

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

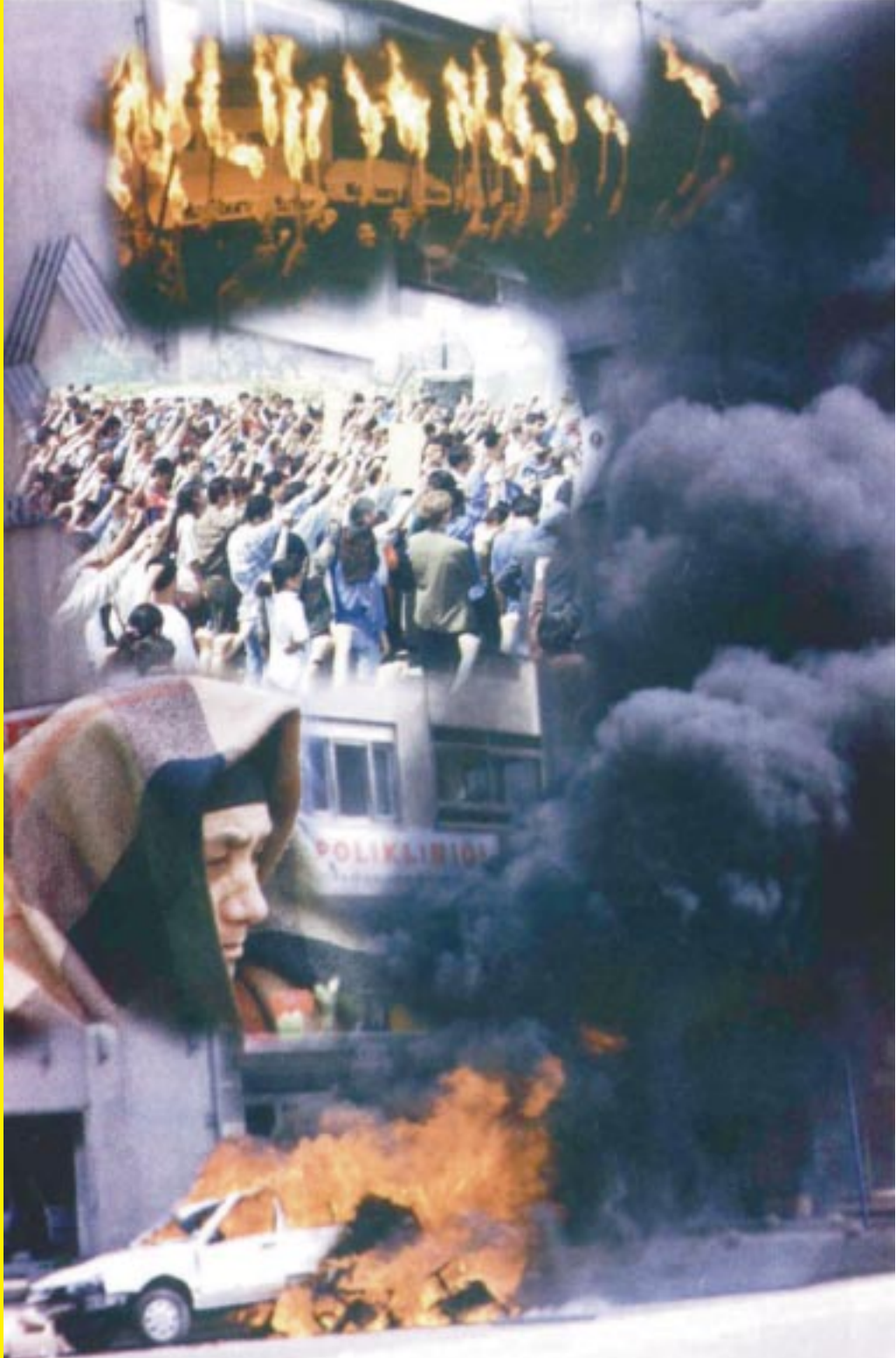
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PREFACE

The year 1997 witnessed to a great many important developments in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. The growing tensions between political Islam and its mainstream organization, Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) on the one hand and the military clique and the majority of traditional bourgeois parties mounted especially during the first half of the year and approached its zenith in May and June. The pressure of the military in the end led to the disintegration of Welfare Party-True Path Party coalition government and the formation in July 1997 of a new three party coalition -made up of Motherland Party (ANAP), Democratic Left Party (DSP) and Party for Democratic Turkey (DTP)- under the auspices of generals. The infighting of bourgeois cliques once more highlighted the influence and supreme position of Turkish military over the affairs of the state; but also to the growth of Islamic sentiment among the population. Behind this confrontation between the so-called secularist forces of Turkey and political Islam, lurked the conflict of interests between traditional big bourgeoisie and part of the middle and even of big bourgeoisie, associated with Saudi capital who have been demanding themselves a better place in the sun.

To this would be added the exposure of dirty linen of the ruling classes, especially in the aftermath of the car accident that took place on November the 3rd, 1996 in Susurluk town in Western Turkey. Discussions and investigations connected with this car accident led to the exposure of the complex web of relationships between Kontrgerilla*, the General Staff, mafia gangs, some of the bourgeois parties, such as T. Chiller's True Path Party (DYP) and A. Turkish's Nationalist Action Party (MHP), paramilitary formations, such as Special Teams and 'village guards' and the intelligence organizations. Unfolding of these events and disclosure of a great amount of information were to a great extent facilitated by the struggle between the generals, closely connected with traditional big capital and the overgrown police organization and Special Teams, associated with mafiosi (criminal) bourgeoisie. These forces organized, trained and armed by the General Staff itself to fight against revolutionary groups in general and PKK guerrillas in particular were heavily involved with drug trafficking, kidnappings and black money operations. They in time had become associated with certain and more adventurist sections of the bourgeoisie and formed their own clique, whose interests stood to a certain extent in contradiction to the older and "more respectable" sections of the big bourgeoisie.

* * *

Hundreds of thousands of people from all walks of life participated in an action dubbed "One Minute of Darkness For Perpetual Illumination" in January and February in several cities and towns throughout Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. Turning the lights off for one minute at 9:00 P.M. the participants demanded the disclosure of mafia-type gangs linked to counter-insurgency operations and all those connected with them and punishment of

killers and torturers.

May the 1st festivities were celebrated in a more massive and more militant manner in almost all important centers in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. A total of more than 200,000 workers, toilers and youth participated in marches and demonstrations in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Mersin, Diyarbakir, Antep, Malatya. The widespread detentions and terror of the servants of the fascist regime on the eve of I May and their attempt to prevent masses from taking to the streets, especially in Kurdistan were rebuffed.

On May the 14th, 1997 so-called crack troops of Turkish army numbering more than 60, 000 once more entered Northern Iraq in an effort to destroy the bases of PKK guerrillas there. Kurdish guerrillas and their allies fought a successful battle against the invaders and their henchmen. Despite the declarations of victory on the part of the Turkish General Staff, the invading troops had suffered heavy casualties and been forced to withdraw towards the end of June.

In dozens of factories and enterprises in Istanbul, Adana, Bursa, Izmir etc. workers conducted strike actions over wage increases, against dismissals and privatization and in support of other striking workers. 1997 was a year, when the necessity of creation of a united workers' initiative made itself felt more than ever.

Hunger strikes and other actions of political captives continued in a great many prisons in response to the fascist regime' s almost uninterrupted aggression in dungeons and especially against its preparations for the transfer of revolutionary prisoners to special cell type prisons.

Our brave "Saturday Mothers" kept on the struggle. They were present in Galatasaray district of Istanbul every Saturday to condemn the killers and torturers and to ask about the fate of the hundreds of 'disappeared' daughters and sons of the people. The first anniversary of the last year's great battle - 69 day-long death fast and hunger strike, where 12 revolutionary captives were martyred- was commemorated both in prisons and by our Saturday Mothers.

So, our country continues to be one of the most important battlegrounds between imperialism, bourgeoisie and reaction on the one hand and the proletariat and the peoples of various nationalities on the other. It definitely shall witness much greater confrontations between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution and our workers and toilers shall definitely follow the road of October.

28 October 1997

() A clandestine reactionary terrorist organization directly linked to the General Staff. Also called Special War Administration and directed by genera4 and other officers of the Turkish armed forces, this organization is charged with the task of conducting counter-insurgency operations, such as summary executions, kidnapping torture etc. against Kurdish guerrillas and communist and revolutionary groups, but alto against progressive and anti-fascist people from all walks of life.*

SECOND CONGRESS OF MLKP HELD

Second Congress of MLKP was held in Turkey, between 7 and 12 August 1997 under conditions of heavy illegality. From the start, MLKP has been very strict in holding its congresses, even under the conditions obtaining in Turkey. This has been and is a proof of the real, proletarian democracy in action in our communist organization. Here we present a summary of the declaration of the Second Congress of MLKP.

Our Second Congress coincided with the first anniversary of the 69 day-long Death Fast and Hunger Strike (fought in May-July 1996). So the Congress hall was decorated with the portraits of both death fast and hunger strike martyrs and those of Party, revolution and communism. It began on August the 7th and ended on August the 12th with the singing of the Internationale and chanting of slogans of struggle.

Our Congress discussed first of all the Report on the International Situation and drew attention to the tasks of the Party on the international plane. It also stressed the vital importance of the solution of the contradiction between the objective conditions of world proletarian revolution and its subjective conditions, that is the creation of communist advance guards of the working classes in all countries and that of determined and uncompromising ideological struggle against all brands of revisionism, as well as Trotskyism and Maoism.

The Second Congress analyzed the position of Turkey in the world political arena and the contradictions in our region and drew the necessary conclusions relating to our strategy and tactics. It pointed out that our Party which aims to accomplish revolution in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on this land, has thus been charged with an obligation to influence and change the destiny of the proletariat and the peoples of the whole region. This means that, our Party is fighting and will have to fight not only the Turkish reaction, but also imperialism and Zionism.

Our Congress evaluated and approved of the Report on Internal Political Situation and Political Tactics and observed that the predictions and the perspectives of our Unity Congress (held in September 1994) have been tested and confirmed in practice. It drew attention to the greatest crisis ever faced by the colonialist semi-military fascist dictatorship, to the sharpening of contradictions among various cliques of the reactionary ruling class, to the attempts of the dictatorship to crush both the Kurdish national liberation movement and the growing communist and revolutionary forces in Turkey proper. It underlined the urgency of the development of a revolutionary mass movement among workers and toilers, who are moving away from the influence of the state and to the urgency of building of a barricade against liquidationism and reformism through bringing together communist, revolutionary and Kurdish patriotic forces in a united front and for a united struggle.

Our Congress reiterated the inability of the ruling classes and the fascist dictatorship to solve the basic problems of the country and the uneven development of our revolution and once more stressed the decisive importance of a

unity between the Kurdish national liberation movement and the growing revolutionary proletarian movement in Turkey proper.

Assessing the line of development of the Party, the product of our unity revolution, and its three year-long ideological, political and organizational practice, our Congress arrived at the following conclusions:

* Ideological, political and organizational unity of our Party formed officially in our Unity Congress has proved to be principled and firm;

* Our Party has acquired an eminent position for itself in almost all significant battles of workers and toilers, such as Gazi rebellion, struggle against disappearances, May the first demonstrations, death fast and hunger strike struggles, barricade fights and youth actions;

* Apart from demonstrating its vanguard features through political farsightedness, revolutionary will and bravery, our Party has affected a definite rupture with the practice of narrow and sectarian groups through its style of political struggle;

* Our Party and Communist Youth Organization have continued their growth despite the incessant attacks, detentions and assassinations of the fascist regime.

Our Congress made an all-sided assessment of the development of the Party and despite certain criticisms, approved work of the Party and its Central Committee. The concrete facts of the three year period which we've left behind have shown that, as the leader and organizer of the revolution MLKP has proved itself to possess the potentiality to position itself as the general staff of the working class and to represent the aspirations of the proletariat and other toilers for freedom and socialism.

Our Congress has taken into account the growing aggression of the class enemy which has led to increasing cadre losses, the strivings of the dictatorship to consolidate its positions, which is tending to rely more and more on civil war tactics and examined the regional policies of the ruling classes, imperialism and Zionism. On the basis of such an evaluation it has arrived at certain decisions on the tactical orientation of the Party. This entails the raising of the level our ties to the masses and the mass movement, further development of the Party style, acceleration of its Bolshevization, further development of its various institutions etc. All these require of our comrades and first of all of our leading comrades, a firm will and greater efforts to develop their mastery of Marxism-Leninism and our theory in the solution of strategic and tactical questions of revolution in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan.

Our Congress once more pointed to the extremely important task of closing the gap between scientific socialism and the working class movement and that of the transformation of our Party into an organization which effectively unites in its ranks the advanced and class conscious members of the proletariat. It stressed the historical and current difficulties in the way of accomplishing this task. Taking into account the international and domestic experience, the Congress urged the Party to exhibit its traditional revolutionary audacity, initiative and creativity in tackling the problem of recruitment of best daughters and sons of the working class and never to waver in front of the obstacles raised in our way by imperialism, bourgeoisie, revisionism and trade-union bureaucracy.

Comrades,

Our Second Congress calls on all party organizations, party masses, our communist youth and first of all on the party leadership to focus their attention on their tasks, displaying more revolutionary will power, more initiative, more creativity and more selflessness taking note of the general perspectives of our Unity Congress and the decisions of our Second Congress. We should not forget that, our Party shall reach its aims, to the extent that it can rely on the working class, toilers and youth of all nationalities of Turkey, to the extent that it can organize the advanced sections of these classes and strata and mobilize their revolutionary potential.

Workers, Toilers, Youth!

Fascist regime is incapable of solving any of our problems. It sees the only way out, in intensifying terror and exploitation. Today Turkish State has acquired a mafiosi character. Bourgeois parties have lost almost all their influence and attraction. Governments are eroded rapidly. ANASOL-D cabinet established -in July 1997- through the pressure of generals, will not be able to prevent the intensification of contradictions in the camp of counter-revolution. Revolution is becoming a burning requirement as a result of the aggravation of the problems of the fascist regime. The only way out is through the victory of revolution and socialism. SO, let's repulse the attack of the fascist dictatorship and let's march forward towards victory through a general strike and general resistance against fascism under the leadership of MLKP.

LONG LIVE MLKP, OUR PARTY!
DOWN WITH FASCISM, CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM!
LONG LIVE REVOLUTION, LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!
LONG LIVE OUR SECOND CONGRESS!



TURKISH ARMY OUT OF KURDISTAN!

Turkish armed forces once more invaded Southern Kurdistan (Northern Iraq) on 14 May 1997 in the hope of destroying the bases of PKK ('Workers' Party of Kurdistan), or rather to conceal their failure in crushing the Kurdish rebellion in Northern Kurdistan (Southeastern Turkey). PKK has been waging a successful guerrilla warfare against Turkish army, paramilitary and the police since 1984. More than 60, 000 troops and tens of thousands of village guards,' accompanied with warplanes, helicopters, field guns and tanks took part in this big military operation. Turkish troop were supported by the fighters of one of the main two reactionary warlord factions in Southern Kurdistan, Massud Barzani's KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party). The operation lasted for about two months. Turkish generals and politicians umpteenth time announced their victory over and the breaking of the back of PKK. But, on the contrary Turkish army and its lackeys in Southern Kurdistan were dealt heavy blows by PKK forces and some other Kurdish groups, which due to different reasons were o posed to the aggression of Turkish militarists and to KDP. This invasion was not able to stop PKK guerrillas from mounting a series of guerrilla actions against Turkish military ' posts inside Turkey, that is Northern Kurdistan too. Workers, youth and communist and revolutionary organizations, protested against the invasion both by word and action. In a declaration published on May the 16th, the Central Committee of MLKP protested against the invasion of Southern Kurdistan by the Turkish army. Here we present a summary of this declaration.

Turkish Invading Army Out of Kurdistan!

Workers, Toilers, Youth!

Troops of colonialist-fascist Turkish regime have once more invaded Southern Kurdistan with the approval of US imperialism. Armed vehicles and tanks have passed through Zaho and been positioned in Batufa, Derkar and Begova. About three hundred tanks and hundreds of piece of artillery stationed on hills overseeing the field further south and F16 warplanes and Cobra helicopters have bombarded Southern Kurdistan heavily.

Turkish army once more invading Southern Kurdistan with the participation of more than 60,000 troops and tens of thousands of 'village guards' has escalated their 'dirty war' and enlisted the support of traitors of KDP.

Turkish General Staff has made an announcement to the effect that, their troops aim to withdraw as soon as Turkish-Iraqi border is secured against the incursions of PKK guerillas. In this way they try

to still the protest voices raised against them both domestically and internationally. The real aim of the Turkish generals, however is to stay as long as they can in this region and to drown Kurdish rebellion in blood. But, their plans will be foiled again; they are bound to lose!

Workers, Toilers, Youth!

Is it not obvious that the fascist-colonialist regime of Turkish ruling classes is waging a 'dirty war'? And is it not obvious that this 'dirty war' is being financed out of the poor budget of workers and toilers? It is Kurdistan and Kurdish people, who are being bombarded, burned and destroyed. Turkish people have nothing to gain from this massacre. They have to remember the saying; 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations'.

Let's not watch helplessly the poisoning of the brotherhood of Kurdish and Turkish peoples through chauvinism, 'dirty war' and colonialist goals. Let's raise our voices against the invasion of Southern Kurdistan. Let's raise our solidarity through protest actions with PKK and Kurdish national liberation movement!

Down With the Colonialist-Fascist Dictatorship!
Long Live Revolutionary Resistance!
Long Live the Brotherhood of Peoples!



"THREATS OF A MILITARY COUP D'ETAT CAN NOT SCARE THE PEOPLE!"

In the aftermath of Susurluk scandal which exposed the dirty and mafiosi connections between the military clique, bourgeois politicians, the police chiefs and criminal gangs, internal contradictions of the ruling classes tended to sharpen even more. This was a result of the crisis of reaction, which had proved unable to stop the glorious resistance of the Kurdish people and the growing struggles of workers, other toilers and youth. Under these circumstances, the military clique representing mainly the interests of big capital allied with US and Western European imperialism tried to restore its tarnished image and started a crusade of 'democracy, secularism and modernism'. This campaign also targeted the reactionary-religious Welfare Party, representing the rising Islamic big and middle bourgeoisie, who had been the big partner in a coalition government between July 1996 and July 1997. MLKP Central Committee exposed the real aims of the famous 28 February announcement of MGK(National Security Council) in a declaration on March 3, 1997. Here we present a summary of this document.*

The long awaited meeting of National Security Council has taken place on 28th of February. It is understood that the Welfare Party was warned in an extremely grave manner by the generals, who allegedly are striving for the preservation of secular character and the main orientation of the regime. So, nowadays almost everybody is discussing about the possibility of a military coup d'etat and inquiring about the direction of the political evolution of the Turkish regime.

Our Party, doesn't give a damn for the hullabaloo raised by the bourgeois media directed by MGK, about the so-called historical importance of this meeting. Our Party rejects in contempt the strivings of these people aimed at deceiving the working class, other toilers and the Kurdish nation and their advance guards.

For a long period of time MLKP has pointed out the deep crisis of government the ruling classes and their fascist regime has been undergoing. The facts exposed following the Susurluk car accident of November 3rd, 1996 have corroborated this assessment. These facts have amply shown that the ruling classes will not desist from any crime, massacre and scandal to prop up their tottering and degenerated regime. And they have also shown that these classes are experiencing not only a crisis of government, but also a crisis of ideology, morality and legitimacy. The fascist regime, struggling to contain the mighty resistance of the working class, Kurdish nation, youth, public servants is in urgent need of a period of "overhaul and restoration", as B. Ecevit -the chauvinist bourgeois leader of the so-called DSP(Democratic Left Party)- has said.

The ruling classes and their representatives have expressed and underlined the need for such a reorganization of the regime, at least since 1992. The mighty resistance of Kurdish people and the discontent and struggle of workers and other toilers of Turkey however, have aggravated the internal contradictions of counter-revolution and wrecked their plans again and again. One should evaluate the tensions between Welfare Party and the Islamist forces on the one hand and the military clique and big capital from this historical and political perspective.

It is very well known that Turkish reactionary ruling classes have openly supported and abetted 10 religious reaction since the second half of 1960s and especially since the military-fascist coup d'etat of 12 September 1980 and have more and more entrusted themselves to the protection of these dark forces against the impending

danger of revolution. It was none other than the military itself, the self-styled defender of secularism, who encouraged the formation of a reactionary ideology, the so-called "Turkish-Muslim synthesis", supported with all its might the construction and spread of religious schools, mosques and developed very close relations with reactionary religious sects etc. during the 1980s. All these have given a big boost to the political Islam. On the other hand, degeneration of traditional bourgeois political parties, who became almost indistinguishable from each other and the inability of communist and revolutionary forces to form a mass political alternative also assisted the Welfare Party, who took care to present itself as a force opposed to the established order. So, at the moment we are face to face with a growing tension between religious reaction and its most important political representative, Welfare Party on the one hand and the military clique and the majority of the traditional bourgeois parties on the other. It is under these circumstances, that the gang of generals has begun to complain about the regressive nature of the Welfare Party, to pose as the defender of "democratic and secular majority of the population" and started its crusade of "democracy, secularism and modernism".

The proletariat and the peoples of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan and their advanced guards should, of course take into account these internal tensions and contradictions in the camp of counter-revolution and should not dismiss them as fictitious; but should never overrate or rely on them. They can never offer their support to any of these reactionary and fascist cliques fighting for their selfish interests. They will not heed to the malicious lies and demagoguery of these cliques, who despite their internal contradictions, have formed a holy alliance against "terror and anarchy". They are obliged to fight against all bourgeois parties, including Welfare Party, to destroy the military-bureaucratic apparatus of the ruling classes and establish their own rule.

Considering the level of degeneration of military and civilian institutions of the regime, at present, the danger of an overt military coup d'etat does not seem to be an urgent option for the ruling classes. Turkish, regional and global conjuncture does not compel the ruling classes and the military clique to mount a coup d'etat, nor does it provide a favorable ground for such an attempt. The real and primary aim of the sword rattling of the gang of generals is to threaten the Kurdish national liberation movement and the working masses of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan and to facilitate the implementation of ruling classes' pro-US regional policy. The secondary aim of this show of strength is to cheek the rise of political Islam and the growing strength of Islamic capital, which have begun to challenge the economic and political power of big capital and the military clique closely allied with it.

Threats of military coup d'etat voiced indirectly by the ruling classes and the military clique can not scare communist and revolutionary forces. The proletariat and the peoples of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan will march in a more determined manner toward democracy, national liberation and socialism.

DOWN WITH FASCISM! LONG LIVE REVOLUTION!

(*) 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 to discuss and decide upon all major questions of internal and foreign policy.

NORTHSTAR COMPASS, Reply to "A Critical Letter to the Chief Editor of Northstar Compass"

Dear comrades of the Turkish MLCP:

We reply to your note. Firstly, we do accept your fraternal criticism. We should have written a little more than we actually did. We did as your note says, discuss the issue, but this was done too briefly. Having accepted your criticism however, we would point out a further consideration. This is the mandate of the Northstar Compass. Being primarily a journal for dissemination of news about Marxist-Leninist activities in the former USSR, we are deluged with materials as it is. It is in fact a testimony, both to the LACK of other non-sectarian journals, and to our own modest success. But our main purpose remains to promote friendship with the comrades in the former USSR. The legitimate complaint you give against us must be tempered with this in mind. In fact, the correct venue for such more detailed articles, such as the heroic struggle of the Turkish comrades, is an international journal. This type of journal should have a mandate far broader than that of Northstar Compass. It is our sincere hope that International Struggle Marxist-Leninist will be one of those new journals, that will allow more detailed discussion of the many problems facing our comrades the world over.

We hope you accept our fraternal apology, and our explanation of some of the editorial difficulties that we face.

-With Fraternal Greetings to All Our Turkish Comrades,
Editorial Board

25 December 1996

M L K P

A Paper Prepared by

MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (of TURKEY) for the
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RELEVANCE OF LENINIST-STALINIST APPROACH TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Intensification of the attack of representatives and ideologues of bourgeoisie in the wake of the downfall of revisionist/social-imperialist bloc in 1989-90, has inevitably been accompanied with claims of irrelevance or even incorrectness of Leninist-Stalinist approach to the national question on their part. Of course, a host of petty-bourgeois, nationalist, Trotskyite and social-democratic groups and people had for years and decades been trying to vilify this approach along with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. They had been portraying Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union as a country, where the national rights of non-Russian peoples were allegedly being violated. And according to them Soviet rulers were bent on annexing as much territory as possible and on world domination. A case in point is the characterization of Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union as "Red imperialist" by the social-democratic servants of bourgeoisie. Khrushchev's slanders against Stalin during the ill-famed 20th Congress of the CPSU had at the time provided and continued to provide further fuel for this imperialist-revisionist crusade against communism.* The fact of the matter is that, it was none other than Khrushchev's and his revisionist successors' social-imperialist policies that signified a departure from the Bolshevik Party's internationalist and Marxist stand on the national question. One only should remember Khrushchevite clique's attempts at collaboration with US imperialists and its proposals with regard to the transformation of the UN into a sort of 'world police organization' under the leadership of two superpowers that would put out the flames of peoples' struggles the world over. And one only should remember Brezhnevite clique's thesis about a so-called 'united Soviet nation', justifying the subordination of non-Russian peoples to the Russian bureaucratic bourgeoisie and its so-called theories on 'international dictatorship' and 'limited sovereignty', again justifying its intervention into the internal affairs of its Eastern European satellites.

It is quite understandable that, following the demise of the revisionist Soviet Union in 1991, the scope and number of so-called critics of Leninist-Stalinist approach to the national question have grown considerably. Under these circumstances, the impact of the barrage of the bourgeoisie and imperialism has been sufficient for a great many people without a real and deep understanding of the world view of the working class, to discard their so-called Marxist-Leninist standpoint on the national question and openly dispute its validity. A case in point is PKK ("Workers' Party of Kurdistan"), a petty-bourgeois Kurdish nationalist group, which has been waging a guerrilla warfare against Turkish colonialist-fascist regime since 1984. A. Ocalan, the leader of PKK in a long interview conducted in 1993 with a left-wing Turkish intellectual had attacked the Soviet Union of Stalin. In this interview, he had blamed CPSU and Stalin with selfishness and added the following:

"The interests of world revolution are the interests of the Soviet Union; the interests of the Soviet Union are the interests of Russians; the interests of Russians are the interests of CPSU; the interests of the CPSU are the interests of Central Committee; the interests of the Central Committee are the interests of the Secretary-General ... You may call it a bureaucratic deviation, a nationalist deviation. For that reason, you have Russian nationalism. The natural outcome of such an approach is definitely nationalism."(Dirilisin Oykusu, p. 283)

And he said further:

"We now understand that socialism was a tactic for arrested capitalism, for Russian nationalism."(Ibid, p. 290) Such pronouncements remind us of a Turkish proverb characterizing human memory with being crippled with amnesia. Not very long ago, similar petty-bourgeois nationalist groups readily used to declare themselves in favor of 'socialism', (proletarian internationalism' and the 'Leninist solution of the national question'. And they used to praise revisionist Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko and even Gorbachev to the skies. We could remind such opportunist and pragmatist people the fact that the correctness of Bolshevik policy with regard to the national question was tested in the fire and storm of struggle. Neither the bloody White Guard rebellion that lasted through 1918-21 and ruthless capitalist encirclement of 1920s and 1930s, nor the sabotage and subversive activities of the fifth column and the attack of Hitler's hordes could drive a wedge between Soviet peoples and break their unity. The socialist Soviet Russia of 1920s, 1930s and 1940s had survived despite formidable and seemingly unconquerable obstacles and hardships and what is more, had become stronger in the meantime, while the revisionist Soviet Russia of 1980s and 1990s has gone under relatively easily and almost without a struggle. This only presents us with another proof of superiority of socialism over capitalism. As the proverb goes, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating." It is very instructive to observe the fact, that such petty-bourgeois groups and people have fared worse than even some bourgeois scholars in being fair and giving Lenin's and Stalin's Soviet Union its due in the realm of the national question. For instance, A. Cobban, who was from being a Bolshevik or a revolutionary, wrote thus in 1945:

"The Soviet Union was to be no Habsburg Empire with a comparatively rich industrial and financial centre in striking contrast with miserably poor agricultural provinces. The minority nationalities had the evidence of economic progress on a gigantic scale in their own homelands and under their own eyes. If the Soviet Union eventually proves to have dealt successfully with the problem of uniting the most varied nationalities in a single great federation, that success will have to be attributed in no small measure to the steps it took from the very beginning to bring the 'subject nations' into the full stream of industrial development, and so to remove the source of economic inequality and exploitation." (The Nation State and National Self-Determination, p. 21 1)

And he added:

"In so far as communism has succeeded in establishing a generally accepted ideal for progress of the whole Union, this is a spiritual bond uniting all its peoples. It is a new form of patriotism, and not the worse because it is directed to internal progress rather than to foreign conquest. At the same time, the Soviet Union is rapidly becoming -perhaps has already become- an economic nexus from which no part can be severed without severe injury both to the part and the whole, and a vast defensive structure, the parts of which are equally necessary to one another from the strategic point of view. Economic and military inter-dependence from above,

local self-government, cultural autonomy and national equality from below -that is the ideal scheme, however many faults there may be in its present realisation, which the U.S.S.R. seems to be striving to achieve."(Ibidem, p. 218)

The course of events since 1989 appears at first glance to justify the stand of petty-bourgeois or nationalist critics of Marxism-Leninism. The fall of the revisionist-capitalist order in the Soviet Union was followed by a series of conflicts between Tartars and Uzbeks, ethnic Russians and Moldavians, Russian punitive expedition against Azerbaijan, conflicts between Azeris and Armenians, ethnic tensions between the Ukraine and Russia, growth of Great-Russian chauvinism and lastly by Russian military aggression against Chechenia. A more careful examination of the matter, however will prove otherwise. It is true that the demise of revisionist/social-imperialist bloc and the disintegration of the social-imperialist Soviet Union have made their contribution to the aggravation and spread of ethnic tensions and contradictions throughout the world. BUT, we, first of all should remember that, the fall of revisionist bloc and of social-imperialist Soviet Union do not signify the defeat and failure of socialism. To the contrary, they signify the defeat and failure of revisionism and capitalism. And secondly, we should point out that, this 'national explosion' in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe itself, constitutes only part of the general failure of the bourgeoisie in the solution of the national question. A casual glance at the global scene will be sufficient to demonstrate this fact. Apart from the long standing national tensions and conflicts in semi-colonial countries, such as Afghanistan, India, Iran, Srilanka, Turkey, the Philippines, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Rwanda, South Africa, Zaire etc., recent years have witnessed to the aggravation of national tensions, to the spread of 'nationalist fever' to other and developed capitalist and imperialist countries as well. Ethnic war among Serbs, Croats and Bosnians in the former Yugoslavia, development of Black and Hispanic nationalism in the US, stirrings of ethnic tensions in Sinkiang region of China, revival of reactionary and expansionist Panturkist policies in Turkey, growth of Hindu nationalism in India, rise of ethnic consciousness among oppressed Indian people in several Latin American countries, continuing resentment among Black people of South Africa, who were cheated out of their victory, failure of US-sponsored 'peace' process in Palestine, emergence of Northern League and talk of secession of Northern Italy from the rest of the country, failure of the peace talks in Northern Ireland, growth of national tension between Walloons and Flemish in Belgium, flowering of separatist Bloc Quebecois in Canada, further growth of reactionary nationalism and even of racism in the US, Japan, Germany, France, England, Austria etc. all testify to this trend.

Development of events is once again confirming, albeit in a bloody manner, the correctness of Leninist-Stalinist approach to the national question. Mankind is, in a sense being punished for its delay in bringing capitalist-imperialist system down, by the growth of nationalism and aggravation of national contradictions. We, communists are theoretically and morally in a much stronger position now: We can point out and prove to all workers and toilers and all sensible and unbiased people that, only through social revolution, through the overthrow of capitalist system of exploitation can a permanent solution of the national question be effected. Marx and Engels had demonstrated this long before. In their Communist Manifesto, the founders of scientific socialism argued that the proletariat of each country first of all, had to settle its accounts with its own bourgeoisie. Thus, 'though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle'. And afterwards they had justly emphasized the inseparable connection

between national and social liberation:

"In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end." In line with this thesis of Marx and Engels, Stalin, in March 1921 wrote thus:

"It scarcely needs proof that under the rule of capital, with private ownership of the means of production and the existence of classes, equal rights for nations cannot be guaranteed; that as long as the power of capital exists, as long as the struggle for the possession of the means of production goes on, there can be no equal rights for nations, just as there can be no co-operation between the laboring masses of different nations. History tells us that the only way to abolish national inequality, the only way to establish a regime of fraternal co-operation between the laboring masses of the oppressed and non-oppressed nations, is to abolish capitalism and establish the Soviet system." ("Report on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the National Question", Works, Vol. 5, p. 38)

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Right from the beginning Lenin and Stalin attributed great importance to the national question. They waged a consistent and uncompromising struggle against all forms of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism. They also developed the teachings of Marx and Engels on the national question and adopted it to the conditions of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. They formulated the programme and policy of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (later Russian Communist Party/Bolsheviks) on the national and the colonial question. In this way they armed the proletariat and its advanced vanguard the world over in its fight against imperialism and capitalism, which have been and are the root cause of national oppression and all reaction. Just like Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin strived to educate the working class and its class-conscious vanguard in the spirit of consistent democracy and urged them to oppose all forms and manifestations of repression and persecution targeting any class or stratum. Only in this manner could the working class and its vanguard avoid being an impotent appendage of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, gain the confidence and respect of toiling and exploited masses and of all progressive forces. Only in this manner could the working class and its vanguard establish their hegemony in the revolution and raise themselves to a position of leadership over the toiling masses. Therefore, the working class and its vanguard had to be resolute advocates and supporters of the rights of oppressed nations, up to and including their right to secession. They, especially were and are obliged to support the national liberation struggles of colonial and semi-colonial peoples against imperialism, the main source of all reaction, and its local allies. Lenin was very unequivocal in his condemnation of so-called socialists, who in the name of "defence of the fatherland" not only did not oppose imperialist wars, annexations and oppression of colonial peoples by their "own" bourgeoisie, but actually approved and supported them. In his "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Question" Lenin said:

"The age-old oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has not only filled the working masses of the oppressed countries with animosity towards the oppressor nations, but has also aroused distrust in these nations in general, even in their proletariat. The despicable betrayal of socialism by

the majority of the official leaders of this proletariat in 1914-19, when 'defence of country' was used as a social-chauvinist cloak to conceal the defence of the 'right' of their 'own' bourgeoisie to oppress the colonies and fleece financially dependent countries, was certain to enhance this perfectly legitimate distrust."(Theses, Resolutions and Manifestoes of the First Four Congresses of the Third International, pp. 80-8 1) On the other hand, it should be born in mind that, they never considered the struggle against national discrimination, oppression and inequality as an end in itself, but as part of the working class' struggle for socialism and communism, who had to be freed from the ideological and political yoke of bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, If it was to accomplish its historical task of bringing an end to capitalism. It is obvious that a working class, which does not fight consistently against the national oppression practised by its "own" bourgeoisie, only strengthens its own chains. "No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."(Marx) Commenting upon the relationship between the struggle against national oppression and the struggle for socialism, Lenin wrote:

"The various demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but a small part of the general democratic (now, general Socialist) world movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole, if so, it must be rejected." (Quoted in Stalin, Problems of Leninism, p. 53) To this one might and should add the incompatibility of nationalism with the world view of the working class and its internationalist stand and perspective. Lenin always stressed the utmost necessity and importance of the unity of workers of all countries, the class unity of the workers of all nationalities in one country and their ideological and political independence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. This required not only a consistent fight against all forms and manifestations of nationalism of the dominant nations, especially imperialist yoke on colonial and semi-colonial peoples and an unequivocal defence of all rights of oppressed nations, up to and including their right to secession. But this also required the waging of an ideological struggle against the nationalism of the oppressed nations and petty-bourgeois nationalism. The policy of national oppression, on the other hand, made it more difficult for the proletariat to preserve its class independence. Speaking of the adverse effects of the policy of national oppression, Stalin said:

"It diverts the attention of large strata from social questions, questions of the class struggle, to national questions, questions 'common' to the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. And this creates a favorable soil for lying propaganda about 'harmony of interests,' for glossing over the class interests of the proletariat and for the intellectual enslavement of the workers. This creates a serious obstacle to the cause of uniting the workers of all nationalities." ("Marxism and the National Question", Works, Vol. 2, pp. 319-20) And he added:

"The obligations of Social-Democracy, which defends the interests of the proletariat, and the rights of a nation, which consists of various classes are two different things."(Ibidem, pp. 321-22) It should be stressed, however, that to go too far in the struggle against the nationalism of the oppressed nations might lead to another deviation. That's why, Lenin and Stalin fought at the same time against those, who underestimated the importance of the national question and turned their back on the legitimate demands of oppressed nations in the name of socialist revolution. A case in point is R. Luxemburg, who in her overzealous struggle against Polish nationalism, took a Proudhonist stand and rejected the right of Poland, then under Russian domination, to self-determination. In his polemic against Luxemburg, who objectively supported Great-Russian nationalism, Lenin wrote:

"...Social-Democrats would be deviating from proletarian policy and subordinating the workers to the policy of the bourgeoisie if they were to repudiate the right of nations to self-determination, i.e., the right of an oppressed nation to secede, or if they were to support all the national demands of the bourgeoisie of oppressed nations...

"Successful struggle against exploitation requires that the proletariat be free of nationalism, and be absolutely neutral, so to speak, in the fight for supremacy that is going on among the bourgeoisie of various nations. If the proletariat of any one nation gives the slightest support to the privileges of its 'own' national bourgeoisie, that will inevitably rouse distrust among the proletariat of another nation; it will weaken the international class solidarity of the workers and divide them, to the delight of the bourgeoisie. Repudiation of the right to self-determination or to secession inevitably means, in practice, support for the privileges of the dominant nation."("The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", Selected Works, Vol. 1, pp. 591-92)

It must be added that the incompatibility of Marxism with "even the most 'just', 'pure', refined and civilized nationalism"(Lenin) and the necessity of a consistent ideological struggle against nationalism, should not lead communists to underestimate the revolutionary potential of the peoples of semi-colonial and dependent countries. Despite all the changes capitalism has undergone during the 20th century, it still can not do without being imperialistic, without the most vicious exploitation not only of the workers and toilers of backward, but also of those of relatively developed countries. Thus, the chief task of establishing a joint front of workers of advanced capitalist countries and workers and peoples of semi-colonial and dependent countries against world imperialism, headed by US imperialism, retains its validity. The working classes of imperialist countries are obliged to express and mobilize their consistent support of and solidarity with all anti-imperialist and democratic revolutionary struggles of the workers and peoples of semi-colonial and dependent countries, which due to the development of capitalism in these regions, have a greater potential of passing uninterruptedly into socialist revolutions now, than they had a couple of decades ago.

One last point: We believe that, the incompatibility of Marxism with nationalism should not induce communists to underestimate the influence of nationalism on the great masses of workers and toilers, especially in our day. They can not afford to forget that, the ideological pull of Marxism-Leninism on the working class the world over, is weaker than it used to be in the 1950s. Nearly half a century-old ideological and political aggression of the bourgeoisie has resulted, among other things in the spread also of nationalism in the ranks of workers. Therefore, communists have to be more careful and attentive, so to speak and have to take into account this relatively backward level of political consciousness, struggle and organization of workers and other toilers. There is nothing unusual to all this. In his day, Lenin himself had taken note of the influence of nationalism among Russian workers and peasants and the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the landlords to deepen and extend it. So, his uncompromising struggle against all forms and manifestations of chauvinism, social-chauvinism and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism and his struggle for the rights of the oppressed nations and nationalities, did not signify support for a sort of national nihilism. In 1914, in his article "On the National Pride of the Great Russians", he wrote:

"Are we class-conscious Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not. We love our language and our motherland; we more

than any other group, are working to raise its laboring masses (i.e. nine-tenths of its population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists...

"We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, too, has created a revolutionary class, that it, too, has proved capable of giving humanity great example of struggle for freedom and for socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, severe famines and abject servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists."(Collected Works, Vol. 21, pp. 85-86) Stalin wrote in a similar vein during the Great Patriotic War, when he set great store by Soviet patriotism. He said:

"The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is based not on racial or nationalistic prejudices, but on the people's profound loyalty and devotion to their Soviet Motherland, on the fraternal partnership of the working people of all nationalities in our country. Soviet patriotism harmoniously combines the national traditions of the peoples and the common vital interests of all working people of the Soviet Union. Far from dividing them, Soviet patriotism welds all the nations and peoples of our country into a single fraternal family."("On the 27th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution", Works, Vol. 15, pp. 422-23)

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The teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the national question preserve their correctness and validity in our tumultuous world that is nearing the third millennium. Now, it is more obvious than ever that, only the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism and the victory of proletarian revolution throughout the world will save humanity from the repetition, maybe on a much larger scale, of such tragedies, as the Armenian, Jewish and Rwandan genocide's and the terrible sufferings of two world wars and of innumerable so-called local wars. Only through proletarian internationalism and the brotherhood of peoples advocated by Marxism-Leninism, can humanity end its 'global civil war' and enter an era of eternal peace, enlightenment and progress.

(*) In his so-called 'Secret Speech' at the 20th Congress of CPSU Khrushchev said: "All the more monstrous are the acts whose initiator was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality polity of the Soviet State." (William G. Andrews, *Soviet Institutions and Policies, Inside Views*, p. 78)

TEXT OF THE SPEECH ON NATIONAL QUESTION

Text of the speech presented by the representative of Marxist Leninist Communist Party at the Brussels meeting of Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary parties and organizations, on 3 May 1997

Dear comrades,

I greet you all on behalf of MLKP of Turkey and wish success for this international seminar.

Our paper has been circulated. So, I'll limit myself with a few observations on the national question.

We can not and should not be content with the repetition of correct principles, generalizations and formulations of Marxism-Leninism. To mention past experience and to refer to it is necessary. To quote Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the national question and on any other question is also necessary. But this is not Sufficient, as the mathematicians would say. Class enemy is learning from the experience of revolution and counter-revolution and is perfecting its strategy and tactics day by day. We also should continuously learn from this experience and develop and perfect our strategy and tactics. We must address the real questions we actually are facing today. We must do much more than praising Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in a nostalgic manner and must do much more than repeating their formulations, if we want to be their rightful successors. And we must also become parties of action. We all will remember the eleventh of Marx's Theses on Feurbach. In it he said:

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in different ways; the point is to change it."

Comrades and friends,

I come from a country where the first genocide of this century, of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions was conducted. Turkish reactionaries, supported by German imperialists massacred more than 1 million Armenian people in 1915-16. And we should remember that at the time the total population of Anatolia was around 8 to 9 million. Further, Turkish ruling classes have conducted various massacres against the Kurdish people both before the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923 and afterwards. And they are doing it now, with the support of American and Western European imperialists. I should also mention the fact that, at this very moment Turkish army is massing tens of thousands of troops near the Iraqi border. It is obvious that, they plan to carry out another one of their cross border operations against the bases of Kurdish national liberation movement there. I'm sure that they will not achieve any real victory. The experience of guerrilla warfare in Northern Kurdistan (Southeastern Turkey) and Southern Kurdistan (Northern Iraq) has shown and proved once again that, if a people are determined to fight, no force will be able to stop or subdue them.

Besides, after the dissolution of revisionist Soviet Union in 1991, Turkish

reactionary ruling classes have once more revived their age-old dream of establishing a Panturkish empire extending from the Adriatic Sea to the Chinese Wall. Under the protection of US imperialists, of course. So, they've been very active in promoting Turkish chauvinism and reactionary Islamic fundamentalism in the Balkans, in Caucasia and in Central Asia. Turkish agents, businessmen, teachers, soldiers and politicians etc. are very active throughout this extensive region.

In passing, I also want to mention a bourgeois-nationalist Turkish party, which tries to present itself as a socialist party, and warn everybody in this hall about it' This is the so-called Workers' Party led by a certain Dogu Perincek. Almost everybody in Turkish progressive circles is aware of the fact that, this party is directly related to Turkish ruling classes and Turkish general staff. Unfortunately, this party has been able to establish almost regular contacts with Cuban Communist Party, Korean Workers' Party, Russian Communist Workers' Party and other parties. We hope to produce an English pamphlet to expose this traitorous clique in the near future.

Dear comrades and friends,

The workers of the oppressed nation are obliged actively to take part in the struggle for national liberation against imperialism and the oppressor nation. But their aim can not and should not be limited with that, that is, with the creation of another capitalist state and society. They should aim at the creation of a socialist state and society and the transition to communism. Imperialists have learned a lot from their own experience and from the experience of the peoples of the world. In the meantime they've learned or started to learn not to become very alarmed of national-bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leaderships. Imperialists and their local henchmen can quite easily buy such parties and maintain their colonial domination over the peoples of dependent countries. A case in point is the Arafat clique in Palestine, who initiated a so-called peace process with Zionist Israel in 1993. Let me remind you that, it was none other than a top Israeli official, who a couple of months ago told that, without the support of Arafat's Palestinian authority and their police, they would be very much strained in controlling Palestinian people. Another one is the Mandela clique in South Africa. Both have been successful to a great extent in containing the anger and the struggle of their "own" peoples. At least temporarily. And both have been supported by imperialists and by the more far seeing sections of the local ruling classes eagerly. Therefore, we can not and should not say that, imperialists will always support the most regressive and the most reactionary forces in semi-colonial and dependent countries. There are quite a few of examples to the contrary.

Before ending my speech, let me also touch upon the subject of national liberation movements with religious colouring or leanings. We all should oppose reactionary religious fundamentalism, which is an enemy of the workers and peoples of the world. This, however, does not preclude such groups as HAMAS in Palestine, Islamic jihad in Lebanon or Moro Islamic Liberation Front in the Philippines from playing objectively a limited progressive role in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. It is obvious that, such groups will play this role, as long as they really fight against imperialism and reaction

and deal blows at them directly or indirectly.

Comrades and friends,

We believe that the course of events in our era throughout the world has proved the correctness of Leninist-Stalinist approach to the national question. So we can confidently say together with Stalin:

"It scarcely needs proof that under the rule of capital, with private ownership of the means of production and the existence of classes, equal rights for nations can not be guaranteed; that as long as the power of capital exists, as long as the struggle for the possession of the means of production goes on, there can be no equal rights for nations."

The statement of MLKP representative in reply to a question during the discussion session.

We can not and should not reject the right of nations to self-determination on the pretext of imperialist manipulation of petty-bourgeois nationalism, tribalism etc. Lenin once pointed out that, under certain conditions all democratic demands can in one way or another be manipulated by imperialists for their own reactionary ends and made to serve them; but this can not and should not lead us to repudiate that right itself. We Marxist-Leninists, do not consider democratic demands as absolute things, but as a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution and subordinate the struggle for democracy to the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. To argue otherwise and repudiate the right of nations to self-determination or any other democratic demand, will directly play into the hands of colonialists and imperialists, who to the very end have tried to repudiate the right of colonial nations' right to self-determination. It is very well known that, at least from the 19th century on, they have alleged that 'backward peoples' are not fit to govern themselves and therefore should live under the 'benevolent' yoke of 'advanced countries.'

In this context, I want to stress the dialectical relationship between the right of nations to self-determination, that is, their right to be free of all national oppression, including the right to form their own states on the one hand and the right of the working classes to self-determination, that is, their right to make socialist revolution, on the other. We recognize the legitimacy of both, though our basic aim is to make a socialist revolution. We can't forget the fact that, as everything else that exists, a nation is also a unity of opposites. It consists of a proletariat and a bourgeoisie or of the exploited and the exploiting classes and strata, whose interests are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable. The right of the working class to self-determination will come to the fore and replace the right of nations to self-determination in proportion to the level of development of the class struggle of the proletariat and other exploited strata against the bourgeoisie in that particular nation. That is, the more advanced proletariat's class struggle against the exploiting classes, the less progressive and/or even more reactionary will the exercise of the right of nations to self-determination play and vice versa.

A Message of Greetings Sent to SUCI (Socialist Unity Center of India)

On 80th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

GLORY TO OCTOBER REVOLUTION!

Eighty years ago the workers and toilers of Russia overthrew the Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie through an armed uprising and established the dictatorship of the proletariat on one sixth of the globe. This was proletariat's first successful bid for political power following the heroic, but short-lived attempt of Paris workers in 1871.

Under the wise direction of the Bolshevik Party led first by Lenin and later Stalin, the workers and toilers of all nationalities of this great land victoriously defied immense difficulties in defending their newly established state and in the construction of socialism: First of all, they had to fight a bloody and savage civil war against the White armies of the overthrown landlords and the bourgeoisie, supported actively by imperialists. Secondly, they had to wage an epochal struggle to collectivize agriculture, create a modern industry and build socialism under the constant blockade and sabotage of imperialists, their agents and fifth column in the Party and the Soviet state. Thirdly, they had to withstand the mighty assault of Hitlerite Germany and its allies and had to make the greatest sacrifices for the victory of the peoples of the world in their struggle against fascism. Fourthly, after the victory in the anti-fascist war, they had to build their devastated country anew and at the same time offer their all-sided support to all peace-loving peoples and communist and revolutionary forces in the face of the threats and aggression of US imperialism, who had stepped into the shoes of German, Japanese and Italian warmongers.

The real importance of the October Revolution lies in the fact that, it proved in practice the superiority of socialism over capitalism. All over the world politically advanced sections of laboring classes witnessed the creation of a just and humane society; they saw through their own eyes the possibility of the construction of a social order free of exploitation, national oppression, militarism, religious fanaticism, unemployment, homelessness, sexual discrimination, poverty, unemployment, and other vices of capitalism. This is the real reason why all exploiting classes have hated, do hate and will continue to hate the October Revolution. And this is the reason why all renegades, social-democrats, revisionists, Trotskyites etc have been howling against Stalin, whom they rightfully identify with the consolidation of the Soviet power, construction of socialism and demonstration of its supe-

riority over capitalism. Class-conscious workers and toilers, on the other hand have considered socialist Soviet Union their own fatherland and have defended it in the face of the slanders, provocations and aggression of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. Intense and boundless class hate of the bourgeoisie and the howls of its hirelings directed at proletarian revolution have only served to prove the correctness of the road of the October Revolution.

Right from the beginning the exemplary struggle of the workers and toilers of Russia against Tsarism, the Russian and world bourgeoisie and in fact the very existence of the Soviet Union have been a great inspiration to the working humanity; it has encouraged it in its fight to break the shackles of its oppressors and exploiters. So, from the standpoint of the exploiting and oppressing classes the world over, their struggle against their 'own' workers and toilers was inextricably linked with their struggle against the road of October and socialist Soviet Union. The victory of the October Revolution, the victory in the construction of socialist society during 1930's and the victory over fascism all dealt heavy blows at the bourgeoisie and imperialism and weakened them. During the time of Lenin and Stalin, socialist Soviet Union, the product of the October Revolution, remained a strong bastion supporting the socialist revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and national revolutionary struggles of oppressed peoples.

Revisionist degeneration of the CPSU after the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union during 1960's and the final dissolution of the socialimperialist Soviet empire under Gorbachev could neither destroy the living memory of the October Revolution, nor alleviate bourgeoisie's fear of revolution. Eighty years after, the October Revolution is as vivid and as fresh as ever. It lives on in the struggles of workers, toilers and oppressed peoples against fascism, capitalism, imperialism and militarism. Despite the pompous and demagogic declarations of the leaders and ideologues of the bourgeoisie, the October Revolution is still showing the way forward to the toiling masses of humanity. And we can confidently say that 21st century will witness new Octobers, exploited and oppressed billions will rally under the banner of Marxism-Leninism to bury capitalism once and for all and the world dictatorship of the proletariat will definitely be established.

**LONG LIVE THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!**

TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND REVOLUTIONARY PUBLIC OPINION

The establishment of a New Communist International (NCI) was proclaimed at a meeting held in Sofia, Bulgaria's capital, on November the 7th, 1995. General Secretary of Communist Party of Bulgaria, who announced the press of this new body, informed them about the participation of 30 parties and organizations in the NCI. Leaving out some parties and organizations with observer status, however, NCI could enlist the participation of three parties only. These were; Communist Party of Bulgaria, KPD(Communist Party of Germany)* and Marxist Leninist Communist Party. Our Party took part in this body under quite extraordinary circumstances. It was faced with the proposal to form a NCI, for which preparations were being made for some time. Our comrades warned the representatives of these two parties and told them that a NCI could not be established without comprehensive and serious groundwork and the formation of such a body could not be hurried. They, however, deemed it correct not to exclude our Party from this initiative in the face of inflexible stand of the two parties and especially that of CP of Bulgaria. So, MLKP became one of the three founding members of this new body, called NCI.

Setting great store by the international unity of class-conscious proletariat, our Party had expressed the need for it in its constituent Unity Congress in the following manner:

"MLCP-F(Marxist Leninist Communist Party-Foundation) believes that confronting world bourgeoisie with the organized strength of communist proletariat, with the Communist International is a principal and pressing task." Our Party underlined the necessity of the establishment of such an International. It, however was also aware of the fact that a series of obstacles had to be surmounted to reach this goal, ideological clarification be secured on certain basic questions and the Communist International established on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism. So, the step taken at Sofia was completely alien to our Party's viewpoint with regard to the international organization of communist proletariat. At most it could be only one of the modest steps taken in that direction. That's the reason why, our Central Committee didn't approve of it. And it proposed the redesignation of

NCI as "NCI Coordinating Committee" and transformation of that body into a one, that would not have the right to take binding decisions vis-a-vis its members. Furthermore, it proposed the commencement of reciprocal discussions between the Sofia initiative and the parties and groups taking part in the Naples initiative, who had begun the publication of the journal, International Struggle/Marxist-Leninist, with the aim of unification of the two. Why? Because, after Stalin and the seizure of leadership of the CPSU by Soviet modern revisionism, the international communist movement had experienced a great regression. It had not been possible to prevent the spread of anti-Marxist lines of all hues during this period of regression, despite the efforts of Party of Labor of Albania under the leadership of Enver Hoxha. Under these circumstances, where ideological clarity and international united front work and action union couldn't be obtained even at a minimal level, reorganization of the international communist movement required a non-sectarian and patient, but at the same time a principled and consistent theoretical and organizational struggle. Our propositions based on this perception, however, were not accepted by the CP of Bulgaria and CP of Germany. They kept on claiming that, since there existed a NCI, the others had to join this organization and accept its constitution and rules. Under these circumstances, our Party could not continue to be part of this platform. Therefore, MLKP wants to inform the international communist and revolutionary public opinion to the effect that, it has severed all its relations with the organization called NCI.

At this point, MLKP once more underlines its belief in the vital significance and absolute necessity of the struggle to form a Communist International. It is determined to meet all its obligations for the reestablishment of the Communist International, by waging a systematic and uncompromising struggle against opportunism and revisionism of all hues and by effecting a style that combines principled approach with flexibility.

November 1996
Central Committee of MLKP

TDKP; FROM A PARTY OF REVOLUTION TO A PARTY OF SOCIAL REFORM

Until recently, MLKP considered TDKP as a Marxist-Leninist organization and viewed it as a potential participant in the construction of an all-embracing Communist Party in our country, despite its growing opportunism, sectarianism and reformism. But our Party also had been monitoring the negative evolution of this group with concern. This concern was voiced in an article - "Whither TDKP?"- published in Red Dawn nr. 2, in September 1995. The opportunist leadership of TDKP has unfortunately insisted to tread the legalist and liquidationist path that has led to the destruction of many communist and revolutionary organizations and it has been adamant in not heeding to warnings and criticisms from several revolutionary quarters. And in the end it has virtually and effectively abolished its illegal apparatus and regardless of its pretension to preserving a so-called TDKP, has transformed itself into the so-called Emegin Partisi (Party of labor). As expected, this process has been accompanied with more and more violent attacks on the part of the new liquidators on all really revolutionary forces in Turkey and the Kurdish guerrilla movement, who do not hesitate to use the nasty language of the ruling classes in their demagogic and slanderous attacks. Upon the worsening of the position of TDKP and the growth of the danger of its replacement with a wretched legal party, the Central Committee of our Party had decided to reassess the political character of this group in December 1996 and presented its members and candidate members with a discussion document. This inner-Party discussion has ended in March 1997 and the CC of our Party has prepared a declaration reflecting the collective evolution of the present position of TDKP, or rather EMEP (Party of Labor). Here represent a brief summary of the document.

The history of TDKP has differed from that of other organizations and has had its own specific characteristics. An analysis will show that the virtual self-liquidation of TDKP has not been accidental at all.

TDKP has originated from THKO (People's Liberation Army of Turkey), one of the main revolutionary organizations formed at the beginning of the 1970s. Revolutionary and left forces had suffered a defeat at the hands of reaction following the March 1971 military-fascist coup. This brief period of semi-military dictatorship was followed by a return to a more 'normal' regime in 1973. After 1974 almost all revolutionary forces recovered from their defeat, including THKO. During this period THKO not only took a stand against Soviet modern revisionism; but it also waged an ideological struggle against left' Kemalism and adventurism, which characterized its past. This process, however resulted at the same time in a rightward swing and brought together with it a spontaneist and tailist mentality, which has distinguished it throughout the following years down to this day. Thus, THKO began to greatly underrate and in time negate

the immense role of revolutionary will and initiative of the communist vanguard and at the same time tried to camouflage this rightist attitude with a meaningless 'leftist' rhetoric and a false barricade oratory.

Still, it should be admitted that, its pledge of allegiance to the revolutionary tradition of 1971, its success in enlisting the majority of THKO cadres etc. assisted it to increase its following in a period of growing mass movement. THKO renamed itself TDKP-10 (Revolutionary CP of Turkey-Construction Organization) at a conference held in October 1978. With the help of Party of Labor of Albania, it took a stand against the theory of "Three Worlds" in 1977 and against "Mao Tsetung Thought" in 1979. This made it possible TDKP to base itself on Marxist-Leninist foundations, despite its aforementioned opportunistic deficiencies.

TDKP and its predecessors had not used the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which plays an extremely important role in their development. Neither did the leadership shape Party cadres as active, creative and independent minded communist individuals. The authority of the leaders of the organization, which acquired a bureaucratic character and became associated with arrogance and sectarianism, was one of the most important factors paving the way for such a development. One of the reasons why the revolutionary forces in TDKP were not able to intervene in the recent developments leading to the liquidation of their party, lies in the supine and passive type of cadre created by the leadership.

TDKP held its 1. Congress in February 1980 and met the military-fascist coup of 12 September 1980 as a weak communist organization crippled with a series of systematic opportunist, Maoist and bureaucratist mistakes, both in theory and in practice. TDKP was crushed as a result of the police operations in 1981, when it received heavy blows from the enemy and was absent from the political arena during the period of 1981-87. TDKP had lapsed to the point of seeking alliance with the Ecevit clique and condemning the guerrilla warfare waged by Kurdish nationalist liberation fighters of PKK against Turkish militarism and fascism during this period when it had all but suspended its political activities.

By 1987, communist and revolutionary organizations had entered a period of resurgence due mainly to the growing workers' and students' movement in Turkey proper and secondarily due to the influence of Kurdish national liberation movement. It was under these circumstances, that TDKP tried to rise from its state of suspended animation. In a pamphlet entitled 'Struggle Against the Right Opportunism of the 1981-87 Period and Its Vestiges In the Organization', published in 1989, TDKP CC admitted to following a right opportunist line and tactics, following an anti-Leninist organizational line and falling into ideological confusion and disarray in the face of the onslaught of reaction during the period mentioned. Its attempted conference held in January 1987, however, was interrupted and broken up amid bitter recriminations. In the wake of this foiled conference, part of the remnants of TDKP broke apart from the opportunist leadership and reconstituted themselves as a separate group called Leninist Wing (now called Ekim, meaning October) Despite this disheartening development, TDKP leadership strove to a certain extent to correct its right oppor-

tunistic mistakes and held its 1. General Conference in February 1990. From 1987 and especially from 1989 on TDKP tried to rebuild its illegal structures, issued calls for a militant stand against fascism, imperialism and capitalism, systematically condemned right opportunism and legalism and restarted its mass political work. These positive developments, however did not do much in curing TDKP of its most conspicuous faults, that is sectarianism and arrogance. In the meantime, this organization actively opposed and even attacked the process of unification of communist groups. In 1990, it called these groups "a liquidationist bloc formed against our Party", dubbed this work as anti-TDKP activity" and continued to poison its rank and file with inimical sentiments towards the other communist groups, which had invited TDKP to take part in this unity drive. In spite of the sceptical attitude of revolutionary forces in general and the opposition and slanders of TDKP this work, begun in 1989 would result in the formation of MLKP-K (Marxist Leninist Communist Party-Foundation) in September 1994. Of course, communist forces were not the only target of TDKP leadership's extreme sectarianism; it persisted in treading its traditional path of non-cooperation with all other revolutionary forces and continued to stay away from all forms of common action against fascism.

Before long it would once more become clear that, this revolutionary revival and fermentation was not sufficiently strong to rid TDKP of its rightist mistakes. TDKP's revival after 1987 was to a great extent due to the development of mass struggle of workers and youth and the gaining momentum of the Kurdish national liberation struggle in Northern Kurdistan against Turkish militarism, which resulted in the growing revolutionary pressure of the communist rank in file of this party from below. Towards the end of 1991 however, both the mass struggle of workers and youth and mass actions of Kurdish people, serhildans began to subside. 1991 was also the year, when after the downfall of revisionist/social-imperialist bloc, Soviet Union itself began to disintegrate and socialist Albania capitulated in the face of ideological and political aggression of imperialism. On the other hand, one should mention the fallout of the Turkish general elections of 20 October 1991, which were won by bourgeois parties, who tried to create an atmosphere of democratic euphoria. TDKP, along with some other revolutionary groups was lured by this attempt of the fascist regime to liquidate revolution through the provision of some 'legal opportunities'. In an interview published in its legal theoretical journal in July 1992, TDKP CC announced that, the conditions for the establishment of a legal socialist mass party were maturing. While sticking to its sectarian line towards other revolutionary groups, TDKP also hypocritically started to talk of the possibility of the formation of a party of the block of all anti-imperialist forces. Especially from 1992 on, TDKP leadership intensified its efforts to re-establish itself as a legal socialist party at all costs. From the point of view of the opportunist leadership, the most important part of this enterprise was to convince or rather dupe and cajole the revolutionary rank and file of the Party to accept the new path. Those who were not convinced of the alleged wisdom and correctness of this "revolutionary way out of the impasse" proposed by the leadership were defiled and sometimes expelled. Apart from expulsions, some small revolutionary opposition groups were formed in TDKP; but they were not successful in breaking the hold of the

leadership over the mass of ordinary members and in time they themselves were ousted from or left the organization. In passing, to those who may wonder whether there still are revolutionary people inside the ex-TDKP, we will answer in the positive. This was corroborated, in August 1997, when 220 members of Emegin Partisi publicly announced their resignation from this body upon their criticism and accusations against the opportunist leadership.

This process of rightward evolution was unavoidably accompanied with a less militant political line and a growing apathy towards the struggle of workers, the city poor and youth on the part of TDKP. This organization has been absent from all major working class actions and the actions of the city poor and youth. It not only has not participated in the struggle of various sections of the working class against capitalists, gendarme, the police etc. But, it also has been absent from the struggles of the student youth against the injustice of education system and civilian fascist bands in universities and high schools; it has been absent from the struggle of Saturday Mothers and other relatives of revolutionary prisoners and of 'disappeared' and it has been absent from the anti-fascist struggles of the city poor against civilian fascists and other forces of the regime. A conspicuous example is the glorious rebellion of Gazi workers and toilers that took place in 1995, in Istanbul. Not content with its absence in or its denial of moral support towards this struggle, TDKP leadership tried to portray it as a "provocation". And it only later backtracked due to the reaction of revolutionary public opinion and the pressure from ordinary members of the organization. On the other hand, TDKP's work among the working class has never overstepped the boundaries of democratic propaganda and agitation and propaganda and agitation for economic rights. Although TDKP leadership tried to camouflage its pacifist-legalist line through advertising it as the "only worker-oriented and communist line", it is obvious that, this organization has not made any real contribution to the struggle of the working class either. Therefore, we can rightly say that, despite its rhetoric about its so-called close connections with the working class and its firm orientation towards it, all TDKP has accomplished is the construction of a very modest base for itself among the lower echelons of the trade-union bureaucracy.

TDKP leadership proclaimed the foundation of Emek Partisi (Party of Labor) in 1995, while still taking care to demagogically point out that its illegal structure was being preserved! The legalist illusions of the leadership had become so deep rooted that, it did not even try to learn a lesson from the banning and closure of their party by the so-called Constitutional Court of the fascist regime in 1996 and the forceful dispersion of the peaceful protest action of the Emek Partisi members against this unjust ruling in the center of Ankara. Soon the banned Emek Partisi was reconstituted under a new name, Emegin Partisi. Whatever name this political entity assumes, its general line and strategy has become definite. Moreover, the political practice of the last three years has clearly demonstrated that, TDKP has long become defunct. It exists in name only and mainly to deceive and distract those sincere revolutionaries who still tail the opportunist leadership. In fact, this was the reason why the opportunist leadership tried to stage a farce called Second General Conference of TDKP in October 1996.

CONSTITUTION OF KGÖ (COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION)

1-KGÖ is the mass communist organization of youth.

KGÖ bases itself on the programme, ideological and political views of MLKP. It educates, organizes and directs the youth to struggle with this perspective.

Accepting the ideological-political leadership of the Party, KGÖ is independent in terms of its organizational formation and functioning.

2- All Young people sympathizing with MLKP, accepting to take part in organized struggle in accordance with the policies of KGÖ, observing the discipline and constitution of KGÖ and accepting to pay their membership dues regularly, may become members of KGÖ.

3- All the governing bodies of KGÖ are entitled to admit members. Membership procedure is to be approved by a higher body.

4- The highest governing body of KGÖ is the Congress. The Congress is held once in every two years. The CC(Central Committee) may adjourn or advance the Congress. The span of adjournment can not exceed one year. The Congress becomes officially authorized with the participation of the simple majority of the delegates. It determines the main policies and tactics of KGÖ, approves the Constitution, elects and supervises the CC and its members and candidate members. The basis of representation, its ratio and mode are to be determined by the CC.

5- The CC of KGÖ is obliged to hold an extraordinary Congress if it feels required to do so or upon the demand of the absolute majority of the provincial committees or upon the demand of MLKP Central Committee.

6- The CC is the highest governing center of KGÖ between two Congresses.

7- KGÖ is organized on the basis of regions and units.

8- Basic organizational principle of KGÖ is democratic centralism.

9- KGÖ bases itself on the elective principle in forming all its primary organizations. Application of the elective principle may be restricted by the Congress and the CC due to the requirements of clandestinity. Application of the elective principle is in all cases obligatory in the holding of the Congress and the formation of the CC.

10- Governing bodies may warn and penalize the members with sanctions, such as warning, temporary suspension from responsibilities, testing at lesser tasks and debarring from responsibilities. Sanctions are to be approved by a higher body. The penalized member or body has the right to appeal to a higher body. Provincial committees are the lowest bodies authorized to expel members.

11- Those taking part in factional work or have degenerated are to be expelled from the organization.

12- Members are entitled to leave the organization.

13- Members who have not paid their membership dues for 3 consecutive months are to be expelled.

14- Revenues of KGÖ come from membership dues, donations and financial and material support of MLKP.

