

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

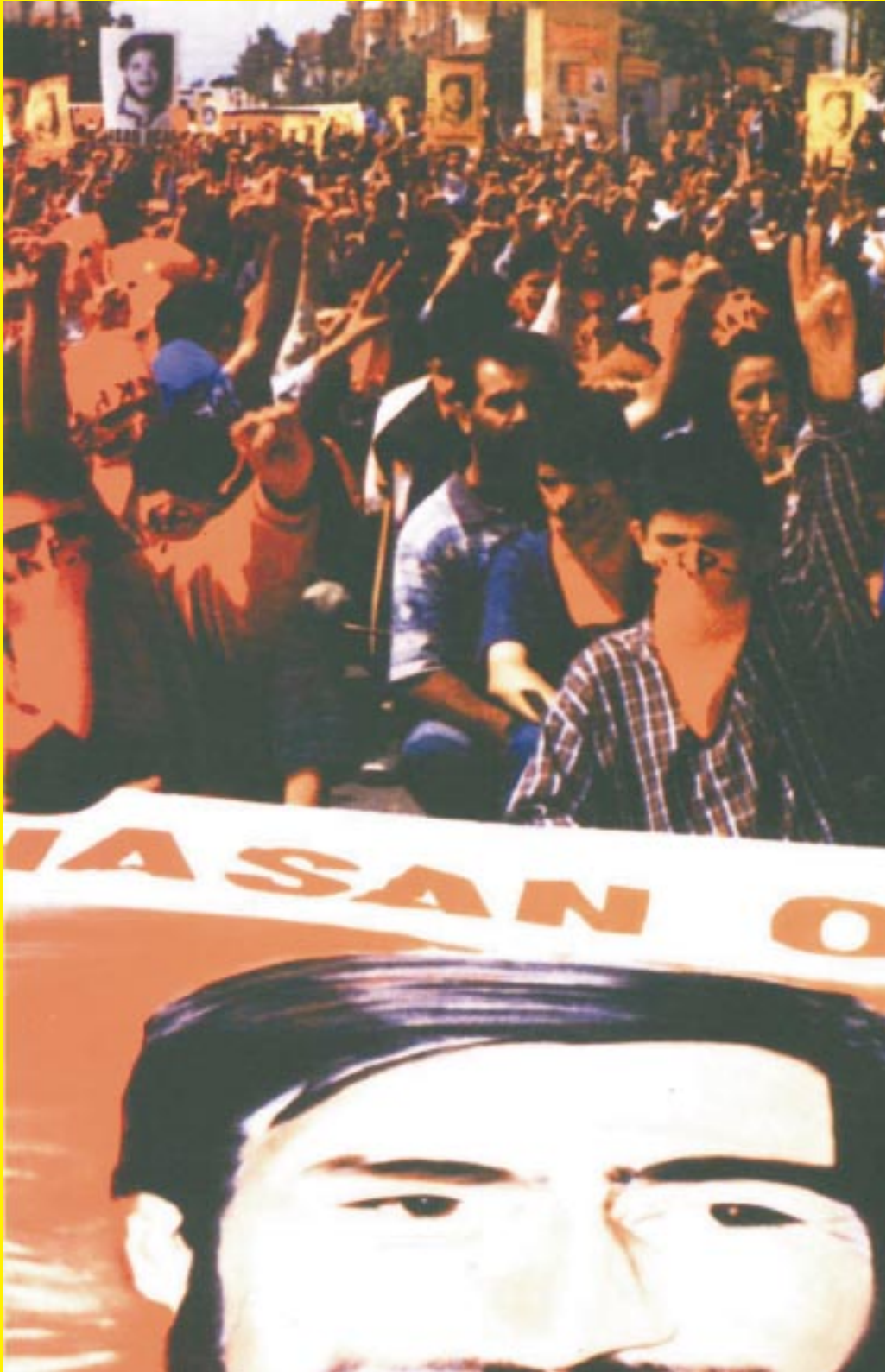
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# RED DAWN

INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY



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# Preface

We are proud to inform our foreign comrades and friends that by dropping its "F", (which stood for "Foundation") MLCP-F\* (Marxist Leninist Communist Party- Foundation) has become MLCP\*\* (Marxist Leninist Communist Party). This decision was taken in the 1. (Party and Unity) Conference held recently (September 1995) in Turkey, under conditions of strict illegality. This conference, conducted in the wake of 3rd General Conference of CPT (M-L) /RO (Communist Party of Turkey (M-L) /Reconstruction Organization), brought together delegates of this communist group and those of MLCP-F. At this Conference after a principled debate about the differences between two organizations and on some basic questions of communist movement, delegates of MLCP-F and CPT (M-L) /RO unanimously decided on unification. They also decided on a new name -MLCP- for the united organization.

The 1. (Party and Unity) Conference of MLCP-F also called on TDKP\*\*\* and TIKB\*\*\*\* to discard their sectarian attitude towards communist unity, put the interests of proletariat to the fore and join forces with MLCP under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Despite their great accomplishments in the field of revolutionary practice since the Unity Congress held in September 1994 and new steps they have taken both in the direction of unification of all communist forces and of all anti-fascist and revolutionary forces, Marxist-Leninist communists are aware of their shortcomings.

Taking into account the experience of international communist movement, MLCP has stood on guard against conceit and self-complacency and maintained a self-critical attitude towards its deficiencies. The First (Unity) Conference of MLCP once more stressed strategic importance of uniting the communist movement with working class movement, vowed to put an end to decades-long isolation of scientific socialism from working class movement and condemned all deviationist tendencies advocating the formation of a so-called Communist Party, without any real and organic connection with the working class.

**LONG LIVE OUR 1. (PARTY AND UNITY) CONFERENCE!**  
**LONG LIVE MLCP!**  
**LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!**

**5 September 1995**

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\* Marksist Leninist Komunist Parti- Kurulus  
\*\* Marksist Leninist Komunist Parti  
\*\*\* Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey  
\*\*\*\* Revolutionary Communist League of Turkey

# 1. (PARTY AND UNITY) CONFERENCE HELD LONG LIVE MLCP!

**Workers, Toilers, Youth,**

1. (Party and Unity) conference, of MLCP-F, held with the participation of delegates of MLCP-F and CPT (M-L)/RO has been crowned successfully.

Following ten sessions lasting a total of 60 hours in 5 days and closing on 6 September, 1. (Party and Unity) Conference of MLCP-F proved to be a distinguished model of communist determination, revolutionary assertion and revolutionary romanticism.

1. (Party and Unity) Conference of MLCP-F, which conferred the honour of its inauguration on the youngest delegate at the hall, began its work after a minute of silence in memory of martyrs of revolution and communism, chanting of the march of world proletariat, Internationale and presentation of speeches in the name of **Central Committees of MLCP-F and CPT (M-L)/RO**. Thereafter it elected a deliberative committee, adopted an agenda and began its work. The conference, which was held in the land where we are carrying on the struggle for revolution, ended just in the same manner, that is after a minute of silence for martyrs and the chanting of the Internationale.

**Workers, Toilers, Youth, Revolutionaries,**

1. (Party and Unity) Conference of MLCP-F solved the question of unity in accordance with the last Congress and Conference resolutions of two organizations. Following comradesly discussions on two topics, delegates of CPT (M-L)/RO held an internal session where they decided on dissolving their organization and uniting with MLCP-F. The decisions on the dissolution -of CPT (M-L)/RO- and on unity -with MLCP-F- taken with an eye to strengthening the fight for freedom, socialism and communism and bearing the signatures of all CPT (M-L)/RO delegates were greeted with ovation of delegates and shouting of slogans of "**Glory to CPT (M-L)/RO**" and "**Long live MLCP-F!**" This new victory of the struggle for unity, was not only a proof of historical legitimacy and current indispensability of MLCP-F. It also was an appeal to communist organizations and cadres who persisted in sectarianism for a reappraisal of their positions.

**Workers, Communists, Revolutionaries,**

1. (Party and Unity) Conference of MLCP-F took an historical decision, through a discussion to assess the space travelled in the process of creation of a communist party that deserves its name. It unanimously decided on the proclamation of the Party, taking into account the fact that MLCP-F has acquired the sine qua non characteristics of a communist party with regard to ideological, political, organizational quality and level and the fact that the specific tasks of unification, integration and remoulding have been successfully tackled. This was the restoration of the short-lived proletarian party of **Mustafa Suphi and Ethem Nejat**, after 75 years. Standing ovation of delegates and their shouts of "**Long live MLCP!**" heralded the beginning of a new epoch. **The conference determined 10 September as the foundation date of our party.**

**Workers, Toilers, Youth**

The last item on the agenda of 1. (Party and Unity) Conference of MLCP-F was related to questions of "**political activity and party style**" and "**organizational life and party style**". Last year's performance was examined from this angle and future perspectives were determined. Work among workers, youth, public employees, women and among proletarian, semi-proletarian and petty-bourgeois sections of population living in toiling people's districts; legal and illegal, peaceful and armed forms of organization and struggle in political work; cadres question and collective organ life from the standpoint of ideological and political level dedication, revolutionary assertion were topics at the center of attention. The approach of Conference delegates to problems, their enthusiasm, questions they attached importance to, their determination their level of confidence in the party, its line and its leadership were the shining foci of MLCP's consciousness of political power and action. Half of the duration of conference time was reserved for this item of the agenda, which proved that our party's internal life, its aims and the problems it placed before itself for solution were all very closely related to the development of revolutionary struggle.

**Workers,**

For years on end, by supporting parties who defend the class interests of the bourgeoisie, such as **DYP, ANAP, CHP, DSP, RP, MHP**, you nourished the exploitative order by your own blood. Bourgeoisie, who reigns over you, has condemned not only your life, but also that of your children and of coming generations. All toilers were foreordained by the bourgeoisie to poverty, unemployment, homelessness, hunger, and lack of education and maltreatment at the gates of hospitals.

The bourgeoisie not only hindered the use of liberties of speech, demonstration, press and organization, but also suppressed on every occasion your struggle for democratic acquisitions through fascist terror. It imprisoned the Kurdish nation in a colonialist-fascist dungeon, inflicting great sufferings on it. But the bourgeoisie itself grew richer and richer. Collaborationist capitalists, first of all Kocs and Sabancis (Two of biggest collaborationist-monopolist conglomerates) added trillions to their trillions through the exploitation of labor power of toilers, brought governments to power and overthrew them, had the generals arrange coups d'etat, got organized the way they liked, plundered the surface and underground resources of the land of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan hand in glove with imperialists, at the head of which stands US imperialists.

This despicable wheel shall roll on as long as you do not stop it. Arise ye workers! Arise ye all who bear the world on their shoulders! All toilers have pinned their hopes on you. Now it's time to make a new beginning. Now it's time to get organized in the ranks of a party, which shall defend the interests of the working class, shall lead all people in their struggle for freedom, shall provide full equality of rights for nations, languages and religious sects. **This party is MLCP.**

Communist cadres and forces who constituted **MLCP-F donated** to you a party steered in struggle and guided by scientific socialism: **MLCP**

**MLCP** does not have any interests other than of the working class. **MLCP** is the most conscious and bravest champion of your class interests. It already is a communist vanguard fighting at the forefront of the struggle for freedom and socialism and shedding its blood. During its one **year long brief existence, Hasan Ocak, delegate to the Unity Congress, one to the founding members of MLCP and a member of its Istanbul organization** and four of its other brave fighters (**Şengül Boran, Özgür Evrim Göçen, Erdal Balcı and Ali Karahan**) were martyred. **MLCP** is not only an advance guard of the working class, but also the general staff of the struggle it's been waging to deliver itself from exploitation and oppression. It is the guide and the pioneer of the working class in the struggle for banishing wage slavery off the face of the earth, in barricade and street fights and in local and general uprisings.

Join the ranks of **MLCP**. Pay heed to its appeals. Build a humane and free future under the leadership of **MLCP**.

#### **Workers, Toilers, Youth,**

For the tearing up of collaborationist-monopolist capitalist regime and opening of the road to socialism which will end exploitation of man by man,

For the destruction of fascist dictatorship and acquisition of political liberty that will ensure rights of workers and toilers to speech, demonstration and organization,

For the termination of colonialist yoke and racist-fascist oppression on the Kurdish nation and or building the brotherhood of peoples on the highest level,

For putting an end to imperialist exploitation of labor power and imperialist plunder of surface and underground resources,

For the solution of problems of unemployment, homelessness, poverty and job murders,

For calling a halt to the pollution of humanity, society and nature and to moral and physical degeneration,

For the shattering of social and legal yoke on women,

For the provision of full equality of rights to minorities and suppressed religious sects,

For the protection of unpaid, free and scientific education.

Support **MLCP**, which is fighting for the establishment of a **Union of Workers' and Toilers' Soviet Republics** with wisdom, heroism, experience, organization and dedication; which is fighting with an eye to this aim as a leader and an advance guard. Join the ranks of **MLCP**; rally around its red flag symbolizing the blood shed by workers and toilers. Pay heed to its voice. Join the fight on the path indicated by **MLCP**.

**GLORY TO OUR 1. (PARTY AND UNITY) CONFERENCE!**

**WORKERS TO THE PARTY, TO MLCP!**

**PARTY, SURGE, VICTORY!**

**DOWN WITH COLONIALIST FASCIST DICTATORSHIP!**

**LONG LIVE FREEDOM, LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!**

7 SEPTEMBER 1995

Central Committee of Marxist Leninist Communist Party (**MLCP**)

\*Two of the biggest collaborationist-monopolist conglomerates.

# TOWARDS A REVISIONIST INTERNATIONAL?

(A paper prepared by the MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY-FOUNDATION  
for the International Seminar of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations,  
held in Brussels on 2-4 May 1995)

The parties and organizations present here are invited and expected to agree on coming together and uniting to establish or re-establish the international communist movement. The grounds for this project are set forth in various documents, such as the **Pyongyang Declaration** of 20 April 1992, PTB (Party of Labor of Belgium)'s **"Seven Propositions For the Unity of International Communist Movement"** of 2 May 1993 and the **"Propositions For the Unity of International Communist Movement"** of 3 May 1994. In these and similar documents and announcements of various parties and organizations the following views are expressed:

1. "In order to safeguard and advance the socialist cause all these parties ("parties.... That aspire after socialism") must firmly maintain independence and strengthen their own forces." ... "The socialist movement is an independent movement". ... "The socialist cause is a national cause and, at the same time, a common cause of mankind". (**Pyongyang Declaration**)

2. "Ours is an era of independence and the socialist cause is a sacred one aimed at realizing the independence of the popular masses". ... "Socialist society is, in essence, a genuine society for the people where the popular masses are the masters of everything and everything serves them". (**Pyongyang Declaration**)

3. "Every party applies the Marxist-Leninist principles to the present reality according to its own concept. .... Every party defines its policy in complete independence. But this does not contradict the duty to maintain the unity of the international communist movement, for this unity is also an important question of principle". (**Propositions For the Unity of the International Communist Movement**)

4. "Since 1956, the international communist movement has been divided and split, mainly due to the revisionist line adopted by Khrushchev, but also under the influence of ultra-left attitudes". (**Propositions For the Unity of the International Communist Movement**)

5. "Whatever opinion one may have about the correctness or necessity of these splits at a certain point in history, today the possibility exists to overcome these divisions and the unite Marxist-Leninist parties traditionally divided along pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese, pro-Albanian, pro-Cuban or independent lines". ... "In the actual situation, all parties that stay to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism feel the need to bypass former divisions and unite". (**Propositions For the Unity of the International Communist Movement**)

6. "After the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, all communists can agree that revisionism is the most dangerous ideological enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Life has proven that revisionism represents the bourgeoisie within the communist movement". (**Propositions For the Unity of the International Communist Movement**)

7. "Communist must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is necessary to consolidate unity, based on Marxism-Leninism, and in the struggle against revisionism, sectarianism and dogmatism. We must accept that severe and even extreme differences of opinion continue to exist among communists for a long period. It is necessary to accept criticism and counter-criticism and maintain unity". (**Propositions For the Unity of the International Communist Movement**)

8. "In the sixties it was Mao Zedong who best grasped the danger of revisionism. Enver Hoxha, Ho Chi Minh, Kim Il Sung and Che Guevara also made important contributions to the fight against revisionism". (**Propositions For the Unity of the International Communist Movement**)

9. "The ideological struggle against revisionism is a complex and prolonged task. Revisionism, that has destroyed so many parties, will not disappear spontaneously. Tito's revisionism had been criticised by the international communist movement as early as 1948...If the revisionist ideas and

these are not analysed and criticised in depth, they continue to exist and the liquidationist current can strike again and claim new victims". (**Propositions For the Unity of the international Communist Movement**)

Dear friends,

The international communist movement can not be established or re-established on the bases of above mentioned theses and premises. We do not question or doubt about the sincerity and good intentions of at least most of the parties and groups represented here. But, as the saying goes, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. First of all, we should make a distinction between the problem on uniting communist forces and the problem on uniting anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces. The above-mentioned documents talk of the necessity of a fight against imperialism, racism, fascism, capitalism etc and then proceed to propose the unification of all revolutionary forces, including non-communist ones under the banner of communism! It is our belief that under these circumstances where a strictly clear line of demarcation has not been drawn between democratic and socialist tasks and between revolutionary-democratic forces and communist ones, even a real anti-imperialist and democratic front can not be established. But we will dwell on this question later.

Before proceeding towards the question of the unity of communist forces, we want to criticize some hazy and opportunist formulations that betray an open departure from Marxism-Leninism. In these documents, the special and world-historical role of the proletariat has never been mentioned, nor the absolute necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin once said,

"The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society". (The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx, Collected Works, volume 18, p582)

And in his famous book, **The State and Revolution** he said:

"He who recognizes **only** the class struggle is not yet a Marxist; it may turn out that he has not yet gone beyond the bounds of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it reducing it to something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who **extends** the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of **the dictatorship of the proletariat**. That is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the **real** understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested. And it is not surprising that when the history of Europe brought the working class face to face with this question as a **practical** issue, not only all the opportunists and reformists but all the 'Kautskytes' (people who vacillate between reformism and Marxism) proved to be miserable philistines and petty-bourgeois democrats who **repudiate** the dictatorship of the proletariat". (**Marx, Engels, Marxism**, p405-6)

The writers of above-mentioned documents negate Marxism-Leninism when they describe socialist society as a, "genuine society for the people where the popular masses are the masters of everything and everything serves them". (**Pyongyang Declaration**) And of course they should be criticized for not having clearly indicated at communism, classless society as the ultimate aim of communist movement too. They have forgotten the transitional character of socialism and have presented it as the ultimate aim of communist movement, which is an outright repudiation of Marxism-Leninism. In his **Critique of the Gotha Programme** Marx said:

"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but **the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat**". (**Marx, Engels, Marxism**, p411)

Here we also run into an undue emphasis upon independence, which smacks of nationalism. We are told that, "Ours is an era of independence", socialism aims at the realization of "the independence of popular masses", "The socialist movement is an independent movement" (**Pyongyang Declaration**). These are not Marxist assertions. Why? Because, first of all, ours is still the "era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions" and its main content is transition from capitalism to socialism. Secondly, to argue that socialism aims at "the independence of popular masses" is at best empty and idle talk, to describe "socialist movement" as "an independent movement" and to assert that "parties.... That

aspire to socialism" must "firmly maintain independence" means reducing "the socialist movement" to a national-democratic movement and repudiating the international character of working class and communist movement. As early as 1867 Marx had said:

"That all efforts aiming at the great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity and bond of union between the working class of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which in which modern society exist, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;" (Rules And Administrative Regulations of the Working Men's Association, **Collected Works**, v20, p441) And in the Statutes of the Communist International drafted by Lenin in August 1920 we read the following:

"The Communist International knows that in order to hasten victory and International Working Men's Association fighting to abolish capitalism and create Communism, must have a strongly centralized organization. In reality and in action the Communist International must be a single universal communist Party, the Parties in each country acting as its sections. The organizational apparatus of the Communist International must guarantee the working people of every country the opportunity to receive maximum assistance at any time from the organized proletarians of other countries". (**Theses, Resolutions & Manifestoes of the First Four Congresses of the Third International**, p124)

By now it should be obvious that the perception of the question of "independence" by Marxist-Leninists is totally different from those of the authors of the above-mentioned documents. The latter interpret it in the light of national exclusiveness and narrow mindedness and reduce it to the level of chatter about solidarity and so on which is also the essence of their "internationalism". According to Marxist-Leninists, "the socialist movement", rather the communist and working class movement needs to be independent of the bourgeoisie and other propertied classes ideologically, politically and organizationally but not vis-à-vis the other detachments of the communist and working class movement. Different detachments of international communist and working class movement should be as close to each other as possible. That's the reason why Marxist-Leninists are for the slogan, "Workers of all Countries, Unite". And that's the reason why they have always opposed the division of working classes in individual countries along national lines. Bolsheviks rejected the division of the working class into national sections and affirmed that,

"...The interests of the working class require the unification of the workers of all nationalities in a given state in common proletarian, political, trade, co-operative, educational and other organizations". (S.Shaheen, **The Communist Theory of Notional Self-Determination**, p74)

\* \* \* \* \*

The authors of above-mentioned documents have summed up the basic idea underlying their propositions in the phrase, "The former divisions between Marxist-Leninist parties can be overcome". But, absolutely no effort is made to prove the validity of this assertion and show the means and ways of overcoming the present ideological differences and even chasms. And absolutely no effort is made to define Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and to establish objective and scientific criteria to distinguish between the two. Having allegedly overcome these hurdles, they proceed to advise us "to bypass former divisions and unite". We are also advised to unite -and of course! - On the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to be able to do it, to strengthen the fight against right and 'left' opportunism. But, still the 'supreme judges' haven't provided us with any guidelines. Everybody will easily grasp the logically contradictory nature of this approach. On the one hand we are told that "the former divisions... can be overcome" and they should be bypassed and on the other hand we are called on to continue the fight against opportunist and revisionism. If all the tendencies who declared themselves Marxist-Leninist were indeed so the following conclusions would become unavoidable:

1. The ideological struggles of the past decades were in fact struggles among Marxist-Leninists.

2. These ideological struggles should not have been waged; they have been waged in vain.

This inference betrays the extreme opportunism and absurdity of positions of the writers of these documents. Peoples who are trying to embrace all parties and groups who declare themselves communist and socialist could not have done otherwise. But they at the same time declare revisionism to be "the most dangerous enemy of Marxism-Leninism" and assert it to be "the bour-



geoisie within the communist movement". And they applaud the ideological struggles waged against opportunism and revisionism both before 1956 and after it. If they really believe revisionism to be representing such a big danger, then why they so carefully avoid identifying and defining this agency of imperialism and the bourgeoisie and call upon pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese, pro-Albanian, pro-Cuban and independent groups to unite and declare an ideological truce? There may be two possible explanations: Either they do not know what they are talking about or are advocating the establishment of a revisionist International, which will include all parties and groups calling themselves communist and socialist. In either case, they serve the interests of imperialism and the bourgeoisie by sowing confusion in the ranks of the working class and sincere revolutionaries and assisting various brands of revisionism in masquerading themselves as Marxist-Leninist and components of the international communist movement.

Marxist-Leninist approach to the twin and interrelated questions of struggle against revisionism and of communist unity is diametrically opposed to that of the writer of above-mentioned documents. They have always been for uncompromising ideological struggle against opportunism and revisionism, both in individual parties and in the international communist movement. Furthermore, they have been for the purifications of communist organizations from opportunist elements at a certain stage of struggle. In describing the Leninist attitude towards opportunism Stalin said;

"In one way or another, all these petty-bourgeois groups penetrate into the Party and introduce into it the spirit of hesitancy and opportunism, the spirit of demoralization and uncertainty. It is they, principally, that constitute the source of disorganization and disruption of the Party from within. To fight imperialism with such 'allies' in one's rear means to expose oneself for the danger of being caught between two fires, from the front and from the rear. Therefore, ruthless struggle against such elements, their expulsion from the Party, is a prerequisite for the successful struggle against imperialism". (Foundations of Leninism, **Problems of Leninism**, p82-83)

In this criticism of centrist opportunists of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, Lenin had voiced the same approach. He said:

"Struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked with the struggle against opportunism is either an empty phrase or a fraud. One of the main defects of Zimmerwald and Kienthal -one of the main reasons why these embryos of the Third International may possibly end in fiasco- is that the question of fighting opportunism was not even raised openly, let alone solved in the sense of proclaiming the need to break with the opportunists". (The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution, **Collected Works**, vol.23, p83) In contrast with the writers of above-mentioned documents who in the name of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism advise us to make peace and unite with opportunism and revisionism

Lenin said:

"He is not an internationalist who vows and swears by internationalism. Only he is an internationalist who in a really internationalist way combats his **own** bourgeoisie, his own social-chauvinists, he's own Kautskyites". (These For An Appeal to The International Socialist Committee And All Socialist Parties, **Collected Works**, vol.23, p209)

In the document entitled "**Propositions for the Unity of the International Communist Movement**" we read the following:

"1. "Since its establishment in 1919, the International Communist Movement has stirred history and changed the outlook of the world. The Second Congress of the Communist International held in July 1920 adopted a constitution, requirements for admission, the Manifesto and other essential resolutions, which characterized the international communist movement vis-à-vis Social Democracy. Until 1956, it maintained its revolutionary orientation, its unity and its strength and its influence in the world continued to increase.

2. "In order to reappear on the world scene as a significant current, the International Communist Movement must claim this common history".

We totally and unconditionally agree to this approach. This is the approach of MLCP-F and it is ready to act together and in unison with all communist parties and organizations according to it. But, unfortunately the general line of reasoning and action of the writers of above-mentioned documents is not consonant with this approach. Moreover, their real attitude to the questions of struggle against revisionism and of unity of communists is the exact opposite of this correct one.

The document speaks of claiming the legacy of the international communist movement. But its analyses, basic approach and propositions betray extreme opportunism. Those who claim the legacy of the international communist movement must think and act in accordance with the spirit of 21 conditions of affiliation to the Comintern. One of these conditions was formulated as follows:

"6. Every party that wishes to affiliate to the Third International must not only expose avowed social-patriotism, but must also expose the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism; it must systematically point out to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international courts of arbitration, no talk about reducing armaments, no 'democratic' reorganization of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. Parties desiring to affiliate to the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the 'Centre'; and they must carry on propaganda in favour of this rupture among the broadest circles of Party members. Without this it is impossible to pursue a consistent Communist policy.

The Communist International imperatively, and as an **ultimatum**, demands that this rupture be brought about at the earliest date. The Communist International cannot permit known reformists, such as Turati, Modigliani and others, to have the right to claim membership of the Third International. Such a state of affairs would lead to the Third International becoming, to a large degree, like the wrecked Second International". (The Conditions of Affiliation To **the Communist International**, The Communist International, p202-3)

From the aforesaid, it should be sufficiently clear that the authors of the above-mentioned documents have never really claimed the legacy of the international communist movement, including Comintern. On the contrary, we may rightfully say that they have symbolized the direct antithesis of all that the formers have stood for. Their line with regard to unity in the ranks of the international communist movement is as opportunistic as that of the Second International or even worse than that. Despite its growing opportunism, the Second International definitely did not include **all** 'socialist' tendencies, **all** parties and organizations calling themselves Marxist or socialist. For instance, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist parties and organizations were excluded from this platform, the more opportunistic lines of Millerrand, Bernstein etc were condemned officially by the resolutions of the congresses of the Second International, the programmes of affiliated parties were in the main in accord with basic principles of Marxism who had centered their mass political work on the working class. But our friends who have authorized themselves with the task of re-establishing the international communist movement do not recongize any such restrictions! If you put your signature under their extremely permissive and all-embracing documents, vow to defend Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and fight against and 'left' opportunism, you may immediately become one of the founding fathers of a brand new International! We will remind them of Lenin's scathing criticism of centrist opportunists of the "Berne" International:

"The most dangerous thing that comes from the 'Berne' International is the verbal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These people are capable of recognizing everything, only to keep at the head of the labor movement. Kautsky now says that he is not opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat! The French social-chauvinists and 'Centrists' put their names to resolutions in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

"But not a hair's breadth of confidence do they deserve.

"It is not verbal recognition that is needed, but a complete rupture **in deeds** with the policy of reformism, with prejudices about bourgeois freedom and bourgeois democracy, the genuine pursuit of the revolutionary class struggle". (The Tasks of the Third International, **The Communist International**, p51)

On the other hand, we can't fail to perceive a disguised attack on Stalin and an attempt to impose maoist brand of revisionism in the above-mentioned documents. This is done under the pretence of non-sectarianism, impartiality, fight against splitism and verbal declaration of struggle against revisionism. Stalin is accused of contributing to the emergence of Khrushchevite revisionism and the beginning of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. **Pyongyang Declaration** proclaims that,

"One of the reasons for the unsuccessful construction of socialism in some countries is that they failed to build a social structure capable of meeting the fundamental requirements of the popular masses and to build socialism in accordance with the theory of scientific socialism".

And in the **Propositions for the Unity of the International Communist Movement** it said that;

"12. The Discussion about the experience of the CPSU under Stalin must be reopened in the International Communist Movement. Anti-Stalinism has been the Trojan horse for anti-communism, introduced in the ranks of the International Communists Movement.

13. For a certain period of time, disagreements about the assessment of the work of comrade Stalin will remain. These discussion should be tackled in a scientific manner and based on class positions".

At this point we are obliged to ask: Who is judging whom? **Pyongyang Declaration** and the other relevant documents have the support of some communist parties and groups Apart from these parties and groups and a multitude of centrist, Maoist groups etc, some out and out revisionist groups who have been on friendly terms with "Their own" ruling classes have also supported these documents. We don't think, parties and groups, such as the Workers Party (formally Socialist Party) from Turkey, should have and right to make any critical comment upon Stalin. The general abnormality of this state of affairs is further aggravated, since this unjustified attack on Stalin is perpetrated with the complicity or at least tacit approval of true revolutionary parties and groups, who should be defending Stalin resolutely.

While continuing the attack on Stalin and indirectly blaming him, for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet **Propositions For the Unity of the International Communist Movement** tries to impose on communist and revolutionary parties and groups the so-called greatness and correct line of Mao Zedong. Here we told that,

"In the light of the degeneration of the Soviet Union there in need to re-evaluate the work of comrade Mao Zedong. By leading the national-democratic revolution and its transformation into the socialist revolution in a large Third World country, he has made a contribution of worldwide significance. Mao Zedong resisted Khrushchev and later on Brezhnev's revisionism. He made the first attempt in history to draw the masses into the fight against degenerative tendencies within the Party".

We do not think that an international communist unity can be achieved under these circumstances. It definitely can not be achieved through diplomatic bargaining and mutual ideological concessions between various trends. Lenin, referring to Marx. Who criticized the leaders of Social-Democratic Labor Party of Germany with regard to its unity with Lassalle's National German Workers' Union said:

".... He **sharply condemned** the eclecticism in the formulation of principles: If you must combine, Marx wrote to the Party leaders, then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not haggle over principles, do not make 'concessions' in theory" (What Is to Be Done? **The struggle For the Bolshevik Party**, p47)

So, once more we'd like to ask the writers of the above-mentioned documents: Whom will you unite with to establish or re-establish the international communist movement?

With the Communist Party of Argentina, who supported the military-fascist coup of 1976, through which the ruling classes murdered tens of thousands of communists, revolutionaries and democrats?

With the Khmer Rouge, who after the liberation of Kampuchea from the clutches of US imperialism in 1975 imposed a reign of terror, drove millions of people into the countryside by force and slaughtered at least a million workers, peasants and intellectuals?

With PDS, the direct successor to SED (Socialist Unity Party of German Democratic Republic), who exploited the East German workers and toilers and oppressed them on behalf of Russian and East German bureaucratic bourgeoisie, who together with Soviet social-imperialists and Cuban revisionists spilled the blood of Ethiopian and Eritrea peoples, supported Khrushchev and Brezhnev cliques and opposed Stalin?

With the Communist Party of India, who openly sided with Indian big bourgeoisie and landlords and their state during the border conflict between India, and China supported modern revisionism and served as the agent of the ruling classes in some states of India where it came to power?

With the South African communist Party, who in league with ANC betrayed the peoples of South Africa and capitulated to imperialism and white bourgeoisie, supported Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Grobachev cliques and attacked Stalin?

With the Communist Party of Cuba, who turned the Cuban economy into an appendage of the economy of the Soviet Union, supported Russian aggression against Czechoslovakia,

Afghanistan and Ethiopia, fought against Ethiopian and Eritrea peoples, supported Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev cliques and attacked Stalin?

With the Workers' (formerly Socialist) Party from Turkey, who before the military coup of September 1980 openly sided with the big bourgeoisie and landlords in their onslaught against revolutionary movement, disclosed the names, addresses and where about of revolutionary militants in its legal daily, supported the military-fascist coup of September 1980 and at present openly defends Turkish army's invasion of Northern Iraq?

With Vietnam Workers' Party, who after the victory of the glorious national liberation war followed in the footsteps of Soviet modern revisionism, invaded Kampuchea in 1979 and installed the puppet regime of Heng Samrin there, at the instigation of Soviet social-imperialists and after the fall of the revisionist bloc discovered the 'merits' of free enterprise and surrendered to international finance capital and IMF?

\* \* \* \* \*

Under certain circumstances this platform may serve as an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forum. But, to be able to do so, it should pass through a process of resolute ideological and political struggle against revisionism, which in some cases degenerated into open collaboration with the bourgeoisie, reaction and imperialism against all revolutionary forces. Such parties and groups should be excluded from this platform and not be admitted to similar platforms. At this point, we want to remind all communists and sincere revolutionaries that, the end of Soviet modern revisionism does not by any means signal the end of all revisionism, as the writers of above-mentioned documents have implied. Of course, we do not minimize the -positive and negative-effects of the downfall of Soviet bloc and the disintegration of social-imperialist Soviet Empire, one of which has been the destruction of the most influential source of revisionism. But the problem is that, our authors have not grasped the source and nature of revisionism and its deep roots in the structure of capitalism itself. On the contrary, they have perceived revisionism as an external phenomenon imposed on various communist parties and organizations from outside, in this case by the Soviet revisionist clique. That is the main reason for their vain expectation, which lead them to think that the fall of Soviet modern revisionism offers a golden opportunity for the unification of all communist and revolutionary parties and groups. Far from living in a social vacuum, proletariat exists side by side with other classes. As long as finance capital, bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie exist, as long as classes and class struggle exist, proletariat, working class and communist movement shall be open to a greater and lesser extent, to the ideological influence and permeation of these non-proletarian classes. This is an objective phenomenon independent of the will of individuals, groups and parties. Therefore communist parties, advanced detachments of the working class are obliged to continue the fight against all brands of opportunism and revisionism and they can not for a moment forget that this struggle is a very complicated, protracted and critical one, and will continue until the arrival of communism.

**MAY 1995**

\*Fidel Castro once said;

"I can't say that Gorbachev played a conscious part in the destruction of the Soviet Union, because I have no doubt that Gorbachev's aim was to struggle to perfect socialism." (Fidel Castro, in: "Guardian", 30 May 1992, p25)

On the other hand he frantically attacks Stalin:

"Stalin committed enormous abuses of power. It seems to me that the attempts to socialize the land in every brief historical period and through violence was very costly in economic and human terms..."

He signed the famous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. I think, too, that the non-aggression pact, far from giving him time, reduced the time, because it definitely unleashed the war.

And there, in my opinion, was another big error; just as Poland was attacked, he sent troops to occupy that territory that had been in dispute because its population was Russian or Ukrainian, I don't know.

I think the little war against Finland was another monument blunder, both from the point of view of principle and from the point of view of international law.

Lastly, Stalin's character, his terrible mistrust of everything, led him to commit other serious errors: one of them was.... To carry out a terrible, bloody purge of the armed forces and practically decapitate the Soviet army on the eve of the war (F.Castro, op. Cit; p25)

# WHITHER TDKP?

One of the largest of communist groups in our country, TDKP has disclosed its plans to organize a legal socialist party in recent months. Before dwelling on this question, this article will concentrate its attention upon the political evolution of this communist group, especially during the period following the military fascist coup of September 1980.

During the general onslaught of reaction following the fascist coup all revolutionary and progressive organizations were driven underground, mass organizations banned, most of the cadres and sympathizers of all revolutionary groups and hundreds of thousands of workers peasants, youth and intellectuals were detained and tortured. Communist and revolutionary movement of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan were dealt a very heavy blow. This general onslaught of political reaction was accompanied by a liquidationist wave, which would result in the long-run dissolution of various revolutionary groups and a general rightward drift. TDKP was one of the worst affected revolutionary groups for the wave of liquidationism that swept over the political scene in that period. TDKP later admitted to most of these mistakes. For instance, in a pamphlet published by TDKP Central Committee in February 1989 ('Struggle against the Right Opportunism of the 1981-87 Period and Its Vestiges in Organization and Work') TDKP Central Committee admitted to,

- A-following a right opportunist and reformist line and tactics,
- B-following an anti-Leninist organizational line,
- C-following a capitulationist line in the face of terrorist attack of the ruling classes and
- D-falling into ideological disarray etc. during the 1981-87 period.

The fact is that, during this period and even after 1987, till 1989, TDKP did not exist as a centrally directed organization, but as a loose circle. The fact is that, with the possible exception of TIKB, all revolutionary and communist organizations were effected by liquidationism to a greater or lesser extent in the wake of 1980 coup. Several revolutionary organizations have never recovered and some, like TDKP have been hit very hard by this wave. The negative influence of 1980 coup was exacerbated by the influence of fall of revisionist bloc. So several revisionist and centrist organizations have effectively dissolved themselves or been transformed into amorphous circles. In countries, like Turkey, contradictions between bourgeoisie and proletariat and revolution and counter-revolution are always extremely sharp. Therefore the need for compact and militant organizations to lead the masses and to fight reaction remains unchanged.

During the 1981-87 period, liquidationist tendency of TDKP had also acquired an ideological dimension. This much has been admitted to in TDKP documents, especially in the above mentioned one. For instance, in these years TDKP had condemned the guerrilla operations of PKK and considered them on the same level as the white terror of fascist regime and in 1984 it had been advocating the establishment of a so called anti-fascist front with a 'left' bourgeois party. From 1987 and especially 1989 on TDKP reorganized itself, set up its illegal apparatus and began to do mass political and organizational work. But as soon as this task was accomplished that old malady of TDKP leadership, that is extreme conceit and sectarianism began to manifest itself once more. In February 1990, TDKP held its First General Conference. If one looks through the documents of this conference, he or she will see that not much has changed with TDKP. The fact is that TDKP was organizationally destroyed in 1981 at one hard blow of political police and most of its leaders had not been able to resist torture and given away much valuable information to police leading to further arrests and had gone so far as to present the archives of TDKP to the class enemy. This was admitted to in TDKP documents before this Conference. For example, in an article entitled 'Legal Struggle, Clandestine Organization, Struggle Against

the Police and Provocators and Our Tasks', published in **Devrimin Sesi** (Voice of Revolution), the illegal journal of TDKP, in October 1989, it is said that the most valuable documents and the most valuable secrets of the Party (that is TDKP) were presented to the police "**Without the least resistance**" (the bolds are in the original writing) etc. But, when one looks at the documents of this so-called Conference, he or she will immediately perceive a much less self-critical attitude in this regard, In this document (p.169) it is said that the so-called Party is aware of its deficiencies in this regard, TDKP cadres were in a better position (!) compared to other organizations' cadres as to their attitudes in police custody and prisons and TDKP should not descend (!) so much as to compare its performance with others etc. As everyone in the revolutionary movement in Turkey knows, this is sheer demagogy and a travesty of facts. On the other hand one can not but see the aggressive and conceited style and attitude of TDKP in this document. Both in this document and in their articles published in 1990 in **Devrimin Sesi**, these friends had violently attacked the call issued by the forerunners of MLCP-F, as to the unification of communist forces. As is known this appeal was made public in 1989. The reaction of TDKP to this appeal was extremely negative and hostile. In the above mentioned Conference document (p.387) this drive for communist unity has been described as an "anti-TDKP activity", as if these groups were aiming at the destruction of their organization. This position has been maintained since 1989. In an article published in **Devrimin Sesi** in 1990, TDKP labelled the bloc of tree groups\* as 'Stuttgart bloc', implying that it was something like Trotsky's 'August bloc'. In this article ('Stuttgart Union Is A Liquidationist Bloc Formed Against Our Party' **Devrimin Sesi**, #. 95, p.8-9) this drive for the unification of communist forces is dubbed "liquidationist". Even as late as December 1994 TDKP Central Committee, was loath to accept the sheer existence of MLCP-F and was using the names of TKIH and TKP/ML HAREKETI in a circular it published at this date. This circular was prepared two months **after** our Unity Congress and published three months **after** this event in **Devrimin Sesi** (its 184th issue published in January 1995).

The fact is that TDKP was the biggest of communist groups and (the one most affected by right opportunism, sectarianism and liquidationism) and until recently it remained so with regard to the sheer numbers of its sympathizers. But TDKP's mass of sympathizer were and much less militant and active compared to those of other communist groups; so this relatively big size of TDKP only helps it to conceal its basic weaknesses. Since 1987 there has been various actions of working class, semi-proletarians and youth. But one can not show a single worker' actions which was led and directed by TDKP. And one can not say that TDKP has played a prominent role in revolutionary mass movement during this period. TDKP has concentrated its cadres in the working class and trade union movement. This in itself is a good thing. But the rightist tendency of TDKP and bureaucratic and non-militant character of its leadership leads them to adapt themselves to the line of left trade union functionaries and less militant sections of the working class. This rightist line is being justified in the name of basing itself on the working class and orientating itself toward the class. During the last 2-3 years TDKP has been adopting more and more tailist positions in all spheres and especially with regard to working class, extolling the spontaneous action of the class and receding further from vanguard attitude. This is all the more opportunistic in our country where for more than 50 years following the liquidation of TKP (Communist Party of Turkey) established in the wake of Bolshevik revolution, working class movement and scientific socialism have developed or existed apart from each other. In his 'Urgent Tasks of Our Movement' Lenin said;

"In every country there has been a period in which labor movement existed separately from the socialist movement, each going its road; and in every country this state of isolation weakened both the socialist movement and the labor movement."

does not have a revolutionary and especially a socialist tradition. This makes tailist tendencies and the tendency to bow in the face of spontaneity much more dangerous. To this one must add the negative effects of world-wide developments, especially following the demise of revisionist capitalist camp.

The ill-famed December 1994 circular of TDKP Central Committee constitutes a milestone in the negative evolution of TDKP. This communist organization now faces the danger of liquidation which destroyed or sapped the strength of Communist Party of Spain (M-L), Communist Party of Portugal (Reconstructed) and PC do Brasil. In this circular, all militant revolutionary groups and PKK are viciously attacked and they are accused of establishing a united front the aim of which is purported to be destruction of TDKP! Here is what they say:

"The forces that want to disrupt and destroy our Party and those who strive in this direction are not just the ideological apparatus and police force of the dictatorship. Almost all big and small groups who form the opportunist wing of left movement of Turkey are acting as a bloc against our organization and feverishly working to pull it to a platform and position similar to theirs and to destroy it. This is not an exaggeration..." (**Devrimin Sesi #184**. P.6)

In this circular, armed actions of PKK semi-anarchistic organizations, such as DHKP-C\*\* (Formerly Dev-Sol\*\*\*) are being put on a par with the white terror of the state. The circular also accuses various communist, revolutionary and revisionist organizations, by placing all in the same basket, of being parliamentarist, reformist and trade unionist. Such efforts, apart from being unjustifiable, point to the growing right opportunism in TDKP leadership. Principled and uncompromising ideological struggle is one thing, to sow seeds of enmity among revolutionary and anti-fascist forces and vilifying others and employment of demagoguery is something else. At present we're witnessing the further growth of animosity of TDKP towards all communist and revolutionary forces. At the same time TDKP leadership has been employing a milder and milder style of speech in its relations with all sorts of revisionist groups and even has begun to call them 'socialist'. This is no accident. The hostility of a revolutionary organization towards other revolutionary organizations and its amity towards revisionism and bourgeoisie grow in proportion to the degree of its evolution towards opportunism. This is just what's happening in the case of TDKP.

The rightward evolution of TDKP is mainly manifested by its decision to form a so-called legal mass socialist party. For a period of time, TDKP leadership has been concentrating its fire upon 'left' mistakes and attitudes and talking loudly about the necessity of using all forms of struggle and organization. This attaches upon 'leftism' and sectarianism is nothing but a smokescreen to camouflage the growing right opportunism of TDKP. This campaign, together with growing attacks on other communist and revolutionary organizations, was aiming at preparing TDKP cadres and sympathizers to the new legalist, parliamentarist and reformist road. In this campaign TDKP leadership attacked at dogmatism, illegalism and armed struggle and underlined the importance of winning the great majority of working class and the people. It also stressed the importance of using legal opportunities and breaking the isolation of revolutionary organizations from the masses. Easier said than done! In arguing in this manner and in advocating the establishment of a legal socialist party, TDKP does not make a concrete analysis of the political situation in our country in general, the specific conditions of working class movement and that of revolutionary and communist movement in particular in a thoroughgoing manner. And it demagogically tries to present the position of MLCP-F and some others, as if these organizations were rejecting the use of legal opportunities. The fact is that MLCP-F and its predecessors- as shown by the campaign against the systematic murder of revolutionary militants by the political police, by the organization of Mothers Congress, by their active interference in and leadership in various working class actions, by the establishment of a cultural center etc- are for using both legal and illegal means and forms of struggle and are consistently and successfully trying to combine both. But, in contrast to TDKP, MLCP-F thinks that the situation of working class movement and mass movement in general is not fit for the establishment

of such a party. It also thinks that the extremely repressive nature of fascist regime -though not a decisive factor in itself- which treats even democratic mass organizations and human rights groups as if they were illegal organizations, effectively prevents, the establishment of a politically meaningful and massive legal revolutionary party at present.

Advancing fast on the road towards legalism and reformism, TDKP is also beginning to retreat from its ideological positions. This comes as no surprise, since liquidationism is never just an organizational question, but at the same time an ideological one. So we criticise and will go on criticising this rightward evolution, try to help TDKP and its revolutionary cadres and sympathizers and strive to prevent them from falling into the trap of liquidationism.

TDKP's extreme sectarianism is an integral part of its opportunist political complexion. Both before and after 1980 TDKP leadership has consistently held its units and cadres back from co-operation and joint action with other revolutionary groups. For instance, a couple of months before the September 1980 fascist coup there occurred clashes in a central Anatolian town Corum (Chorum) in which about 50 people died. Almost all revolutionary groups conducting political activity in that city came together and founded a 'People's Committee' to fight armed fascist bands, who with the support of the police and the army had been attacking revolutionary and progressive quarters of the city. But TDKP had rejected to join it! Let's take a more recent example. Towards the end of 1980's various revolutionary journals had established a 'Revolutionary and Socialist Press Platform' which put out declarations and press releases from time to time and TDKP's legal journal again refused to take part, under the pretext of fighting against legalism! These friends tried to disguise their opportunist and sectarian standpoint by alleging that this Platform was trying to take over the functions of organizations and thus were promoting legalism! Of course, no one could deny the presence of such a danger. But this could not justify TDKP's stand.

One also should remember the fact TDKP's program, which was accepted at its First (and thus far the only) Congress, continues to be its program even now. This program, dating back to 1980, contains lots of Maoist fallacies, such as advocating the encirclement of cities from the countryside as the road of revolution in Turkey, considering agrarian revolution as the main content of democratic revolution in Turkey and stressing so-called necessity of assistance of to the development of national capitalism to a certain extent, after the victory of democratic revolution and the establishment of workers 'and peasants' dictatorship. These and similar opportunist theses are completely irrelevant in Turkey, just as they were so, back in 1980. TDKP, which has not held a congress for 15 years, has also not bothered to remove these Kautskyst-Maoist views from its program, views, which are not propagated by TDKP at present. As to the 1990 conference, it was just a conference; it did not have the authority of a congress. This means that TDKP leadership has not been questioned by democratically elected delegates of the so-called Party, since its establishment in 1980. Apart from those persons from the leadership, who have deserted revolution, the same names remain at the helm, despite al grave mistakes and almost total liquidation of the TDKP between 1981-87.

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\* That is the bloc of TDKIH (Revolutionary Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey), TKP/ML HARKETI (Communist Party of Turkey (M-L) Movement) and TKIH (Communist Workers' Movement of Turkey) aiming at the unification of communist forces.  
\*\*Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front)  
\*\*\*Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left)



# HASAN OCAK'S" WEDDING"



Hasan OCAK (Ojak), a prominent member of MLCP-F, a delegate to the Unity Congress that decided on the establishment of MLCP-F and one of the most brave fighters of Gazi barricades was taken into police custody on 21 March 1995. This happened during one of the intensive police operations Istanbul police had been conducting in the wake of Gazi action. Our dear comrade was killed on 26 March 1995 after he was tortured by the class enemy. Comrade Hasan's dead body, bearing the marks of the torture he was subjected to was dumped into a forest by the killers. Later it was found by the villagers nearby, which thereupon was buried secretly, again by the police.

MLCP-F began to organize a political campaign, as soon as his capture by the enemy came to the known. Despite the persistent attempts at learning about the fate of Hasan Ocak by his family, comrades and revolutionary friends, Istanbul police true to form continued to deny that they had taken him into custody and killed him. But the political campaign for the release of our comrade gained momentum as time passed by. MLCP-F was determined to transform this campaign into a general political action to expose fascist dictatorship and its policy of executions without trial and through 'disappearance' directed against communists and anti-fascists. MLCP-F and its allies and friends were extremely successful in their efforts, As the 2.5 month-long campaign grew, support of broad democratic public opinion, including communist and anti-fascist press, human rights organizations, anti-fascist mass organizations, pro-

gressive trade-unions, political and cultural organizations of the Alevite community etc. were mobilized. Comrade Hasan's mother and father, Emine Ocak and Baba Ocak and his brother and two sisters played a very active and prominent role in this campaign, in which a variety of forms of struggle, both legal and illegal were employed. One of the most militant and effective actions of this campaign was the occupation on 22 April 1995, of the Istanbul provincial center of CHP (Republican People's Party) -one of the two parties of reactionary bourgeois coalition government- which lasted for six days and received an extensive press and TV coverage. The level of exposure of barbaric nature of the fascist regime compelled even quite a number of bourgeois columnists, politicians and parties to openly criticize the reactionary coalition government in hypocritical manner.

Comrade Hasan's heavily tortured body was in the end found on 16 May 1995, after an anonymous phone call revealing the whereabouts of his remains. His remains were taken from the wretched secret grave and prepared for a proper reburial. The following day his family, comrades and friends came together in Human Rights Association building in Istanbul and made an announcement for the press, in which Turkish state was unequivocally blamed for his murder. Baba Ocak, comrade Hasan's father summarized the campaign in these words:

"The foremost desire of all parents is to see their children's wedding. We've organized a two month- long wedding festival for my Hasan. And now we'll arrange the formal marriage ceremony; that is, we'll lay him in his grave in a manner fitting him."

On 20 May 1995, 10,000 of his comrades and friends accompanied him in his last journey in the graveyard of Gazi district. His comrades were sure that he himself would have preferred to be buried just here, alongside many other revolutionary martyrs, very close to the barricades, in front of which he had led the glorious Gazi action in March 1995. The funeral ceremony of comrade Hasan came to be a militant anti-fascist demonstration. Various revolutionary slogans, such as "Hasan Ocak lives, MLCP-F keeps on the struggle!", "Revolutionary martyrs are immortal!", "We want the list of the killers!", "A single fist, a single barricade against fascism!" etc. were shouted as comrade Hasan's coffin covered by a red flag of MLCP-F was lowered in its place and during the demonstration in general.

Notwithstanding the fact that it was the main motive force of the campaign, MLCP-F also tried to transform it into a joint action of all revolutionary and anti-fascist forces and thereby, strengthen their common front and deal a hard blow at sectarian attitude and narrow group mentality, which have very deep roots in revolutionary movement. Portraits of tens of revolutionary and anti-fascist martyred militants were carried both during the whole campaign and the funeral ceremony, representatives of other revolutionary organizations were invited and provided with opportunity to speak to the masses and join the campaign in general.

In the main, this whole campaign proved to be a very successful one. It demonstrated the growing maturity of the most militant and advanced section of communist movement in our country and enabled it to extend its political influence to much broader sections of workers, toilers and youth.

# A NEW STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF UNITY OF ALL COMMUNIST FORCES

In may 1995 Communist Party of Turkey (M-L) /Reconstruction Organization one of the communist groups in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, held its 3rd General Conference and decided on unity with MLCP-F. According to the declaration of the conference, lively discussions and a principled debate were conducted with the perspective of elimination of theoretical and political differences among delegates. In the declaration of the conference it was told that,

"Communist delegates, conscious of and feeling responsibility for the creation of a strong leadership which will carry working class and toiling masses to revolution, decided on unification." Praising the delegates, who had discussed their differences with communist maturity, the declaration spoke also highly of the proletarian democracy exercised at the conference and of the speech and contribution made by the representative of MLCP-F, who was especially invited to the conference. Differences between MLCP-F and CPT (M-L) /RO were also discussed at the conference. At present these two communist organizations disagree on the political character of worker's and peasants' (or workers' and toilers') dictatorship that will be established after the victory in anti-imperialist democratic revolution. MLCP-F thinks its political character to be democratic, since at this stage of the revolution, proletariat will be sharing power with petty bourgeoisie, while CPT (M-L) /RO thinks its political character to be socialist, provided that it is under the leadership of the proletariat. There is also some difference of opinion between two organizations, with regard to the political character (petty bourgeois or Marxist) of predecessors of communist organizations during 1972-79 period, when Maoism had not been definitely rejected and branded as a variant of revisionism, but on the contrary considered and integral part or even a culmination of Marxism-Leninism.

Continuing to consider these differences to be important and pertaining to principles, CPT (M-L) /RO's 3rd General Conference expressed its belief to the effect that these do not and should not hinder the unification of communist forces in a single party, who should strive to eliminate these differences through principled debate. MLCP-F also shares this view, taking into account the existence of common ideological and political basis, which should be strengthened by means of both theoretical debate and joint practical action.

3rd General Conference of CPT (M-L) /RO held under conditions of strict illegality, called on comrades from Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey\* and Revolutionary Communist League of Turkey\*\* to consider the reality, responsibility and tasks of communist movement in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan once more and join forces with MLCP-F and CPT (M-L) /RO.

\* Turkiye Devrimci Komunist Partisi (TDKP)

\*\* Turkiye Ihtilalci Komunistler Birliđi (TIKB)

# "To Solidarity With The Patriotic Forces"

The editorial of the 41st issue of legal weekly of MLCP-F published on 22 July 1995, analyzed the massive hunger strike action of PKK\* political prisoners in the wider context of Kurdish national liberation struggle. Following is a summary for this article.

PKK captives in prison have begun a political campaign -which, of course is coordinated with the actions of PKK forces both in Turkey and in Europe-described as general action'. Captives have organized a hunger strike and their families have started various solidarity actions. They, rightfully are expecting organization of solidarity actions on the part of communist, revolutionary and progressive forces.

As is well known, Kurdish national revolution has constituted the starting point of our united anti-imperialist democratic revolution. At present there exists a stalemate between the forces of Kurdish national liberation struggle and those of colonialist-fascist dictatorship. The latter tries to gain the upper hand through the use of its superiority in terms of military force, whereas the former tries to do the same by mobilizing its reserves on the international arena and isolating the Turkish state.

The political campaign of patriotic forces aims at gaining the support of imperialist states and world democratic public opinion and refuting the propaganda of Turkish reaction to the effect that PKK is not a political movement, but a terrorist organization. It also aims at the exposure of the dictatorship to the utmost and strengthening of diplomatic front of PKK, through the enhancement of the initiative of SKP\*\*. That is the reason why calls for 'political solution' and for peace have been placed at the center of demands put forward.

National liberation movements lacking consistent revolutionary leadership, invariably turn towards diplomatic struggle at a certain stage of their development, due first of all to their 'national' character and this whole process is accompanied by peace initiatives as a general rule. It is obvious that the nature of peace initiative and diplomatic struggle itself, brings forth and strengthens conciliatory tendencies. Imperialists have always attempted at pacifying radical revolutionary movements and shall always behave so, till international proletarian revolution and revolutionary struggles of peoples despatch them to their graves.

To reduce the risks involved in this initiative of patriotic forces, revolutionary and communist movement has no alternative other than advancing workers 'and toilers' mass revolutionary movement in Turkey proper.

Kurdish patriots try to present communist movement as one of the organizations representing Turkish people. Communists are the representatives first of all, of Turkish and Kurdish workers and secondly of all toilers of all nationalities. This reality won't vanish on account of its rejection by patriotic forces. Our aim should be the organization of a united struggle, as the best of all possible options. The question posed under the existing concrete circumstances is this: In whose favor shall the deadlock -between fascist dictatorship and Kurdish national liberation movement- be broken? It is obvious that disinterestedness or neutrality of any sort on this question shall serve reaction. Provision of support for the political campaign of Kurdish patriots and stepping up of work to strengthen revolution in the 'West' shall assist to mature revolutionary opportunities and weaken the dictatorship. On the other hand communists should not tie themselves to the action plan of the Kurdish patriots and they should not risk their political independence. They should make their task of solidarity into a part of their own political work and do this by relying on their own forces. They are able to create bright model of solidarity action with Kurdish patriots on the basis of 'Equality, fraternity and liberty for the Kurdish nation!' slogan. Foundation forces do have the perspective and power to achieve this objective.

\* PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan) -Workers' Party of Kurdistan

\*\* SKP (Surgunde Kurt Parlamentosu) -Kurdish Parliament In Exile

# COMRADE ÖZGÜR IS IMMORTAL!

Özgür Evrim GÖÇEN, candidate member of Ankara Provincial Committee of Communist Youth Organization\* was martyred on 3 May 1995. This 18 years-old communist was taken into custody by the gendarme in the premises of Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ)\*\* and later taken to a hospital by his captors on 2 May 1995. The gendarme alleged that ÖZGÜR was severely wounded when a passing car ran him over, while trying to escape from them. Nobody, except the gendarme had seen the so-called traffic accident. Our comrade died on May the 3rd after a 28hour struggle against death.

This young communist was a model of new revolutionary generation that MLCP-F has been trying to create. Comrade ÖZGÜR who was one of the most militant leaders of ODTÜ student youth, was on the search list of the gendarme. He was especially known for the protest action organized by communist



and revolutionary students against Gorbachev, the ex-president of revisionist ex-Soviet Union. This counter-revolutionary chief had visited ODTÜ on 27 April 1995 to lecture the student body on the 'merits' of capitalism and the futility of fight for revolution and socialism. He was especially invited to our country by Turkish ruling classes to smear revolution and Marxism-Leninism. But communist and revolutionary students welcomed him by various placards and slogans, condemning revisionism and capitalism and praising revolution, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. After a brief speech continually interrupted by protesting students, Gorbachev had to leave the conference hall amidst a shower of tomatoes and eggs. By chasing away this clown of imperialist bourgeoisie ODTÜ youth proved itself worthy of their elder brothers and sisters, who in 1968 had burned the car of R. Commer. This butcher of Vietnamese people was US ambassador to Turkey at that time.

Comrade ÖZGÜR's martyrdom was greeted with anti-fascist actions in the campuses of various universities of Ankara. In these protest actions, various revolutionary slogans, such as "Comrade ÖZGÜR lives, MLCP-F keeps on the struggle!", "A single fist, a single barricade against fascism!" were shouted.

His remains were taken to his birthplace, Balıkesir on 5 May 1995. Despite the repeated attempts of political police to prevent his comrades from turning the funeral procession into an anti-fascist demonstration, comrade ÖZGÜR's last journey became a militant action befitting him. His coffin, covered with a red flag of MLCP-F was carried from his house to the graveyard among placards of MLCP-F CYO by about 400 communist and revolutionary youth. During the funeral procession, his comrades and friends shouted various revolutionary slogans, including "Revolutionary martyrs are immortal!", "Comrade ÖZGÜR is immortal!".

Comrade ÖZGÜR's mother and father took a dignified stand in the face of their son's death. They more than once said that they were proud of having such a son, hosted ÖZGÜR's friends who had come from other cities to accompany him in his last journey and actively resisted the attempts of the police to sabotage the funeral procession.

\* KGÖ (Komünist Gençlik Örgütü)

\*\* METÜ (Middle East Technical University)

# Organizational Life and Party Style

Summary of an article that appeared in the 'Foundation' column of Surge (37th and 38th issues), the legal weekly of MLCP-F

Our way of tackling theoretical, political and organizational questions should be in accord with the great goals we've been aiming at. This can be done sometimes through perfecting the accomplishments of the past and through a complete rupture with the past at other times. What are the basic elements of party style in organizational life? It should be stressed that in pre-party groups individual leadership style and the role of individuals were predominant. Discussions and criticisms often took place at times not in basic party organizations, but in circles of comrades and friends. Party style shall triumph only through a break with such practices. Collective style of leadership should completely displace the individual one and party's fate should be totally free of whims of the individuals, whatever their qualifications. This can be achieved through regular meetings of basic organizations. Of course, we're talking about meetings characterized by party line and party spirit, meetings where all questions on the agenda are investigated and discussed thoroughly and freely expressed ideas, propositions and the will of all members are taken into account. Our advanced detachment is an institution without a boss, an institution where all workers are positioned according to their abilities. In our organization, the use of any criteria other than expectation of moral honor betrays ideological pollution. Here all narrow minded and sectarian leaders should pass through a process of education and recast. All communists should be evaluated not on the basis of sympathies and antipathies, but on the basis of their level of activity, their determination with regard to the defence of party line and on their dynamism and clarity of mind. All attitudes and practices to the contrary should be condemned.

One other important element of organizational life is criticism and self-criticism. For a living organism like the party, to commit mistakes is understandable, But the attitude a party takes towards its mistakes, is one of the criteria of its level of Bolshevization. One of the most important aspects of new or party style pertains to relations between the collective and the individual. Party style, work based on collective wisdom and will, education orientated to strengthening the sense of individual responsibility, provide the individual with the opportunity to contribute all of his or her experience, ability and energy. All party members and especially leading cadres should consider themselves responsible for the whole spectrum of party activities and should energetically intervene in party affairs, both in their units and on other platforms of party. The party is under the obligation to push forward all its cadres by using all legitimate means at its disposal. On the other hand, cadres should give priority to the needs of the party, should learn to be educated by the party and should place, not themselves, but the collective at the center of everything. Otherwise, a communist fighter won't be able to remain so till the end of his or her life. A party member should, without any hesitation be ready to go to any post, where the party needs him or her most. It is obvious that, we're passing through a period of struggle, where we're trying to firmly establish the party style in organizational life, just as in other spheres. A Russian proverb says that the first step is the most difficult one. Marxist-Leninist communists have taken the first step. Now the task is to acquire the party style in its entirety and to wage an open, decisive and conclusive battle against the habits of the world of sects.

# "HANDS OFF DEMOCRATIC KOREA!"

Dear friends,

47 years ago, on July 1953, arms ere silenced at the end of a three-year war, but US imperialist aggression against Korea and Korean people did not come to an end. Millions of Korean workers, peasants and revolutionaries laid down their lives in the glorious resistance against the new gendarme of world capitalism. Could the great Korean people who valiantly fought against and defeated the 40 years-long exploitation and oppression of Japanese imperialists, accept the yoke of US aggressors? Of course not! Despite the lies of imperialists and the bourgeoisie, all class conscious workers and progressive toilers throughout the world know very well that the so-called Korean War was provoked by US imperialists and their Korean puppets, with the aim of preventing the establishment of people's democracy all over Korea and the peaceful unification of the country. Korean reactionaries, who resisted the will of the people after the victory of armed resistance against Japanese imperialism, who killed and wounded tens of thousands of workers, peasants and revolutionaries and tried to crush the People's Committees by force, who feverishly prepared a war of aggression against the People's Republic at the instigation of their US masters were responsible for the spilling of the blood of Korean people. They could have been tried and convicted for their collaboration with Japanese aggressors and Korea could have almost peacefully unified, had Yandee overlords of Korean reaction not interfered in the internal affairs of Korean people.

US imperialists have continued their aggression against and interference in the internal affairs of Korean people ever since. They have stationed tens of thousands of troops in South Korea, have supported their puppets in the South economically, politically and militarily, have tried to isolate Democratic Korea, have organized various provocation's along the 38th parallel under the guise of military manoeuvres, have installed more than 1,000 nuclear warheads in the South and have assisted their South Korean puppets in their repression against the workers, toilers and youth of this country. But in the meanwhile they have made a fanfare about the so-called provocation and aggression stemming from Democratic Korea and have tried to present this peace loving country and its state as 'terrorist'. They have intensified their vile attacks and demagogic propaganda from 1993 on, claiming that Democratic Korea has been trying to build a nuclear arsenal. In their rain attempt to subordinate Democratic Korea and its people, US imperialists have tried to sabotage the peaceful nuclear programme of this country, by also manipulating the International Atomic Energy Agency. And they have tried to destabilize Democratic Korea with the enthusiastic support of their Southern pup-

pets, after the death of great leader of Korean people, Kim il Sung last year. Until now, all these frantic efforts of theirs have backfired and have strengthened the determination of Korean people to defend their independence and gains of the revolution.

US imperialists impudently accuse progressive and peace loving countries of terrorism. But all class conscious workers and progressive toilers the world over, know very well that the biggest and most ferocious terrorist ever resides in Washington D.C.

US imperialists impudently accuse progressive and peace loving countries of building nuclear weapons. But almost everybody on this planet knows very well that they have tried biggest nuclear arsenal, not to mention their vast arsenals of chemical, biological and conventional weapons.

US imperialists impudently accuse progressive and peace loving countries of being anti-democratic and dictatorial. But the world democratic public opinion is aware of the fact that, Yankee reaction is the most consistent supporter of all fascist and military dictatorships throughout the world and has been so at least since the end of the Second World War.

MLCP-F is and will be against the provocative and aggressive actions of US imperialists and their Southern puppets against Democratic Korea and its heroic people. US imperialists, Western European imperialists, Japanese imperialists, Russian imperialists and all reactionary forces have been surrounded by an ocean of proletariat and peoples, who stand in antagonistic contradiction with their exploiters and oppressors. Whatever the difficulties the forces of revolution and socialism are face to face today, the cause of the proletariat and peoples is sure to win. This is also the case in our country. Turkish reactionary ruling classes, who actively contributed to the so called UN mission in Korea in the 1950's and sent troops to this country to fight against Korean people, are themselves being dealt heavy blows by the Kurdish guerrillas and working class, public employees, urban poor and youth of Turkey.

We salute the Korean people who bravely defend their fatherland and its independence!

We salute Korean Worker's Party who has led the Korean people in the construction of a just and humane society!

We salute the millions of martyrs of Korean people who have shed their blood in the long and tortuous struggle for independence and democracy!



# MOTHERS' CONGRESS



A Mothers' Congress was held in Istanbul, on 28 May 1995. The congress, which began to discuss its agenda despite a ban by the police was attended by about 700 mothers. It was organized by Toiling Women's League, a democratic front organization in which members and sympathizers of MLCP- F and other revolutionary organizations are active. Inside the hall mothers were present from various parts of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, such as Diyarbakir, Adana, Antep, Mersin, Eskisehir, Ankara, Istanbul, Balikesir, Corlu, Bandirma, Iskenderun, Bursa, Izmit, as well as delegates from Germany, Palestine and France.

The congress was opened with a minute of silence for the memory of all revolutionary martyrs. Various militant speeches were made by mothers, the representative of Toiling Women's League and foreign delegates denouncing the executions without trial, house and street executions of communists and anti-fascists and wholesale massacre of Kurdish people by death squads, Kontrgerilla organization of Turkish state, the army and Special Teams. Mothers present at the congress vowed to advance their struggle against fascism. They also vowed not to shed tears and not to permit further deaths of their beloved children and to unite their forces to establish a Mothers' League. The slogan of "Comrade Ozgur Is Immortal!" was shouted, as this recently martyred young communist's picture was brought into the hall. Leyla Gocen, the mother of Ozgur Evrim Gocen (Goechen), speaking to the congress, said:

"Ozgur was very young when he died. I will bear the flag he left to me. I'll fight till the very end." A host of mothers took the floor and condemned the killings and executions of reaction and fascism. Delegates from Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and MRAP (France) also spoke at the congress and expressed their solidarity with Kurdish and Turkish workers and toilers and revolutionary mothers of these peoples.

## **SIVAS MASSACRE CONDEMNED**

On 2 July 1995, the second anniversary of Sivas massacre was commemorated in various cities and towns, such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Sivas, Adana, Bursa, Mersin, Diyarbakir, Corlu (Chorloo), Antep, Malatya, Bandirma, Samsun etc. About 100,000 workers, toilers and youth participated in protest marches and other activities.

Two years ago on 2 July 1993, 37 progressive and democratic artists, writers and other people, who were attending a local festivity in the central Anatolian city of Sivas, were burned to death by reactionary fundamentalists. This barbaric massacre of reaction, which was supported and most probably organized by Kontrgerilla -a secret counter-revolutionary organization of Turkish state- had been protested immediately after the incident by hundreds of thousands of revolutionary and anti-fascist workers, toilers and youth in Istanbul and Ankara.

The onslaught of bourgeoisie, reaction and fascism, including the burning of thousands of villages in Northern Kurdistan, forceful evacuation of millions of Kurdish poor peasants from their residences, systematic abduction and killing of communists, revolutionaries and anti-fascists, violent attacks of police and gendarme against strikes and demonstrations of workers, growth of collaboration between Mafia-type gangs, 'civilian' fascist bands and, security' forces of the state have not been able to extinguish flames of revolutionary struggle, which has been growing day by day, Demonstrations and other protest actions organized in memory of Sivas martyrs on 2 July 1995 provided further proof of this.

Demonstrators, who exhibited a militant mood shouted various slogans, including "Sivas shall be revenged", "A single fist, a single barricade against fascism!", "Long live the brotherhood of peoples!" etc.

## **TRAITOR PUNISHED**

On 7 June 1995 Red Detachments, the military organization of MLCP-F punished a traitor who was directly responsible for the massacre of six communists about three years ago. Hasan Cicek (Chichek), Muslim Akyol, Saim Bozkurt, Ertan Uzunyayla, Mehmet Besken (Beshken) and Erdogan Tatar were martyred by the Turkish military who laid an ambush for our comrades, on receiving information from the traitor Mehmet Demir, In a declaration issued by Kurdistan Committee of MLCP-F on 11 June 1995 the traitor was described as "a person who had sold his body and soul to the enemy, an enemy of the people and revolution, an accomplice of the military and the police who helped the enemy to massacre our comrades". After being taken to the place of execution, the traitor was informed of the decision of MLCP-F Kurdistan Committee about him and the sentence was carried out by shooting. Members of Red Detachments vowed to fight to the end against fascism and its tools and shouted various revolutionary slogans before leaving the scene of execution.

# To "CUBA VIVE" INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL

Dear Friends,

Our world has been passing through a period of reaction since the 1980's. After the collapse of revisionist -capitalist camp and the capitulation of socialist Albania, US imperialism and its allies and lackeys have organised a full scale attack on Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, socialism, revolution and social liberation movements.

We believe that the lull in the struggle of world proletariat and peoples, is a temporary one. We also want to express our firm belief that coming decades will witness to the birth of a new wave of October revolutions and to a gigantic surge in the struggle of the peoples of the world, Advancement of anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle against world imperialism, at the head of which stands US imperialism, is a burning question and one of the foremost tasks of all peoples. In this context we wish this meeting to be a powerful and militant forum against US imperialism and its allies.

Dear friends,

Yankee imperialism, the bloody hangman of international proletariat and of the peoples of the world has incessantly attacked Cuba and Cuban people since the victory of Cuban revolution in 1959. The brave Cuban people and youth have defied this onslaught which aims at the colonization of Cuba and the reestablishment of Batista's oppressive and exploitative regime.

We believe that Cuban people will not allow such a thing to happen and Cuba will remain a steel ball that can't be swallowed by Yankee imperialism. We believe that this meeting will mark a milestone in the growing international solidarity with Cuba.

Dear friends,

CYO (Communist Youth Organisation) which is the mass organisation of communist youth of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, is fighting against fascist regime of Turkish ruling classes under the guidance of MLCP-F (Marxist Leninist Communist Party-Foundation). CYO, which is the youth organisation of MLCP-F, is the most militant and powerful revolutionary youth organisation in our country. And although functioning under conditions of illegality, it is organized in 35 of our country's 71 provinces. Since the establishment of MLCP-F in September 1994 over the union of two communist organisation at a Unity Congress, four fighters of MLCP-F have been martyred (Erdal BALCI, Sengul BORAN, O. Evrim GOCEN and Hasan OCAK), the first three of which were also the members of CYO.

MLCP-F and CYO are for friendly relations, solidarity and exchange of information and experience between all organisations fighting against imperialism and reaction. We are for united and militant struggle of toiling youth of the world against world imperialism. We support Cuban people's conscious, brave and noble struggle against US imperialism and greet you in the name of youth of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, and wish you success in your work.

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!  
LONG LIVE ANTI-IMPERIALIST RESISTANCE OF CUBAN PEOPLE!  
DOWN WITH YANKEE IMPERIALISM!  
LONG LIVE REVOLUTION, LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!

MLCP-F CYO  
29 July 1995

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