

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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# RED DAWN

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# PREFACE

In our country, 1996 has been a year, when the barbaric fascist dictatorship of collaborationist-monopolist bourgeoisie has failed to crush Kurdish national liberation movement in Northern Kurdistan and to destroy revolutionary and communist movement in Turkey proper. Despite the vacillations of PKK("Workers' Party of Kurdistan") with regard to a "peaceful and political solution" of the Kurdish problem and its efforts to come to an agreement with Turkish fascism, armed struggle has been going on. Discontent of the masses and the mass movement in Turkey proper have continued to grow; and so has the influence of communist and revolutionary movement. The glorious action of 1 May 1996, where hundreds of thousands of workers and toilers took to the streets, May-July hunger strike action of 2,000 political captives that won the active and moral support of progressive sections of the population, August-November struggle of Tuzla workers culminating in a local general strike and 250,000-strong protest action of workers in Ankara on 5 January 1997, are cases in point.

Disillusionment of the people with the traditional bourgeois and reactionary parties had kept on contributing to the growth of RP(Welfare Party). Polling 21 per cent of the popular vote, it emerged as the biggest bourgeois party in the early general elections held in December 1995. And after months of behind the scenes bargaining, Welfare Party of Erbakan and True Path Party of Ciller set up a "new" counter-revolutionary government in July 1996, in line with the military clique, the real source of power. One must admit that, there are important contradictions between RP and its Islamist allies on the one hand and the military clique and traditional bourgeois and reactionary parties on the other, which reflect only to a certain extent the contradiction between the middle bourgeoisie and big bourgeoisie and differences with regard to foreign policy. The existing tensions between the party of religious reaction and other forces of the established order, however have not prevented them from acting in concert against the workers and toilers, against Kurdish people and against the forces of revolution, national liberation and communism. In fact, Welfare Party~True Path Party coalition government boast of being extremely successful in "fighting against terrorism", a favorite cliché pronounced by all reactionary governments. Welfare Party's participation in the government as a senior partner, on the other hand, helped to expose its anti-popular and reactionary character in the eyes of the masses and to a great extent dispersed their delusion to the effect that this party is somewhat different and better than the others. Apart

from actively supporting the dirty war against Kurdish people and national liberation movement and continuing the policy of suppression against mass actions of workers, public employees and youth and of communist and revolutionary forces in Turkey proper, the "new" coalition government have also proved to be a faithful ally or rather servant of US and Western European imperialists. Despite its pretensions to an anti-Western, anti-Zionist and pro-Islamic foreign policy orientation, Welfare Party-led government have obediently applied the directives of IMF and World Bank, pressed forward with the privatization of state enterprises, mostly in favor of imperialist firms and signed a military cooperation agreement with Israel itself. The car accident that took place in Susurluk town on November the 3rd, has not only occasioned to the exposure of the degenerate and mafiosi character of Turkish army and state and their role in a host of massacres and drug trafficking. It also has helped to expose the Welfare Party-True Path Party coalition government and their collusion and cooperation with the official bandits of the General Staff and Kontrgerilla\*. Masses are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the bloodthirsty fascist regime of Turkish bourgeoisie is rotten to the core and it should be done away with once and for all.

**5 January 1997**



(\*)This Turkish version of Gladio is a clandestine counter-revolutionary terrorist organization directly linked to Turkish General Staff, and responsible for murders, massacres, "disappearances" and torture against Kurdish and Turkish peoples and revolutionary forces.

# MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY

## ON THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

**An answer to Communist Party of Japan/Left**

Dear comrades,

We've received your letter dated September 16, 1996. In it you ask us to present our views and analysis about the latest situation the Middle East after the Second Gulf War of 1991 in general and the situation in Southern Kurdistan (Northern Iraq), in particular, inquire about the strategy and tactics of US and other imperialist powers, the tendencies of the reactionary ruling forces, the peoples' and the Kurdish question. We'll try to present our views and comments in the following pages.

It is almost impossible to assess the situation in the Middle East in such a short time and space. So the following analysis will inevitably be a very cursory one.

It is needless to say that the Middle East has been and remains a vitally important region for world capitalism and imperialism, first of all due to its abundant oil resources. Its geostrategic position between Asia, Africa and Europe has been and is another important factor explaining the "interest" all great powers have exhibited and been exhibiting towards this region. We only need to remember that, even before the discovery and widespread use of oil in industry, the great powers of the second half of the 19th century, Britain, France, Russia etc. had been paying the present age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, with the discovery of rich oil resources and its growing geostrategic importance, control of this region has acquired still greater significance. The above-mentioned factors have been the main reason behind the endless interventions of various imperialist powers in the internal affairs of the aggravation of all contradictions in this region and thus have led to the growing discontent, opposition an revolutionary struggles of Arab, Persian, Kurdish, Turkish etc. workers and peoples against the damnation and exploitation of imperialist powers and local reaction.

The last Iraqi-US crisis began with the military defeat of the forces of PUK, that is Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (J. Talabani faction) by the forces of DPK, that is Democratic Party of Kurdistan (M. Barzani faction). US imperialists,

who had tried to bring the two factions together and help them to establish the nucleus of a Kurdish state under their patronage, especially since the rout of Iraqi armies in the Second Gulf War of 1991, were already fed up with the long lasting rivalry and nasty war between the two. What had angered the US Imperialists this time, however was not only the failure of their endeavours to brokers a "peace" between the tow, but also the fact that one often see war-lords (M. Barzani) had forged a military alliance with Iraq and the other (Talabani) with Iran, both of whom are on very bad terms with Washington. What's more, the victory of Barzani forces at the end of August, provided a pretext for S. Hussein clique to position their troops in Northern Iraq (Southern Kurdistan) for the first time since 1991. At that point, US sent Cruise and Tomahawk missiles to Iraqi communication facilities and air defence systems to the south of Baghdad, took steps to isolate Iraq and began talks with its imperialist allies and its lackeys in the region for a possible military engagement with Iraqi forces. Iraq was forced to withdraw its forces back, below the 36th parallel and Barzani once more pledged loyalty to the US, after its easy victory over Talabani. To take advantage of the instability in Southern Kurdistan, Turkish fascist regime massed about 60,000 troops in its border region with Iraq and declared its intention to form a buffer zone **inside** Iraq, allegedly to prevent the guerrillas of PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan) from infiltrating into Southeastern Turkey (Northern Kurdistan). On the other hand, towards the end of September, clashes between Palestinian youth and police on the hand Israeli "security" forces on the other, would temporarily overshadow the Iraqi-US tension. A closer look at the Middle Eastern scene, however will reveal the fact that the two questions of Palestine and Kurdistan are interrelated and are becoming more so with the passage for time. To understand this connection better, we'll start our brief analysis by taking a look at the historical background of the crisis in the Middle East.

At present the tow most important foci of resistance against the imperialist and reactionary status quo in this region are the liberation struggles of peoples of Palestine (in West Bank and Gaza Strip) and Kurdistan (in Turkey). To these, one might add to a certain extent, the protracted resistance of South Lebanese people to Israeli aggression. Establishment of the Zionist state in 1948 and the ensuing tortuous struggles of Arab peoples in general and Palestinian people in particular against this agency of imperialism had dominated the Middle Eastern scene throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. During the 1980s, the national liberation movement of people Northern Kurdistan had joined hands with the seemingly enfeebled Palestinian revolution and since then has been dealing heavy blows at Turkish reaction, one of the main props of US and Western European imperialists in this region. Of course, this state of affairs should not lead one to underestimate or forget the other and **potentially** more radical foci of revolution, such as the proletariat of capitalistically more developed countries, first of all Turkey and Iran. Revolutionary fermentation and anti-fascist and anti-capitalist struggles of workers, toiling peasants and youth in Turkey during the second half of 1970s coupled with the revolutionary upheaval in Iran and the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet social-imperialists- had forced US imperialism and

Turkish ruling classes to carry out a military coup in September 1980. On the other hand, the glorious resistance of Iranian working class and people had topped the monarchist-fascist dictatorship of Shah Reza Pahlavi in 1979 and brought about a people's revolution, which would degenerate due to the rise and under the leadership of Khomeyni clique. While the revolutionary mass movement of workers, youth, public employees etc. in Turkey has been rising and displaying significant vitality and militancy, especially since 1987, there has been no perceptible and sustained revolutionary mass movement in Iran since the consolidation of the power of mullahs, apart from short and bloody outbreaks, mainly due to brutal repression, chauvinist atmosphere created with the help of the long war with Iraq (between 1980 and 1988) and reactionary Islamic indoctrination of the masses. It, however won't be unfair to allege that at present the pacification, liquidation and destruction of Palestinian and Kurdish national liberation movements, which stand at the forefront of the struggle of the peoples of the Middle East constitute the basic direction of imperialist strategy in the region.

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Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and siege and bombardment of Beirut in 1982, the bases and political influence of PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) were all but destroyed. This heavy defeat has proved to be a turning point and provided the objective conditions for the Arafat clique, the representative of Palestine national bourgeoisie, to push ahead with its capitulationist policy. In the absence of a consistent revolutionary leadership, the **intifadah** of Palestinian youth and people, which began in November 1987, was utilized by Arafat and Co. to further deepen their pro-imperialist and pro-Israeli stand. Long before the proclamation of an "independent Palestinian state" in Algeria on November 15, 1988 "chairman" Arafat was sending signals of conciliation and capitulation to the enemies of Palestinian people. Later, the opportunist gamble the Arafat clique played by supporting the Iraqi militarists' invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 (which provided the of pretext for the US and its allies to attack Iraq) backfired after the shameful defeat of the former and further and further weakened and isolated PLO economically and politically. Still it was far too difficult for the right wing ("Likud" bloc) or the "left" wing ("Labor Party") of the fanatically aggressive Zionist bourgeoisie to substitute the method of force with the method of "liberalism". The guiding hand of their American overlords, however would once more come to the rescue and facilitate the arrangement of the secret talks that resulted in the notorious Rabin-Arafat "peace" accord of September 1993. But, the course of events since the Oslo accord has amply shown that the US imperialists were not for a real peace, but for a false solution of Palestinian problem, that is for an alliance between the Zionist bourgeoisie and the weak and vacillating Palestinian national bourgeoisie under the auspices of US imperialism against Palestinian People and revolution. The US imperialists and their Zionist agents had developed on Arafat clique the contemptible task of suppression of Palestinian revolution. Their impudence and inflexibility and the failure of the "international community", that is world imperialism to honour their commitments of financial "support" however, did not leave Arafat clique any room to conduct false and

deceitful manoeuvres. While Arafat and Co. built up a powerful repressive apparatus designed to contain the revolutionary opposition of Palestinian people. This state of affairs was being done to mitigate the appalling conditions of Palestinian people. This state of affairs was compounded by the frequent bans imposed on Palestinian workers employed in Israel and Zionists' reluctance in implementing the terms of the Oslo accord, such as the redeployment of Israeli troops in el-Khalil (Hebron). This, in a few words has been the background on which the latest, September 1996 clashes that left more than 80 dead and nearly 1,000 injured have taken place. These clashes which began over a seemingly trivial matter -the digging of an archaeological tunnel under el-Aqasa Mosque- have proved to be the last straw and in fact killed the so-called peace process completely. The history of revolutionary struggles of peoples in general and the history of revolutionary struggle of Palestinian people have time and again proved that Palestinian question can be solved and a real peace can be achieved only through a revolution, the overthrow the Zionist enemy and destruction of the power and influence of its imperialist masters. It won't be unfair to say that Israeli army itself, had long before the latest clashes, proclaimed the Palestinian Israeli peace dead, through its attack on Southern Lebanon back in April 1996. One should not forget that, this so-called Operation Grapes of Wrath, which brought about the massacre of more than 200 people, was conducted during the term of office of S. Peres, one of the chief representatives of the "left" wing of the Zionist bourgeoisie. And it was obvious that the election victory of "Likud" bloc, which brought B. Netanyahu and his allies further to the right to power with a slim majority on May 29, 1996, would only help to intensify the simmering conflict. The aggressive attitude Netanyahu administration has been exhibiting during and following the September 1996 uprising and its insistence on putting the blame on the Palestinian for the latest clashes confirms this analysis.

As to the second and presently the more vigorous of these two most important foci of revolution in our region, Kurdish national liberation movement, we'll say the following. Kurds, whose country has mainly been divided between Turkey, Iran and Iraq and partly Syria, have rebelled against the yoke of colonialist ruling classes time and again. However, these struggles were not crowned with victory, principally because they were not led by consistently revolutionary parties, but by traditional feudal-bourgeois cliques, who were and are easily manipulated, deceived or even purchased by imperialist powers and/or local reaction. At present the relatively strong Kurdish movement in Southern Kurdistan and the relatively weak one in Eastern Kurdistan (Western Iran) are led by such traditional leaderships, which do not pose a real threat to imperialism and local reaction. Democratic Party of Kurdistan and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan have been most two most important groups in Southern Kurdistan and will probably remain to be so in the near future, despite the withdrawal of PUK forces to Iran, the wake of recent military defeat inflicted on it by DPK forces. These two traditional bourgeois-feudal leaderships, which derive their power from the different tribes they represent, have been more and more discredited in the course of the guerrilla war conducted in Northern Kurdistan by PKK. Tactical alliances they have formed with Turkish army's mil-



itarists against PKK, their passivity in the face of and compliance with the Turkish army's military incursions into Southern Kurdistan, allegedly to pursue PKK guerrillas, their inability to stand to S. Hussein's battered army's onslaught in the aftermath of Second Gulf War, when they had a chance to form a Kurdish state and end their shifting alliances with various imperialist powers and reactionary forces of the region, have damaged their prestige even more. The situation, however is different in Northern Kurdistan, where a petty-bourgeois nationalist party (PKK) has been waging a successful guerrilla warfare against colonialist-fascist regime of Turkish ruling classes since 1984. Turkish army has not been able to defeat PKK and prevent it from growing politically and militarily up to a certain point. It however has been able to prevent PKK from consolidation its hold on certain parts of Northern Kurdistan, due to the relative weakness of revolutionary mass movement in Turkey proper and PKK's vacillations with regard to a so-called political or peaceful solution. But even to achieve and maintain this position of stalemate, Turkish militarists had had to mass hundreds of thousands of troops, special teams and "village guards", massacre tens of thousands of Kurdish peasants and youth and exercise a "scorched earth" policy, which has resulted in the evacuation and burning of thousands of Kurdish villages and displacement of millions of Kurdish peasants.

At present, one of the main dangers for the revolutionary struggle of Kurdish and Turkish workers and toilers springs from the petty-bourgeois viewpoint and narrow nationalist policies of PKK. This viewpoint and such policies lead this party to a search for an accommodation with Turkish ruling classes, under the auspices of imperialism, not unlike the one effected in Palestine. If this has not happened, despite the willingness of PKK leadership to come to terms with Turkish reaction, it is mainly due to the almost irrational inflexibility of the latter. So, the key question in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan is and remains the raising of the level of already fighting masses of workers, semi-proletarians, youth, public employees etc. the solution of the problem of revolutionary leadership of fighting masses in Turkey proper on the ground and further development of the joint front of workers and other revolutionary classes and strata in Turkey proper with the national liberation struggle of Kurdish people led by PKK. And this is exactly what Marxist-Leninist Communist party is striving to do and is doing in practice. We can definitely say that the Kurdish problem in our country and in the Middle East in general, can only be solved through the joint and united struggle of Turkish (and Persian, Arabic etc.) and Kurdish workers and toilers and their victory against fascism, imperialism and capitalism and the establishment of workers' and toilers' Soviet republics.

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Marxist-Leninists and all consistent revolutionaries the world over the strongly and unequivocally condemned the vicious aggression of US and other imperialists against Iraq. They have also condemned the uninterrupted intervention of imperialist powers in the internal affairs of this country, prescription of so-called no flight zones and especially the economic embargo imposed on Iraq, which has brought so much misery and privation upon the

poor and been instrumental in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of children, elderly and the sick. Therefore, they are duty bound to condemn both in words and in action, the latest bombardment of Iraqi targets by US warplanes and warships on September 3, 1996 and military preparations made against this country, under the pretext of defence of the rights of Kurds and Shiites. Their defence of the interests of Iraqi proletariat and people of all nationalities and their condemnation of the piratical attitude of imperialist powers toward Iraq, however do not in the least signify and y sympathy or support for the bloodthirsty militarist clique of S. Hussein. It was none other than this clique, who had fought the First Gulf War against Iran between 1980-88 with the support of US, Soviet Union and Western European powers. This war not only provided the Khomeyni clique with the opportunity to crush the forces of Iranian revolution by stirring up Persian chauvinism and curbing the democratic freedoms won in the struggle against the Pahlavi monarchy, but also cost the lives of more than 600,000 people and weekend both Iran and Iraq, to the benefit of imperialist powers. It was this clique who, apart from maintaining a systematic policy of repression against all Iraqi people in general and Kurds in the North and Shiites in the South in particular, had massacred more than 2,000 Kurdish residents of Halepce town, mostly women children and the elderly, in March 1988 by poison gas. It was this clique, who tried to transform Iraq into a regional superpower, with the aid of imperialist powers, such as France, Soviet Union and of oil-rich Arab countries. And it was this clique, who led its "own" country and people to a shameful defeat and destruction at the hands of imperialist powers in the wake of its Kuwaiti adventure and assisted US imperialists to, at least partly rid themselves of their "Vietnam syndrome". Therefore, it is imperative for all consistent revolutionary parties to oppose all undertakings to portray this clique of butchers, torturers and despots as an "anti-imperialist force" and to totally reject all attempts to support it in the so-called interests of struggle against imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular. Our Marxist-Leninist theory and the extremely rich of liberation struggles of proletariat and peoples the world over teach us that the struggle against imperialism is **inseparable** form the struggle against local reaction and lackeys of imperialism. As consistent revolutionaries, we Marxist-Leninists are and must be for a revolutionary solution in Iraq too. And that would require the unification of Arab, Kurdish, Turcoman etc. workers and toilers, against both imperialism and Iraqi militarism under the banner of a workers' and toilers' Soviet republic, which upon the completion of the tasks of anti-imperialist democratic revolution will pass uninterruptedly into socialist revolution.

It is quite understandable that the bourgeois median in Japan or any other country will try to do everything in their power to justify imperialist aggression, intervention, embargo etc. against Iraq, in the name of human rights or opposition against the despotism of S. Hussein clique. That's routine excuse, capitalist and imperialist powers have used and been using to maintain their domination over the peoples of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries and to perpetuate the ideological subordination of their "own" workers to their exploiters. One of the most important tasks of Marxist-Leninists the world over, therefore is to explode the myth of "white man's burden", to expose the com-

pletely hypocritical nature of bourgeois democracy in general and bourgeois-imperialist defence of "human rights" in particular and to show on the basis of their own counter-revolutionary practice, that imperialists are really the **main source of all reaction** throughout the world.

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Now we can assess the current situation in the Middle East in comparison with the conditions that preceded the crisis leading to the Second Gulf War. It should be born in mind that, although the recent Iraqi-US crisis has been overshadowed by the September 1996 insurrection of Palestinian youth and the police against Israeli "security" forces, it is not too difficult to discern an inner connection between these two long-standing questions of the region. It is obvious that the last Iraqi-US crisis culminating in the bombardment of Iraqi targets by US imperialists and the September 1996 insurrection of Palestinian people, have developed in quite a dissimilar regional and global context than the one which led to the mounting of Operation Desert Storm against Iraq in January 1991. At that time, revisionist regimes about the assumed merits of "free market economy" and "bourgeois democracy". Social-imperialist Soviet Union, was in its death throes and Alia revisionist clique had led socialist Albania down the road of capitulation. Then, US imperialists were able to present themselves as the sole and unrivalled leader of the world and the guardian of peace, democracy, justice. They could herald the birth of a truly "New World Order" and utilize to pro-imperialist euphoria thus created to isolate the S. Hussein clique in the eyes of great masses of the world. On the other hand, in 1991 various imperialist powers none of them wanted to see a greater and economically, politically and militarily stronger Iraq whose oil riches were almost doubled with the occupation of Kuwait and who could threaten and change the status quo in this extremely sensitive region.

And what is the situation today?

**Firstly**, imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular have lost the ideological and psychological superiority they enjoyed at the time. This time US imperialists are to a great extent seen and exposed as a bully, who not only has starved Iraqi people to death, crippled Iraq through an economic embargo that has been lasting for more than five years, humiliated it by restricting its jurisdiction over its "own" territory, but also arbitrarily punished Iraq just because it tried to restore its "legitimate" authority in Northern Iraq.

**Secondly**, contradiction among imperialist powers have aggravated in the meantime. One should remember the difference between the almost total subordination of the Soviet Union tot the US in 1991 and the Russian of 1996 which at least tries to contend with the US in Eastern Europe, in Caucasia, in former Yugoslavia and even in the Middle East and the growth and strengthening of anti-US and anti-Western feelings and policies in this country. And one should remember the differences between the Germany and Japan of 1991, who were tailing US obediently and the Germany and Japan of 1996, who are contending more and more fiercely with the US, one in Eastern Europe and the Middle East and the other in the Pacific region. IN fact, it won't be incorrect to allege that the whole system of relationships between US imperialism on the one hand and German and Japanese imperialism on the other,

established in the wake of the Second World War are undergoing a radical change. This, of course is due mainly to the collapse of "bipolar" world political system, where the main actors were US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism **and** to the growth of the imperial ambitions of Germany and Japan (which is closely associated with the relative strengthening of these powers in accordance with the law of uneven development of capitalism); but it has had and will continue to have its effects upon the Middle Eastern scene as well.

**Thirdly**, at present, S. Hussein clique is in no position to threaten any other country seriously. US imperialists had effectively separated Northern Iraq from the rest of the country after the Second Gulf War, under the pretext of defence of the rights of the Kurds (of Southern Kurdistan), established so-called no fly zones inside Iraq and initiated the so-called Operation Provide Comfort, imposed a crippling economic embargo against this country and degraded it through endless weapons inspections and US-inspired UN resolutions. All these have made Iraq much weaker economically and militarily than it was on the eve of the Second Gulf War. Oil sheikhdoms of the Persian Gulf, such as United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahreyn and Kuwait and even Saudi Arabia herself are more worried about the "threat from Iran" and the support this country has been accused of giving to radical fundamentalist groups on their soil, than Iraqi militarists.

**Fourthly**, US-sponsored "solutions" for the Palestinian and Kurdish questions have all but failed, at least for now. Discontent and opposition of Palestinian people have found expression in the spread of unauthorized demonstrations and armed actions against Israeli military and civilian targets and resistance against eviction of Palestinians from their residential areas and the establishment of Israeli settlements on their soil. These also have found expression in the growth of non-revolutionary radical groups, such as HAMAS and Islamic Jihad and lastly the uprising of September 1996. On the other hand, the recent clashes in Northern Iraq have frustrated US imperialists in their long-standing efforts to broker a "peace" between Barzani and Talabani factions and thus their plan to form the nucleus of a Kurdish state under their patronage. One of the most important aims of this projected state, was the sabotage and destruction of PKK-led revolutionary national liberation movement in Northern Kurdistan and the blocking of revolutionary politicization of the Kurdish masses in Southern (and Eastern) Kurdistan. So far, these plans have not been realized. Following the military operation of Iraqi and DPK troops in Northern Iraq, US imperialists were obliged to transfer the headquarters of the Operation Provide Comfort which in fact was designed to assist Kurds to establish their own pro-imperialist "state" from Zaxo, a town in Northern Iraq to Silopi, in Southeastern Turkey. The withdrawal of the military personnel commissioned in Zaxo and of the US and Western European civilian agents operating there under the umbrella of so-called NGO's (Non-Governmental Organizations) have all together constituted an important setback for Washington. In the short run US imperialists have been obliged to tacitly come to terms with Turkey (and with Iran and Iraq) who for quite different, but equally reactionary reasons (preservation of their "territorial integrity" and the maintenance of the system of national oppression against their "own"

Kurdish minorities) of their own, do not want to see or hear of anything resembling a Kurdish state.

**Fifthly**, US dream of a Pax Americana between Israel and the Arab world in genera is floundering. After the signing of Oslo "peace" accord in September 1993 and adoption of first steps towards its implementation, there was some apparent progress on that front. Egyptian-Israeli relations became better; some of the Persian Gulf countries and Jordan established diplomatic relations with Israel and began to develop their commercial ties to this country, peace talks between Syria and Israel were initiated with the prospect of a lasting settlement. But, all this apparent progress has proved to be a fiasco, mainly due to the disconnect and opposition of peoples of the region. This became manifest, especially following the Operation Grapes of Wrath Israeli army mounted in April 1996, after a Hizbollah attack on Israeli soldiers in Southern Lebanon. At that point 21 Arab countries, with the exception of Iraq held a summit meeting in Cairo between 21 and 23 June 1996, the first such event since 1991. On the other hand, beginning from the end of 1995 the emergence of an Israeli-Turkish axis under the patronage of US, has dealt another blow at this dream. Israeli-Turkish military and political rapprochement's is both a product of the struggles of Palestinian and Kurdish people and a declaration of the formation of a joint front against these two most important foci of revolution in the Middle East. (In accordance with the clauses of the military cooperation agreement signed in June 1996 between Turkey and Israel, the latter has accepted to help the former in its long and bloody struggle against PKK guerrillas) The fact of the mater is that, this rapprochement signifies the formation of a joint front against Syria and Iran too, which also happen to be targeted by US imperialism. The formation of such a bloc, coupled with the deadlock in Palestine however, denotes abandonment of all hope to patch up relations between Israel and the Arab world. One must only remember the fact that, Israeli-Turkish rapprochement was already being criticized during the abovementioned Arab summit. In the course of this last crisis, even the hints dropped by Turkey, with regard to its intention to form a so-called buffer zone in Northern Iraq have been protested much more loudly by almost all Arab countries and rejected, at least formally, by Western European and Russian imperialists.

In passing, we should add that the establishment of a coalition government between Dogru Yol Partisi (True Path Party), one of the main representatives of pro-US collaborationist-monopolist bourgeoisie, and reactionary Islamic Refah Partisi (Welfare Party) in July 1996, has not changed and can not change the basic direction and parameters of internal and foreign policies of Turkish ruling classes.

These, in a few words, are the main reasons why, US imperialism has not been able to form a united front against Iraq and was in a sense isolated during the last crisis. It is not surprising to see that, Russia, China and France - of course, for their own imperialist ends- did not support the stand of the US in the UN Security Council. Although they did not criticize the position of the US; Germany and Japan did not offer a real support to it. Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and to a certain extent even Jordan did not support the latest US

aggression against Iraq both for their own reactionary ends and because they have to keep an eye on the masses, who throughout the Middle East feel great amount of sympathy towards the Palestinian people.

S.Hussein clique was able to send its troops to the North of the country for the first time since 1991 and help Barzani faction to inflict a defeat on Talabani faction. Awaiting themselves of the tactical alliance they had forged with Barzani faction and having secured the positive neutrality of Turkish fascist regime, Iraqi militarists were able to enter the city of Erbil in the North, deal a heavy blow at CIA-controlled Iraq National Congress and detain and punish hundreds of local CIA agents, thousands of which were evacuated through Turkey. It is obvious that, this move signified a tactical political victory for S Hussein clique and a tactical political defeat for US imperialism. This time Iraqi militarists had correctly assessed the correlation of forces and were able to take advantage of the growing rift between imperialist countries. They also were able to exploit the soft spot of Turkish ruling classes, who are mortally afraid of the prospect of the establishment of a Kurdish state in Northern Iraq. They are well aware of the fact that neither Turkey, nor Iran are for any Kurdish state in Southern Kurdistan, since this would ignite nationalist passions of Kurds living in Northern and Eastern Kurdistan and inevitably lead to greater resistance against their colonialist masters in these sections of Kurdistan.

To this tactical move of S. Hussein clique, US imperialists have reacted by bombarding radar and other military installations in **Southern** Iraq. Thus, they have indicated that, at least in the short run they have lost interest in the formation of a Kurdish state in Northern Iraq and that they won't tolerate any possible Iraqi encroachments against Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, which are the main suppliers of oil to the imperialist countries. This, naturally does not mean that Washington has lost its leverage in this region and that it will not be one of the decisive external actors, if not the only decisive one, in the power play that will go on in Iraq in general and in Northern Iraq in particular.

And Middle East will remain as one of the Achilles' heels of world imperialism. The intensification of the war between Turkish army and PKK guerrillas around the long indistinct border between Northern Kurdistan and Southern Kurdistan (or Southeastern Turkey and Northern Iraq) during the last couple of weeks and the prospect of still more extensive clashes in the occupied territories and inside Israel itself in the wake of the unsuccessful summit between B. Clinton, B. Netanyahu, Y. Arafat and King Hussein on 1-2 October 1996 constitute fresh proof that the proletariat and people of this region will have tread a hard and tortuous road to be able to live in dignity and build a humane society. But communists and all true revolutionaries are not afraid of fighting and making sacrifices to this end; and so shall be the masses. As Lenin said:

"The school of civil war does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school, and its complete curriculum inevitably includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. But only down-right pedants and mentally decrepit mummies can grieve over the fact that nations are entering this painful school; this school teaches the oppressed classes how to conduct civil war; it teach how to bring about a victorious rev-

olution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves that hatred with which is always harboured by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to the greater historic exploits."

\* \* \* \*

The Gordian knot of questions, including Kurdish and Palestinian ones, that make up the Middle Eastern question can and will be solved only through the revolutionary action of the proletariat and peoples of this region. Neither so-called bourgeois nationalist forces, nor Islamic fundamentalist groups can provide a satisfactory answer to the problems of the exploited and oppressed masses, destroy imperialism and local reaction root and branch. Only, parties armed with the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism and marching at the head of proletariat and other exploited and oppressed classes and strata can perform this historic task, win victory in anti-imperialist democratic revolution and pass uninterruptedly into socialist revolution. In the absence or weak position of such parties, the growing discontent and opposition of the masses will inevitably find and are finding other and non-revolutionary channels. Therefore, the solution of the question of leadership of revolution is and remains a matter of life and death. Only by solving this question in the midst of the storm of revolutionary mass struggle can the consistent revolutionary forces, win the politically advanced section and gradually, the majority of the working class and through it the masses in general and establish the hegemony of the proletariat, in the struggle against imperialists, Zionists and Turkish, Arab and Persian reactionary ruling classes.

With communist greetings  
October 3, 1996



# MARTYDOM OF A MILITANT COMMUNIST



Ali Haydar Gocer (Goecher), one of founding members of MLKP and a commander of Red Detachments, the military branch of MLKP was murdered in cold blood on August the 9th, 1996. Our comrade was captured after an armed clash on 7th August in Bahcelievler district of Istanbul, In which a policeman was killed and another wounded. Comrade Gocer himself was wounded in the clash and was taken to hospital by the police, which began immediately to torture him there. His captors killed him at the hospital under torture, after hearing the death of their wounded colleague. They did it, despite the fact that the day before, the physicians in charge at the hospital had assured our comrade's family and the representative of Human Rights Association in Istanbul of his health and were expecting him to recover.

Comrade Gocer's remains were taken from the mortuary by his comrades and family, who defied the obstruction and threats of the police and were brought in front of his house in Ikitelli district of Istanbul. 600 of his comrades received Ali Haydar Gocer. Despite a heavy police presence and blockade, his comrades and neighbours in this working class district decorated his coffin with flowers, took it to their shoulders and started to march to the Yenibosna cemetery amid slogans, such as "Revolutionary Martyrs Are Immortal!", "Comrade Ali Haydar Lives, MLKP Continues The Fight!". Before he was laid to rest in his tomb, a minute of silence was observed, slogans shouted and revolutionary songs chanted. The efforts of the police to thwart the march and the ceremony at the cemetery were rebuffed.



# FIRST CONGRESS OF KGO HELD

*First congress of KGO (Communist Youth Organisation, youth branch of MLKP) was held in Turkey, in August 1996 under conditions of strict illegality. Here we present a very brief summary of the declaration of the congress, which called on all revolutionary and progressive youth to get united in the ranks KGO, under the leadership of MLKP and under the banner of Marxism-Leninism*

1. Congress of KGO is held. Our Congress is a challenge to the fascist dictatorship. Our Congress which was convened under intense police harassment and attack began with the chanting of the International and a moment of silence for the martyrs. It symbolised our devotion to Marxism-Leninism and our lofty ideal, communism.

1. Congress of KGO salutes MLKP, our party who initiated the Unity Revolution in our country; our teachers, Marx Engels, Lenin, Stalin; our beloved martyrs; death fast and hunger strike fighters, the architects of the victories won in the Yildiz, Taksim, Kizilay, Beyazit, Konak squares, of Yildiz, Eskisehir, DTCF university struggles and of the struggle in Elmadag prison, the generation of victories.

Following the tradition created by MLKP, who cherishes the youth, KGO also convened its Congress. It thus dealt a heavy blow at the demagoguery of liquidationist and reformist servants of the bourgeoisie to the effect that democracy is absent from communist organisations and right of expression and intellectual development of individuals are being hampered in them.

Our Congress attested to the perfect application of proletarian democracy. The right to elect delegates or to be elected as a delegates or to be elected as a delegate and the right to attend the collective discussions were extend to all KGO members. The democratically convened Congress lasted for four days. The discipline, contribution to discussions, ability for independent thinking and collective will of all delegates played a key role in the victory of the congress. Almost all problems of the struggle of the youth were put on the agenda and discussed. All of the decisions were taken unanimously; a fact attesting to the determination of the young architects to win the future. Following the election of KGO Central Committee, Congress came to an end with fists reaching to victory together with the International and with the chanting of slogans.

# GLORY TO MLKP, TO REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM WITH THE PARTY!"

*On September 10, 1996, Central committee of MLKP issued a declaration commemorating the second anniversary of the foundation of the party. Here we present a summary of this document.*

September the 10th, is the date of the rebirth of the Communist Party, the general staff of the working class in Anatolia. Foundation date of MLKP is also the foundation date of TKP (CP of Turkey)\* This coincidence is not accidental affair, but the expression of a conscious choice. MLKP has considered the Communist party of Turkey, Under the leadership of Mustafa Suphi part of its own past. MLKP represents the rebirth of TKP, following the period of revisionist betrayal.

MLKP has been the product of 'unity revolution'. It had dealt heavy blows at the narrow group milieu, handicapped with divisions and disintegration. It has been leader of Gazi rebellion. It has delivered a blow at fascism in the campaign for the disappeared. It has scared the hell out of the enemy through its strength and influence. It has joined the death fast resistance en masse and has comrade Huseyin DEMİRCİOĞLU its CC member martyred.

MLKP is for violent revolution. It also conducted a series of military actions to release the revolutionary violence of the masses against brute terror of fascism. The raid on Sultanbeyli town, rocketing of police stations, armed attacks against official and civil bands of the state constitute only part of the actions. MLKP is also organising the popular defense against fascism it advocates and puts practice, through its militia work.

In all fields of struggle, on the streets, in torture chambers and in prisons, MLKP has equipped itself with the spirit of resistance. Huseyin Demircioglu, a Central Committee member, Hasan ALBAYRAK, Hasan OCAK, Ali Haydar GOCER, Sengul BORAN, Erdal BALCI, Ali KARAHAN, Ozgur Evrim GOCEN are some of its martyrs that have fallen down this two-year period

As the political representative and the vanguard of the working class,

MLKP has been fighting against all brands of revisionism and opportunism, against reformism and liquidationism. It has upheld Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and fought against the deception of workers and toilers.

MLKP has fought against the brutal policy of colonialist-fascists dictatorship vis-à-vis Kurdish people with all the means at its disposal and repudiated all forms of chauvinism and social-chauvinism. While consistently defending the right to self-determination of Kurdish nation, it also has been working to combine national liberation with social liberation and has drawn a definite line of distinction between itself and narrow nationalist viewpoint of Kurdish national liberation movement

\* \* \* \* \*

Workers, toilers, youth!

Colonialist-fascist dictatorship is attempting to prop up a wholly degenerated order. It offers only coercion and exploitation to the people. Parliament serves to camouflage the dictatorship of a gang of fascist generals. Republic of Turkey has been transformed into a republic of Kontregerilla, a Mafiosi state. A hardly concealed state of siege is in effect throughout the country. An unjust war is being waged against Kurdish people, while police conduct manhunt against revolutionary forces in Turkey proper.

It is obvious that Welfare Party is a bourgeois party in religious disguise, a representative of imperialist and the rich. This system has nothing to offer to the people.

Death fast revolutionary prisoners have amply proved the necessity of a resolute struggle against fascism. Only socialism can save the oppressed masses.

Gazi rebellion has shown the way. Those who advocate solutions within the existing system or who preach the parliamentary road in the name of the revolution are deceiving you. MLKP has proved itself to be the vanguard of revolution. Get united in the ranks of MLKP get organised and fight for liberation!

GLORY TO MLKP IN ITS SECOND ANNIVERSARY!  
TO REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM WITH THE PARTY!  
WORKERS TO THE PARTY, TO MLKP!

(\*) TKP was founded on September 1920 with the direct inspiration of the October Revolution in Baku, soviet Azerbaijan and convened its First Congress there, at that date. Its leading cadres, including its secretary-general Mustafa Suphi were massacred in December 1921 by the agents of Kemalist bourgeoisie. Thereafter, TKP's leadership was seized by an opportunist clique which followed a khvosits and line and right opportunist virtualy liquidated it.

# DEFEND MED TV! SUPPORT THE JUST STRUGGLE OF KURDISH PEOPLE!

On September 18, 1996, Belgian gendarme and special units numbering more than 200, raided various Kurdish institutions and residences in Belgium. Among the institutions targeted were PKDW (Kurdish Parliament in Exile), MED TV, a TV station in sympathy with Kurdish national liberation movement and a host of Kurdish associations. Doors and windows of MED TV central studio in Denderleeuw, near Brussels were broken and nearly 250 people present there were handcuffed at gun point and had their identity cards checked, as if they were dangerous suspects. Alleging that they had been investigating a money laundering operation involving some Kurds working with these institutions, Belgian gendarme and special units detained more than 100 people. Almost all of those detained were released within 12 hours, after being interrogated. Simultaneous operations were conducted against MED TV studios in London, Britain and in Herford, Celle and Bochum, Germany, by the British and the German police. Belgian authorities also detained 10 people in PKDW building and confiscated various computers and some office equipment there. This operation was supported by the Belgian media and the press, who tainted MED TV, PKDW and Kurdish national liberation movement as "terrorist".

The Belgian police have not issued a detail as to the reasons of this outrageous raid conducted against Kurdish, which have been operating completely within legal boundaries. It, however, is obvious that, this operation was planned by leading European states and their intelligence organizations in support of Turkish fascism. MED TV has been an important weapon at the hands of Kurdish people in their just struggle against barbaric and genocidal regime of Turkish ruling classes, who up to now have tried everything in their power to silence it. Unfortunately, they may be on the verge of achieving this aim of theirs with the help of the Belgian authorities, acting on behalf of "European Union". Despite all their hypocritical and demagogic talk about their defence of the rights of Kurdish people, leading European states have been continuously supporting their Turkish lackeys economically, politically and militarily. It is thanks to the weapons, including land mines, napalm bombs, helicopters, tanks and warplanes (not to mention instruments of torture) provided them by US, (Germany, France, Britain, Italy etc. that Turkish fascists have killed tens of thousands of innocent people and liberation fighters. That's why, this last assault of the Belgian police on Kurds comes as no surprise

We state once more our firm and unbreakable support for the just struggle of Kurdish people against their oppressors and strongly protest against the latest assault on their democratic institutions, including MED TV by the Belgian, the British and the German police. We call upon workers, peoples and democratic forces in these countries and all over the world to express their support to the just struggle of Kurdish people, both in work and in action and do all in their to prevent the suppression of their voice.

20 September 1996

# DIYARBAKIR PRISON MASSACRE

On September, the 24th, 1996, ten political captives of PKK ("Workers' Party of Kurdistan") were massacred in Diyarbakir E-Type Prison as a result of a planned attack of the thugs of the colonialist- fascist regime armed with iron bars, wooden clubs and firearms. Kurdish national liberation fighters Edip Donekci, Nimet Cakmak, Erkan Perisan, M. Sabri Gumus, Ridvan Bulut, Hakki Tekin, Ahmet Celik, Kadir Demir, Mehmet Batuge and Cemal Cam were martyred in the attack and a great many of them were wounded. Almost all of the martyrs and the wounded had received heavy blows on their heads; a fact which definitely proves the homicidal intent of the despicable servants of the generals, police chiefs and politicians who try to govern our country under a reign of white terror. This act of cold blooded murder was worked out at the highest levels of the fascist regime. Those who are involved in this "incident' are not limited by the martial law administration authorities in Northern Kurdistan, Sevket Kazan, the so-called Minister of justice of the governing RP ("Welfare Party") and Mehmet Agar, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the governing DYP ("True Path Party"); it probably was decided in MGK ("National Security Council")\*, and executed by the gendarme, 'special teams" and prison guards. It definitely was a response of the barbaric fascist regime to avenge the political defeat they suffered at the glorious 69 day-long May-July 1996 death fast and hunger strike struggle of 2,000 political captives from different communist and revolutionary organizations. As will be remembered this struggle, which laid bare the bloodthirsty character of Turkish reaction in front of the peoples and the democratic public opinion of the world had ended in the victory of revolutionary prisoners, who paid for it with the martyrdom of 12 of their comrades and with a host of mental and physical disorders affecting hundreds of them. Diyarbakir Prison massacre had also coincided with the launching of a new military operation of Turkish army against PKK guerrillas in Botan and Dersim sections of Northern Kurdistan following the announcement of A. Ocalan, PKK's leader on 16 August 1996. In his speech A. Ocalan had announced the ending of the unilateral cease-fire begun by Kurdish guerrillas in December 1995. This so-called cease-fire, which in any case had not held on account of the inflexible attitude of Turkish colonialists and the armed conflict, had in fact been going on. It can be rightly said that, Turkish militarists tried to convey a message of inflexibility or "determination" to PKK leadership by wantonly attacking the patriotic captives without any means of defence. This incident only serves and has served once more to expose their impotence. But, they are bound to fail. Their massacres and dirty war can not intimidate the brave peoples of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan.

\*An all-powerful body bringing together the President, the Prime Minister, the Chief of General Staff, supreme commanders of Army, Navy and Air Force, the chiefs of intelligence organizations and various government ministers which discuss and decides upon all major questions of internal and foreign policy.

# VICTORY OF TUZLA WORKERS' STRUGGLE

180-day long struggle of Tuzla leather workers ended in victory on 26 November 1996. The industrial action began on June the 12th, following the firing by boss of Kopuzlar leather workshop, of 29 workers engaged in unionization activity. This workshop is the biggest of its kind in this region, where a great number of them are concentrated. Kopuzlar workers, actively supported by their class brothers and sisters at the Tuzla town maintained a tortuous and resolute fight for their rights, not with standing the hardships and repression they had to endure. Times and again they were attacked by the gendarme, civilian fascists and the thugs of the bosses, taken into custody, threatened, tortured and their picket tents dismantled. But, they were not bowed and with the assistance of their fellow workers and communists kept on the struggle and at times retaliated against their oppressors. A good example is the punishment of civilian fascists brought there to break the strike by Kopuzlar workers themselves on July the 10th. The workers had given them a good beating. But, it would be very difficult, if not impossible for the Kopuzlar workers to win victory, had it not been for the class solidarity in Tuzla region. Demonstration of 1,000 leather workers in front of Kopuzlar leather workshop in support of their class brothers on 9 July, the solidarity strike of 2,500 leather workers on 8 August, a short strike, mass protest and march action of 3.000 leather workers against the aggression of the bosses and the gendarme on 4 August, which also induced the support act on of small shopkeepers in Tuzla region and another short strike and march action of 3,000 leather workers on 26 August are cases in point. On November the 5th, a big detachment of gendarme attacked the picketing Kopuzlar workers and took their tents apart. This brazen aggression was immediately reciprocated by another 3.000-strong protest march of leather workers and the erection anew of the dismantled tents. On November 21st, in the wake of still another attack of about 1.00 gendarme against the picket tents and the arbitrary detention of 28 striking workers, the Kopuzlar workers' strike action took on the dimensions of a local general strike encompassing 3.500 workers. At that point communist workers of the SSH(Movement for class Unions), who had been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the strikers right from the start once more called on all leather workers to strengthen their support and fight to the end together with Kopuzlar workers. They prompted the Tuzla shipyard workers, the small shopkeepers and the people of the district to join in the struggle and to that end distributed thousands of leaflets calling for the organization of action committees both in workshops and in the district as a whole. This call of communist workers, who had had strong connections with and a great prestige among Tuzla leather workers, immediately found a favorable response among the workers and their supporters and soon life came to a stand still in Tuzla region. The local general strike won on 26 November over the acceptance of almost a of the workers.

# MESSAGE OF GREETINGS SENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON "Class analysis in the Modern Communist Movement"

*An international conference was held in Moscow, on November, 8-10 1996. More than 30 organisations and groups from the former Soviet Union and a host of foreign parties, circles and journal including MLKP joined the conference. Here we present the text of the message sent by MLKP to this important international event.*

Dear comrades and friends,

2 November 1996

We wish the international seminar success and expect it to contribute to the formation of a truly Communist Party of Russian working class.

The communist and revolutionary-democratic forces have been and are fighting against imperialism and capitalism for a long period of time. In this great battle they have scored glorious victories; but they have also experienced a series of defeats. It is beyond doubt that, the masses of people will continue to fight against the ruling classes, as long as capitalist-imperialist system of exploitation and oppression continues. The working classes, and people of Russia are no exception to this rule. They had performed miracles in the past under the leadership of Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. After the overthrow of Czarism and bourgeoisie in 1917, they defeated the White Guard rebellion actively supported by imperialists, braved against the embargo and encirclement of capitalist-imperialist world, built a socialist industry and agriculture, extended inestimable support to the struggles of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, destroyed the fifth column activities of agents of German and Japanese fascism, saved the world from the danger of fascism at the cost of more than 20 million martyrs and rebuilt their almost totally demolished homeland and turned it into the second country in the world in the space of a few years.

The present tragic situation the glorious and heroic Russian people has been forced to accept due to the treacherous and anti-popular policies of imperialists and their Russian allies can not go on. A nation, who has given birth to Herzens, Chernishevskis, Tschaikovskys, Tolstoys will not and can not accept to be humiliated so much and live in this capitalist hell forever. We believe that the workers and toilers will once again arise against national and social enslavement, break the imperialist and capitalist chains binding them and prove to be the worthy heirs to their forefathers who have sacrificed so much for the cause of socialism and communism.

MLKP

# **RESOLUTION ON TURKEY**

## **Adopted at the International Conference in Moscow**

The fascist regime of Turkish ruling classes in the service of US and Western European imperialists, has been waging an undeclared war against the workers and peoples of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan for years. Forceful evacuation of more than 2,000 villages, transformation of Kurdish cities and towns into military barracks and burning of forests in Northern Kurdistan, massacres of Kurdish peasants and workers, extra-judicial killings and summary executions of communist and revolutionary militants, of Kurdish guerrillas widespread "disappearances", beating and killing revolutionary prisoners and systematic torture and massacres directed against all revolutionary and progressive sections of the population are ugly features of Turkish reaction. Kurdish and Turkish workers and peoples, however do not surrender in the face of this fascist, and militarist onslaught. On the contrary, they are fighting bravely against the white terror of the regime on all fronts and are dealing heavy blows at it.

The International Conference on "Class Analysis in the Modern Communist Movement" condemns the atrocities of Turkish fascist regime and its imperialist masters against Kurdish and Turkish workers and toilers in general and thousands of communist, anti-fascist and national liberation freedom captives in particular. It calls on workers and peoples the world over to protest against this regime of butchers, torturers and hangmen and to support the struggles of communist, revolutionary and national liberation forces for democracy, national and socialism.

November 10 1996  
Moscow



# CONGRESS FOR DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

More than 1,000 persons from Turkey and other countries came together in the "Congress for Democratic Education" organized by Marxist-Leninist Communists. The event was supported by around 250 organizations and institutions. 15 delegates from abroad and more than 100 delegates from Turkey were present at the Congress that was held in Istanbul, on 7-8 December 1996. In all 66 communications were presented by the participants, of which only 52 were read due to the shortage of time. The atmosphere of the Congress was very lively, where delegates from Turkey and abroad criticized the reactionary essence of education in the capitalist world. Delegates especially condemned the chauvinist and fascist character of Turkish education system, extortionate tuition fees, dirty war waged against Kurdish people, prohibition of the use of Kurdish language in Turkey and privatization of state enterprises which is causing en masse sacking of workers. They also demanded an end to the various anti-democratic practices of authorities, such as police and civilian fascist terror against revolutionary and progressive students, bans and restrictions against student associations in colleges and universities, sexual discrimination against girl students, introduction of militarist themes in curriculum's and exposed the reactionary nature of Turkish state and social order, the existence of which formed the main hurdle in the way of a really democratic education. At the end of the Congress, a draft resolution was prepared and opened for discussion. The vote for the motion was unanimous. Delegates to the Congress also resolved to establish a League for Democratic Education and elected a provisional committee to oversee the process of its foundation.

# TOWARDS A GENERAL STRIKE

120,000 workers and public servants took to the streets and protested against the antidemocratic and anti-popular policies of Turkish ruling classes on December the 14th, 1996. The action was organized by KESK(Confederation of Public Servants' Unions) and other mass organizations. Demonstrators from tens of provinces and hundreds of towns across Turkey and Northern Kurdistan were present in the demonstration held at the Kizilay Square in Ankara. Representatives of revolutionary press, members of SSH, of KGO and MDB (Revolutionary Union of Public Servants), mothers and relatives of political captives, university and college youth etc. were also present at the event. The masses bravely stood against the provocations and aggression of the police, who tried to disrupt this massive protest action. The police used water cannon, truncheons and at times even firearms and drove its panzers on demonstrators. Demonstrators, however counter-attacked them with stones and clubs and compelled them to withdraw. It is worth mentioning that the efforts of these mercenaries of the ruling classes to isolate the communist and revolutionary forces from the mass of workers and public employees were thwarted successfully. The action of December the 14th bore a decidedly political character. The protesters carried placards demanding the diversion of public funds to the needs of the people, such as education and health and not to the counter-revolutionary war against the Kurdish people and placards demanding the trial and punishment of mafia-type gangs linked to the army, the police and the government. They shouted mostly political slogans, such as, "A Single Fist, A Single Barricade Against Fascism!", "We Want a Democratic Budget!", "Solution Lies in the Fight Against Fascism!", "Down With the Dirty War!", "Long Live the Brotherhood the Peoples!", "Long Live Class Solidarity!", "General Strike Is Coming!" etc. 33 of demonstrators were taken into custody and threatened and tortured by the police. However, 30 of them were freed on the. 16th of December. The action boosted the morale of the masses and demonstrated their growing anger against the fascist dictatorship.

# A CRITICAL LETTER TO THE CHIEF EDITOR OF NORTH STAR COMPASS

*This letter was sent as a critical response of MLKP to comrade M. Lucas for the insufficient treatment accorded to the 69 day long death and hunger strike struggle in the Turkish dungeons, in the pages of NSC. The text of the letter is reproduced herein its entirety.*

Dear friend,

15th December, 1996

I had been thinking of writing a short letter to you for a long time, about the unfair treatment accorded to the May-July death fast and hunger strike in Turkish dungeons by North Star Compass. But I simply haven't been able to do so until now, mainly due to my heavy work load. Although this great struggle ended on 28 July, about four months ago, I still want to state my criticism about your approach. After all, one should bear in mind that, violence against revolutionary prisoners is becoming more and more an enduring feature of Turkish fascist regime. This was tragically corroborated by the further massacre of 10 PKK (Workers Party of Kurdistan) fighters in Diyarbakir, on 24 September 1996.

I believe, you'd received the pamphlet "Glory to Martyrs!" comprising various documents on death fast and hunger strike. That was prepared and sent to you in August 1996. Now, I have in front of me August / September, October and November issues of NSC. On page 6 of August / September issue, we have a small item entitled "Letter of Protest Sent to Turkey" and that's all! Objectively speaking, one has to admit that, here we have had a heroic struggle pitting the revolutionary will and determination of more than 1,500 political captives against a bloodthirsty fascist regime at the service of US and Western European imperialists. These imprisoned revolutionary militants, who have nothing but their will, belief and determination, join their forces and fight an exemplary political struggle and compel Turkish state to negotiate with them and therefore score a political victory over it before the eyes of the whole world, at the cost of 12 martyrs and tens and tens of physically and mentally crippled. And you almost do not bother to mention it.

My dear friend,

You may not know or imagine, what it is like to fight against hunger for 69, yes for 69 days, where the hunger strikers die day by day, hour by hour and minute by minute. And I do not blame you for that. But allow me to remind you that, it is an extremely hard task, which requires great perseverance and a very strong will. It is only dedicated communists and revolutionaries unafraid of death can possess such qualities. You unfortunately have not perceived the militant revolutionary message of this glorious action. That's the reason why this action did not even deserve a one page article and a determined call for solidarity and support in NSC! If one looks through the pages of NSC, he will see that, less or much less important events, new items, comments and even letters take more or much

more space that the May-July action of political captives in Turkey. I believe that, we all should have a sense of revolutionary justice or fairness. And NSC has violated this sense of revolutionary justice in the treatment of this event. In this context, allow me to present a somewhat long passage from Dimitrov. In his concluding speech before the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, on August 13, 1935 he said:

"We have hundreds of examples of splendid conduct in times of strikes, during demonstrations, in jail, in court. We have thousands of instances of heroism, but unfortunately also not a few cases of faint-heartedness, lack of firmness and even desertion. We often forget these examples, both good and bad. We do not teach people to benefit by these examples. We do not show them what should be emulated and what rejected. We must study the conduct of our comrades and militant workers during class conflicts, under police interrogation, in the jails and concentration camps, in court etc. etc. The good examples should be brought to light and held up as models to be followed, and all that is rotten, non-Bolshevik and philistine should be cast aside. Since the Reichstag Fire Trial we have had quite a few comrades whose statements before bourgeois and fascist courts show that numerous cadres are growing up with an excellent understanding of what really constitutes Bolshevik conduct in court.

"But how many even of you, delegates to the Congress, know the details of the trial of the railway men in Romania, know about the trial of Fiete Schulze, who was subsequently beheaded by the fascists in Germany, the trial of our valiant Japanese comrade Itsikawa, the trial of Bulgarian revolutionary soldiers, and many other trials at which admirable examples of proletarian heroism were displayed?

"Such worthy examples of proletarian heroism must be popularized, must be contrasted with the manifestations of faint-heartedness, philistinism, and every kind of rottenness and frailty in our ranks and the ranks of the working class. These examples must be used most extensively in educating the cadres of the workers' movement." (Giorgi Dimitrov, Selected Works, Volume 2, p.117)

And should we not, as Dimitrov says, bring to light and hold up as models to be followed such instances of revolutionary heroism and encourage others to emulate them? And should we not popularize such exemplary struggles, at a time, when imperialism and the bourgeoisie are trying to convince the peoples of the world that the cause of revolution and communism have been destroyed forever, that they do not hold any attraction for workers, youth and other toilers and nobody will and should give his/her life for such a discredited and impossible cause etc...? Here you have a fresh example and an irrefutable proof of the vitality of the cause of revolution from a country, where communists, national liberation fighters and anti-fascists are defying militantly a bloodthirsty and militaristic state in all fields of life; in the streets, at the factories, at the barricades and under torture in dungeons and at courts.

Imperialists and all reactionaries should be exposed. It is both correct and necessary. That, however is definitely not enough. A revolutionary journal is also charged with the task of instilling courage and determination in its readers and people in general, educating them in the spirit of invincibility of the masses led by communist and revolutionary parties in the face of imperialists and ruling classes and should aim at raising a revolutionary generation who disdain and slight rulers

of the world. And that is one reason why, we have to popularize such examples of revolutionary heroism, whenever they happen.

NSC praises Lenin, Stalin, the Bolsheviks and revolutionary workers and toilers led by them. That's great. But we really have to understand the reason why the bourgeoisie and imperialists hate and at the same time fear them so much and so deeply, even now, almost 44 years after Stalin's death, or may be murder? It is because, they represent the personification of the revolutionary will, courage to fight to the last and determination to overthrow the old order, of the working class. And it is because they are the personification of dauntlessness of a people who dared to stand against White Guards, imperialists, saboteurs, fascist hordes, enemy agents and against hunger, fatigue, and death itself to construct socialism under enemy fire and to defend socialist fatherland at all costs and despite all odds. We should really understand the true message of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks. In his speech "On the Death of Lenin" Stalin said:

"Comrades, we Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honor of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin. It is not given to everyone to be a member of such a party. It is not given to everyone to withstand the stresses and storms that accompany membership in such a party. It is the sons of the working class, the sons of want and struggle, the sons of incredible deprivation and heroic effort who before all should be members of such party."

If we are to be consistent in our defence of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks, we can not be content with praising them. We should learn from Paris workers and the poor, who at the days of the Commune dared, in Marx's words "to conquer heaven" and fought to the bitter end against the armies of Versailles. We should learn from the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union who built socialism almost with their bare hands and from Soviet partisans and people who attacked the Nazi panzer columns with hand grenades and Molotov cocktails. We should learn from Vietnamese revolutionaries, who stood against the overwhelming might of US imperialists and were able to defeat them. And we should learn from workers, toilers, oppressed nations, communists, revolutionaries, anti-fascists the world over who are fighting against capitalism, imperialism, fascism and militarism at this very moment. And in the meantime, we should not be shy of learning from the fearless communist, revolutionary and national liberation fighters of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan, where thousands of martyrs have fallen and are falling in various fields of struggle, including our 12 death fast and hunger strike martyrs. Such people are the harbingers of the future socialist civilization, advance guard of classless society. To be the worthy heirs and followers of Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks, we should try to emulate them more in our daily lives and should constantly advance and revolutionize ourselves. And we should be much more active and sensitive in supporting, sympathizing with and publicizing the heroic and exemplary struggles of communists, revolutionaries, workers and toilers all over the world and call upon all exploited and oppressed mass to follow their example. I believe, we are entitled to expect that much from a revolutionary journal, which defends Lenin, Stalin and the Bolsheviks.

Comradely greetings

# A GIGANTIC WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION

250,000 workers joined a meeting organized by Turk-Is, the yellow trade-union confederation on January the 5th, 1997 in Ankara. Bayram Meral, the head of Turk-Is, had conferred with the governor, police chief and other top brass of Ankara the day before, to prevent the mass action from taking a revolutionary character. Besides raiding the offices of revolutionary journals' and houses of revolutionary workers and youth and detaining tens of people on 4 January, the police established checkpoints in the morning of 5 January to make searches and to prevent the participation of revolutionary and communist groups and workers in the action. But, they would not be able to achieve this aim of theirs and would bow in the face of determination of communists and revolutionaries. At the beginning of the demonstration there occurred a brief scuffle between communist workers of SSH (Movement for Class Unions) and communist college youth on the one hand and the police on the other, who tried to seize the placards of the former. They, however drove away the police and took their place among the demonstrators. Reactionary Turk-Is bureaucrats and their fascist allies tried to give a chauvinist and official colour to the demonstration and secured the participation of various MP's from bourgeois opposition parties. They also collaborated with police and civilian fascists, who together with reactionary trade-union officials tried to distribute portraits of Kemal Ataturk and Turkish flags. But they failed to dominate the event. The great majority of the demonstrators responded with slogans condemning the sacking of workers en masse, privatization of state companies and mafiosi connections of ruling parties to Meral's speech, who allegedly criticized the anti-worker policies of Welfare Party-True Path Party coalition government and hypocritically accused the mafia-type gangs working hand in glove with the army, the police and the government. Communist workers of SSH and communist college youth of IDLB(Democratic Association of Istanbul Lycee Students) joined the action along with other revolutionary and progressive groups, revolutionary workers of Tuzla, ASTI, Cukobirlik, Polisan etc. and workers from Kurdish provinces. They countered the reformist and chauvinist slogans of Turk-Is bureaucrats and their hangers-on with revolutionary and internationalist slogans, such as "Long Live the Unity of Workers!", "Long Live the Brotherhood of Peoples!", "Unity, Struggle, Victory!", "Down with CIA, MIT(so-called "National Intelligence Organization" of Turkish ruling classes) and Kontrgerilia.1", "A Single Fist, A Single Barricade Against Fascism!".



