

7) The Middle East Coordination can be participated by more than one party or group from each country.

8) The member parties and organizations can only be taken out of the Coordination by a 2/3 will of the parties.

9) For the future, the participation of parties and organisations in other regions or outside the countries of our region in the coordination work shall be supported.



10) Each Party or group, which is member of the Coordination, has got the right to make proposals and to join the meetings of the secretariat.

11) The member parties and groups of the Coordination will try to actively exert an influence on all anti-imperialist platforms where they are represented.

12 June 2006

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of the Middle East**

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