



Our world needs revolutionary thoughts, revolutionary theory and revolutionary action. The only way to hinder this movement to end up like previous ones is the revolutionary and communist leadership.

For many years, the international mass movement have marched under the influence of the reformists and spontaneously. The revolutionary and communist movements do have determining role in this. Because, it didn't carry out its historical and political duties. It was really necessary to make influential and revolutionary intervention to the wave of international mass movement which was growing like a snow ball. But the revolutionary movement didn't succeed in this. Yet, the movement was carrying important revolutionary dynamics, conditions and elements. And the subjects of the historical action were presenting opportunities for revolutionary and communist parties to form, produce themselves and to realize their programs. There was a strong ground to advance revolutionary tactic, slogan and calls, and revolutionary work. The process still waits for a revolutionary intervention.

www.mlkp.org
info@mlkp.org

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

RED DAWN



INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL ORGAN

NUMBER 7

DECEMBER 2003

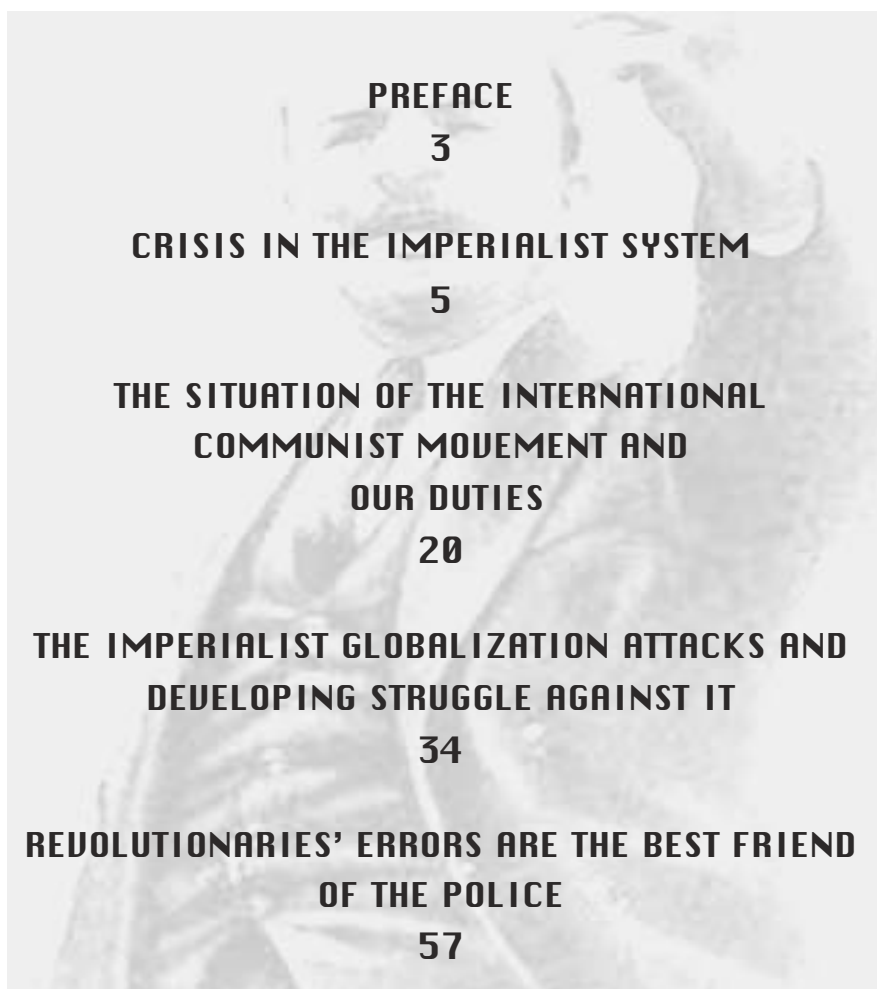


- ✚ Crisis In The Imperialist System
- ✚ The Situation Of The International Communist Movement And Our Duties
- ✚ The Imperialist Globalization Attacks And Developing Struggle Against it
- ✚ Revolutionaries' Errors Are The Best Friend Of the Police

MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
TURKEY/NORTHERN KURDISTAN



CONTENTS



PREFACE	3
CRISIS IN THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM	5
THE SITUATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND OUR DUTIES	20
THE IMPERIALIST GLOBALIZATION ATTACKS AND DEVELOPING STRUGGLE AGAINST IT	34
REVOLUTIONARIES' ERRORS ARE THE BEST FRIEND OF THE POLICE	57

printed December 2003

contact: www.mlkp.org - info@mlkp.org

meetings and in the bilateral meetings. As a differentiation norm of the period that we are passing, the question on the development of quality at safe work must be putted on to the agenda. We must reach to materials that published for this purpose. For example, our own experiences, the experiences of other revolutionary organizations and other books. They must be used as a tool in our education to develop our fighting capacity. Some materials to read: THE ORGANIZATION QUESTIONS IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, ADVICE FOR REVOLUTIONARIES, ANALYZE, THE TRICKY METHOD, THE DIARY OF CIA, THE ART OF WAR (SUN TZU), THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA ON THE BUILDING AND THE LIFE OF THE PARTY.

The persuasion, education and control are the main methods of the struggle against errors, weaknesses and deficiencies that reflected in the "art of safe work". But it is not limited with this and it can not be. The education and deep control must be dealt together with organizational measures and discipline penalties. Seconds' absolutely to be used as an active component of the renovation mechanism of the Proletariat Justice. Specially the leading and experienced cadres weaknesses on this subject can not be tolerated and a special importance must be given to education and qualification of the young and inexperienced comrades.

Local organizations must immediately overcome their passiveness on transfer of experiences to the party centers via party publications.

Despite to education and controls, if the leaders and cadres, those are unsuccessful in the "art of safe work", does not renew themselves then they must be dismissed from their duties and charged with new duties which suitable to their skills.

As a conclusion, we must organize a full mobilization against the weaknesses those being question of. The quality, rigging, style, methods, maneuver and fighting capacity of the party must be increased at this area also.

This renovation must aim at professionalism in the party style, being leader in every stage and increase the fighting capacity of the party. As a party, cadre and organization, we must have a principle on the basis of values and needs of the party. At all times, we must be merciless on our weaknesses, which help always to our mortal enemies. As in all other areas, our party must scare the enemy and give confidence to the masses and friends by its proficiency and fighting capacity in the art of safe work also.

ularity. It doesn't matters' how its been theorized on practical and theoretical level but doing irregular work must be thrown out of the party. A capable party and cadre can only be brought up by in such way. Also, we need such organizations and cadres.

The Party is not just the sum of the cadres. It is their organic collective synthesis. As it happens in all subjects, one of the basic criterions that determines the success or the failure, also in the struggle against political police, is the application of the truths by the collective will (leadership, leading center in the first place and cadres). If true thing have accepted by the collective will and if its being realized as a guidance then the success will be inevitable.

Here is another place of our weakness, which also serves to the political police to give heavy blows to the party. This weakness comes out by our failure on organizing a sound and coherent will from top to bottom and from bottom to top. Some of our comrades' or organs' goodness is not enough and it will not be enough. Cadres, organs, different sectors of the central or local activities, they all have to be good and they all have to act as one part that consummates each other.

Because, on the contrary, it will be inescapable to have deficits and to frustrate the practices and directives of the higher organs by the bad practices of the below organs and cadres.

Didn't our experiences proved this for many times?

If so, the "art of safe work" must be build and developed in all levels and as a full party will and practice.

Because of this purpose, all our strategic leading organs, under the initiative of party leadership, must concentrate on to go forward by learning from their own experiences and they must be an example and leader to organizations, to cadres and to the organized sympathizers.

All signs that show the direction of the political police must be investigated immediately and the measures must be taken against it. Such directions must be used as a tool of collective education.

As in all cases, the organ secretaries have to be an example on this case also, and they must show an energy and initiative that appropriate with the mentality of being leader.

Full control of the organizational activities on the security base must be a main subject of the agenda once in every three meetings and, the evaluations must be dealt in organizations and used as a tool in education and development of the party will. Also, party security must be rechecked and controlled in all organ

PREFACE

The first issue of Red Dawn was published in May 1995 and the last one (6th issue) in September 1997. Red Dawn had aimed at becoming a window of our party's ideological, theoretical and organisational problems in the international arena. But unfortunately, it couldn't do this duty properly in terms of content and regularity that would serve the need. Yet, the historical and political importance that is given to reorganisation of the organisational unity of the international communist movement by our party required an intellectual and theoretical concentration and solidarity and cooperation in the political struggle in order to create a new international style in practice.

Our party's 3rd Congress, organised in April 2002, has also become the congress of surge in the field of international activities as well as in other areas. The target at this field was considered as the main line of the slogan of "to the leader party". It has revealed the will and initiative to develop leaps forward in political and organisational spheres.

Dispersion of the social imperialist Soviet Union and revisionist bloc have caused hopelessness on the millions of people, those who set their hearts on socialism and were searching for liberation within the socialism. The liquidationist effects of the anti-communist propagandas (socialism died, the world of theories is history now, the working class is disappearing etc.) -that conducted densely by the imperialist bourgeoisie, its ideologists and some of the petty-bourgeoisies- have been seen on the theoretical, political and organisational fields. Under these conditions, the dispersion and the lack of organisational unity -that have not been dealt with or were not seen or one didn't want to see- of the international communist movement have shown itself with all of its nakedness in striking and burning forms.

For decades, the forces those who should have come together and organize internationally on the ideology, class and the general ideology basis have stayed away from one another. Of course, this development did not occurred as a result of the dispersion of the revisionist Soviet Union. The problem here is that, as our 3rd Congress has determined, "the international communist movement is having

an ideological and organisational crisis". MLCP is of the opinion that the organisational unity of the international communist movement can only be achieved on the basis of overcoming this ideological and organisational crisis.

Overcoming the ideological and organizational crisis of the international communist movement will only be possible when we solve the political, theoretical, ideological questions in all spheres of social life (in the field of history, philosophy, science, history of revolution, State, class; within tens of questions of theory), accumulated since the seizure of power by the Khrushchevite modern revisionists. Since the seizure of power by the Khrushchevite modern revisionists, Marxist theory has been distorted and made revisionist. These theoretical and political problems have continued until today. However, the international communist movement can only make stable steps by overcoming these accumulated theoretical problems on the way of having organisational unity.

The overcome of the international communist movement's existing ideological and organisational crisis will be possible in the process of practice to solve historical, theoretical and political problems that imposed by the class struggle.

As our 3rd Congress has determined, also the question of "foundation of an international anti-fascist, anti-imperialist front or unity in struggle" is one of the main elements of this process. Therefore, organisation and direction of the anti-imperialist struggle is an immediate task that stands before the international communist movement.

Red Dawn is a podium and means, where our party MLCP's views in all of these areas are reflected. Doubtlessly, Red Dawn will not be a discussion platform. But, it will be open to publish articles from other revolutionary and communist forces that serve in order to increase proletarian internationalism, to make progress in the class struggle and to overcome crisis of the international communist movement that we mentioned above.

For the time being, Red Dawn will come out in English and German (and Turkish only on internet) languages. In the near future, we are aiming to publish it also in French and Spanish languages.

For the victory of revolution and socialism, FORWARD!

political line, constitution, organizational line and the "art of safe work", will not have any relation with the style of party, of being organizationally safe, of specialization and institutionalization, and of upholding the party discipline.

The party work must be done. The party work must be done on time. But this must be done in relation with the party rules and principles of the "art of safe work". It must be practiced fully through unification of the rules and duties. The important one, for an example, is not to go to an appointment in any way and in any case. The important one is to organize our appointment system in relation with the rules of the "art of safe work". When we are meeting with people, leaving people and fixing another date to see each others, all this must be carried out in accordance to the rules.

The people, who are not able to think strategically and may not organize the party works on this point of view, who could not show their will on planned-work and use their spare times, who runs after the activities without thinking, who are not dominated enough to the process, its laws and to the questions' of the activities, who doesn't control their activities (on the organization and personal basis) daily, weekly, monthly and etc, and who doesn't control their activities systematically and deeply on the basis of needs' of "art of safe work", will not be successful.

However, this primitive and amateur style must be destroyed. This style does not contain or partly contain the totality of laws, the stable practice and a will to apply all our duties in accordance with class struggle and rules.

"We are loosing time when we do things in accordance with the rules, and when there are too many duties to be done, in that case, the violation of secrecy and discipline becomes inevitable." Such recommendations and tendencies are a petty bourgeoisie thought and, must be refused and condemned.

Such tendencies and complains can not be accepted if we are going to be specialize on the style of Party and if we are in a merciless and pitiless fight that is full of difficulties (in which we are). Each party work has to be done. Each party duties must be carried out in accordance with the style of party and in party values. Every body has to be shaped in line of this. The time must be used in accordance with this. A militant, qualified and unbeatable party can only be build by such a way.

Class struggle is a difficult struggle. Being a party fighter needs special qualities. The important thing is to win over the difficulties. Comforting is a judgement value that belongs to petty bourgeoisie not to proletariat and his leading party. The important thing is not to do work in anyway and any how. The important thing is to do work, to gain successes and to conquer future in accordance with principles, rules and norms of the party. No reason can show rightness of irreg-

In his work called that "Advice to Revolutionary", Serge, explains that in each step that they were taking, the Russian Bolsheviks were asking them selves "how much does this job, that I am doing or I am going to do, suit the rules of illegal work?".

What we need, as communists, is; this sensibility, this will and this practice. Whole practice has to be developed in stability and continuing practical line.

But, one of our weaknesses also became concrete at this point. We are being really careful, cautious and attach importance to act in consciousness when dictatorship and its police attacks us. But, when their attack becomes flagged or seems like flagged we are loosening and acting imprudently. The irregular and undisciplined behavior starts growing. Yet the political police knows this very well and always takes it into account in their style and method.

However, it is always necessary to know that the political police will never sit free. The period in between two operations is the preparation period of political police for another operation. So, if the "art of safe work" would not be practiced at all times the political police may get very important chances or advantages.

We shall never forget the proverb that says "water sleeps but enemy never" and must show the way to our party. We are a party that organized on illegal basis. We must never forget that being educated and qualified in the "art of safe work" is the basic characteristics of every communist party and its militants.

For that reason, all our movements have to be appropriate to the principles, rules and norms of the "art of safe work". This work must be a life style and natural habitude. Organizational contingency can not be saved by the method of being good in "bad days" and bad in "good days" against the police. We can not stop losing forces that we never deserved. We can not fight against our weaknesses. We can not be always in front. We can not reply to the calls and directives of our 2nd Congress.

One of our another weaknesses that puts our party in a weak position against enemy, is; not understanding the relation between duty and rule, and its violation on different forms.

The organizations and cadres should know that, when they are doing their duties they must do it in accordance with principles, rules and norms. The important thing is not to do the work in any case, any how and quickly. Whole work has to be carried out in accordance with party line, party constitution and to needs' of the "art of safe work". The work, which would be done through violation of the

CRISIS IN THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM¹

Last year, the US President Bush said, "the UN will share the League of Nations' fate if it would stay still on Iraq". Bush, who, in spite of threats, could not bring out a decision from UN, this time, was stressing that the USA will not need the UN's approval in the case of necessity to act against Saddam. Such announcement by the American imperialists was not coming to meaning other then "death of UN". Nevertheless, it was an announcement of, not only the death of UN, but also the death of existing system of international relations as a whole. Finally, this announcement was presented as an ultimatum to the whole world just after the meeting of Bush, Blair and Aznar in the Azores islands of Portugal. The US and Britain have withdrawn their resolution when they realize that they cannot reach necessary number of votes for the acceptance of the resolution presented to the UN Security Council. France, Russia and Germany were opposed to the ultimatum of the US-Britain-Spain. Like UN, the EU has also openly divided into two on the subject of the attack on Iraq. Italy, Spain, Britain, Denmark, Poland, Hungary, Check Republic and Portugal have taken side with the USA. The situation in the NATO is not different also. France, Germany and Belgium are opposing the US plans in the NATO. Division in between the great imperialist powers has become evidential. China has taken part in the anti-American camp while Japan takes side with the US. However, all these divisions and polarizations show on what level the hegemonic struggle has been intensified.

Our world is face to face with an "international crisis". This is not a situation of "ordinary" crisis, because, the one in the crisis is "the imperialist order of international relations". Moreover, the present situation is not only the crisis of the order of imperialist international relations, but also the most highest place of the crisis that continues since '90s' or a moment of which the crisis has shown itself in the most striking and severe form.

The order of international relations, which was formed after the 1st World War, was destroyed by the fascist Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany. The League of Nations founded in 1920 was become insignificant since mid-1930s'. So much so that even the war decisions were not notified to the League of

¹ This article is taken from the periodical "Teoride Dogrultu" (Direction in Theory), number 11, March/April 2003

Nations. The decisions of the League of Nations did not have any sanctioning role anymore. Italy and Germany were stating that they were not recognizing the system of international relations created by the winner states at the end of the 1st World War. The system was not functioning anymore and the new one depended on the rifle. As a result, the order of imperialist international relations entered into an inevitable crisis. This crisis was quenched through creation of a new order after 1945 by the victorious forces of the 2nd World War.

The “international order” which was created following the 2nd World War was destroyed by the collapse of the Modern revisionist, social imperialist system and the disintegration of the USSR. But, in fact, there was no “new international order” or a status quo was created after that. After the “world of two poles”, the situation, which is expressed as the “single-polarized world”, was in fact nothing else then transition period, that is to say, the situation of transition to a multi-polarized system of international relations. In 1990s’, the international organisations such as UN, NATO etc. have functioned as the vehicles of the US imperialism’s strategy on domination of the world. Despite continuing their existence throughout the years of 1990s, the disfunctionalism of the main organisations of the ex-system of international relations (except Warsaw Pact, USSR etc.) have gradually become more evident. They were worn out, therefore, either they were going to be liquidated or be reconstructed in terms of their functions and forms under new conditions. After the USSR’s disappearance, the competitor imperialist forces were no more feeling a need for the protection under USA’s umbrella. The most important thing for them and for the USA was share out of the booty left from USSR. Lastly, the imperialists were agree on the subject of continuing with the international institutions in order to continue with the re-sharing, to stop some of the “irregular” states’ challenge through benefiting from “empty space” with the imperialist states, the legalisation of the decisions on war and occupation and, finally, to suppress the oppressed peoples’ blow ups with anger by naming them as “terrorism”. As a result of this, the imperialists start using UN and NATO as the vehicles of the “legitimate intervention”. Military intervention of Somalia, the First Gulf War, the creation of protectorate colonial regimes in Bosnia and Kosovo through military intervention and occupation and the occupation of Afghanistan and attempts to form another protectorate colonial regime in there are some of the examples of the “legitimate intervention” where all imperialists agreed. The “Balkan crisis”, which consisted of dismemberment and liquidation of Yugoslavia and share out of Balkans, have both strengthened the USA’s hegemony and freedom of using force and de facto liquidated the



The “Art of safe work” creates a totality with its principles, rules and norms, and, in practice, it must be exercised totally.

But, one of our weaknesses, that seen widespread, concretized at this point. For example, practicing just ten rules of the illegality in art of struggle against political police and not practicing five of them, or exercising nine of them, out of ten, if this is the case, you will be open to receive blows from the class enemy. You will weaken the party. The political police can build a bridge that enters the inside of the party. They can give blows by walking on that bridge.

Are you going to prepare a meeting place? Are you going to make appointments? Are you going to arrange a storage? Are you going to set contacts between legal and illegal relations? Are you going to develop a bureau to make false documents? Are you going to use technical apparatus like telephone etc? Are you going to take a cadre to party? Are you going to develop camouflage methods? Are you going to fight against agent-provocateur infiltration? Are you going to work through courier system? Are you going to realize and stop the police pursuit? Are you going to protect the archive and secrets of the organization? Are you going to set contacts with people in prisons? Are you going to transfer cadre from one region to the other? Are you going to collect information? Are you going to make a duty sharing? Are you going to develop a vertical pyramidal organization model? Are you going to organize a demonstration? Are you going to examine the style and methods of the political police? Are you going to educate a person in “art of safe work”? etc. All this has to be done in connection with a system. All this has to be shaped according to the illegality and, needs’ and internal entire of the ‘art of struggle’ against political police. This art, if its going to gain right to call ‘art’, has to lean on to artistic creativeness, and to theoretical and practical means of value, which determines and directs this art.

examine and apply historical and actual lessons and experiences of the class struggle in our geography and in other parts of the world.

Despite to its important weaknesses, deficiency and loses in the “art of safe work”, our party forms the most sounded part of the revolutionary movement via its experiences, fighting talents or by its will of renovation.

But this fact does not ignore the necessary reality for our party to enter in a period to face its weaknesses in this area and to renew itself immediately and strongly on the axis of party style. On the contrary, it insists this.

Our Second Congress, which organized under hard political conditions and special attacks of the police and despite of heavy losses, is a proof of renewing capacity and quality of our party in the “art of safe work”. The class character of our party, its historical function and the concrete call of our Second Congress are integrating with each others’.

The facts, which will be stressed below, are our weaknesses that give extraordinary advantages to enemy, and it is absolutely necessary to overcome.

Naturally, the class struggle is also a question of cost and advantage. Right here, the question is this: were the costs, which had been paid, inevitable? Yes to payment of a cost! Without being in a dilemma... But, the costs must be paid when it’s inevitable. The costs, which we have been paying again and again by living our negative experiences and practices, does not match with claims’ and wills’ of our party. We must learn from our own experiences and from the experiences of others. We should never repeat the same error, weakness and deficiency again. Even for once, we should not forget the saying that goes “errors of the revolutionaries are the best friend of the police”. The cost of being primitive, liberalism, pragmatism, superficiality, not being dispense from bad habits, being undisciplined, unable to exercise the calls and directives of the party; all these objectively serves the class enemy and political police and becomes a gun that shots to the party.

Giving blows to our party and party works, which has developed through huge efforts and costs, based on our own mistakes is not in accordance with our party values, party style and “art of safe work”.

The political police does not avoid to use every single weaknesses and faults. As his/her quality and needs’ of duty, he/she acts furiously. Yet, we have to be much better. Always we have to be one step, several steps, before them. We have to be merciless and bitter on our weaknesses to settle accounts and educate our selves. We must stay tight to depend on Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

so-called “not to interfere in internal business” principle of the international law. The September 11 attack is a new and shocking challenge to the USA’s tending towards the world hegemony. It has played a sharpening and aggravating role in the contradictions of the transition period.

The taking of the power by the representatives of the USA imperialism’s racist, most militarist and most reactionary tendencies, the manifestation of the tendency of transition from bourgeois democracy to fascism inside the country, and -in abroad- the definitions such as “pre-emptive war” doctrine and “you are either with us or against us” those expressing the philosophy of unlimited imperialist aggression and the militarist logic show that the contradictions of the transition period are not only sharpens but the imperialist consciousness of the transition period becomes more concrete and crystallized.

The course of the world economy from stagnation to crisis and the rising importance of the control of the energy sources were deepening the contradictions between the imperialists and were exciting the re-sharing fight. Despite to all their contradictions, the others were continuing to their “partnership” with the America both in order to get a slice from the cake and to oppose the influence of America. This, on some points, was because of the result of the policy to “appease” America. They were choosing the path of “appeasing” the USA because they were not able to show boldness to “resist” him.

All his rivals have accepted and even legitimised the USA’s attack on Afghanistan in order to appease him. However, as a result, the USA was able to enter into the Caspian Basin and Central Asia and continue to march towards the centre of Eurasia. The share of the booty and the new shape of the world map were imposed both on to the former allies and the whole world by the leader of the victorious countries of the cold war.

The USA’s war threat on Iraq has created “circumstantial changes”. Increasing anti-war protests of the oppressed people of the world have made accelerator affects on the clear appearance of the “the change of the situation”. The crisis of the order of imperialist-international relations brings the exploited and oppressed millions into action, and the developing mass movement becomes a factor that hardens the crisis.



Although the magnificent resistance of the people of the world creates partial hesitation on its most important allies (Britain, Turkey), the USA's, which took the British imperialism firmly in tow, continuing imperialist ambition to attack Iraq - despite the peoples of the world and the organisations of international law and order- increasingly puts tension on the international situation. The USA imperialism is insolently challenging with the whole world through its preparation for one-sided attack on Iraq. It threatens the interests of its imperialist rivals in Iraq and also rejects their word and decision rights in the intervening to the regions of crisis.

In connection with its strategic aim on the world hegemony, the USA's commitment to attack Iraq by taking Britain on its side and disagreement of France/Germany to this and their participation by Russia and China is driving imperialist system into an inescapable crisis.

The international order and its international organisations, which formed after 1945, are losing their reason of existence. Because, the system of relations that brought them into being is experiencing rooted changes. Just as the League of Nations' that was led to become non-functional and turned into a mummy by the Hitler's Germany in 1938, today, the United Nations is being left aside by the USA. The same thing is also evidential for all other institutions. In parallel to the sharpening inner-contradictions of the imperialists, these institutions are also under the tension of contradictions. The USA's aggression over Iraq and its efforts for monopolist domination on the oil and its distribution is openly sharpening the contradictions and conflicts.

REVOLUTIONARIES' ERRORS ARE THE BEST FRIEND OF THE POLICE ²

One of the most important institutions, which improved by fascism and the capital in order to suppress the fight for revolution and socialism, is the 'political police'. The political police is an institution that is especially organized by the fascist dictatorship. We already know that this institution has been highly improved quality and quantity wise and has made a long way on information and experience, finance, technique, intelligence and torture, destruction and infiltration. The other fact, we are aware of, is that the political police will be educated more and more depending on the development of national and social struggle.

In that case, the education of ourselves in the struggle against political police and uninterrupted renovation of our selves for all political conditions; is still on our agenda and is one part of the struggle against the hegemony of fascism and the capital.

Struggle against political police can not gain success by using the techniques of illegality only. On the contrary, this struggle must be dealt on the basis of correct unification and application of needs' and requirements' of political and organizational work. A correct political struggle and understanding of leadership, a correct organization model, correct unification of the legal and illegal struggle, a correct working style and the realization of the principles and rules; are forming the conditions for success of the struggle against political police and of the "art of safe work".

Thus, as a result of some errors, weakness and deficiency the political police was able to give important and heavy blows to our party and other revolutionary organizations.

We never minimize the role of proficiency and advantages that was gained by the political police before the revolutionary movement, but such result occurs because of the weaknesses and undisciplined attitudes of the revolutionary movement and its militants, who are not educating themselves in the struggle against the political police, rather than proficiency of political police.

Here, two concrete results came out. **1)** Educational and professional success of the fascist dictatorship and political police can not be minimized. **2)** The revolutionary movement must renew itself in the struggle against political police, immediately overcome its primitiveness and amateur approaches, and must deeply

² This article is taken from "Partinin Sesi" (Voice of The Party), number 11, December 1997/January 1998

ment, the trends and parties with assertion of socialism, the revolutionary, anti-fascist and progressive parties are face to face with a task to participate in the "Anti-Globalization Movement" as a united, organized, effective and attractive political focus. And this will make the struggle, new perspectives and efforts absolutely necessary. A leading position within the movement can only be achieved in such way.



In our day where the grounds of proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie became more internationalized, the practical and theoretical disinterest to the movement against the imperialist globalization, and sectarian and distant stance towards the movement would mean both putting aside the claims of leadership of the communists, a timid and passive approach to the opportunities of developing the proletarian internationalism and a clear national narrow-minded.

This movement, with its present composition, restricts itself with the tools and consequences of the imperialist globalization attacks, in more general expression; it has got the lack of power perspective and aim. This is the main problem, weakness and handicap of the movement. But, this situation, as we mentioned earlier, can not be overcome by making critics outside the international mass actions. It can be overcome by an effective participation within the movement and by mobilizing forces in order to develop proletarian revolutionary hegemony. However, in all aspects, levels and areas, the international class struggle makes the revolutionary and communist leadership and intervention necessary.

This situation has brought, especially recently, emergence of the crisis in shaking form within the most important institutions of the system of international relations such as UN, EU and NATO. The questioning of the role and the reasons of the existence of NATO and EU, which are showing rifts inside, and the UN, which have become even more implausible, has been deepened in striking form. By being pulled into the crisis, the main institutions of the order of imperialist-international relations have become the subject of the crisis, and also turned into a factor that hardens the crisis. The crisis and sharpening contradictions are disintegrating all former structures and relations. Today, our world is more close to the new imperialist world-war than yesterday.

Beside other things, there were two main reasons why it was convenient to the interests of the imperialist brigands to conduct re-sharing struggle without coming face to face with each others until now. The first one is the huge inequality on the military-forces. And the second one is the creation of the regions, which have been considered as being outside of the hegemony struggle during the Cold War, and which became today object of the accrual re-sharing. But, the risk of direct confrontation between the imperialist brigands is increasing since the opportunities of doing manoeuvres supplied by the situation have gradually become narrow.

IRAQ WORKS AS A LITMUS PAPER IN THE CRISIS OF THE SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The oil problem is the problem of the capitalist-imperialist world-economy and the operation and stabilisation of the world order. The power, which considers itself as being the leader of the current imperialist world system, has to make sure the processing and distribution of the oil, which is the vital energy for the world economy, its regular pumping into the veins of world economy and ensure the stabilization of its price and production. Furthermore, this power needs to prevent losing the control of the oil in favour of other countries for the sake of its future hegemony. That is the reason why Iraq is in the centre of the USA's attack. If the USA arranges Iraq and the Middle-East as it wants, then this provides the USA to become the leader of the world even after. This is the intention of the USA.

The other image of the same direction of the USA is the conflict that increased and evaluated to the civil war in Venezuela. Iraq and Venezuela are the targets

of the same imperialist politics. Therefore, the crisis in Venezuela is essentially the reflection of the crisis of the order of international relations.

The oil production and its distribution for the USA are as important as that of other rival imperialist forces. This is one of the main reasons why Germany and France try to establish an axis against the USA.

Doubtlessly, this does not mean that the axis of Germany and France like peace since these two imperialist brigands did not bow to the USA insistence. They think that USA is doing wrong in the re-share of the slaves to them, and are also showing objection to the USA's desire for unshared world sovereignty. These two victorious powers of the cold war are now openly challenging to the leadership of their former ally and to its (USA's) authority by showing objection to its demand for unshared world sovereignty. This conflict between the imperialist states expresses the fight between the great monopoly groupings on the market re-sharing and oil domination.

In today's conditions, the oil problem and the problem of sovereignty politically is bringing the UK/USA alliance and Germany/France alliance to political confrontation. Because Russia and China support Germany/France alliance the unpredictable aggressive imperialist aspirations of the USA are getting more difficult. The other reason and sign of the increase of the present crisis is the disintegration of imperialist alliances, which led by the USA throughout the second part of the 20th century, in the last decade.

THE EFFECT OF THE CRISIS ON TURKEY AND THE REGION

The crisis has obviously reached the edge of a period, where the imperialist rivalry and hegemonic struggle between the axis USA/UK and the axis German/French have deepened. This situation shows itself in the main problems of the international politics and will continue to do so. Our region is the premier sphere of the oil and the rivalry for worldwide domination. Therefore, it will be directly affected by the sharpening contradictions between the imperialist cliques and increase of hegemonic struggle. This affect means increasing destabilisation, disintegration of existing structures etc.

Because of the increase of the crisis of the order of imperialist relations, the direct appearance of the hegemonic struggle, which focuses on the Middle East, between the USA/UK and Germany/France alliances, Turkey has entered in a

and Trotskyites do benefit from the forceless, dispersed and disorganized situation of the international communist movement. However, these trends' political influences will reduce when a strong, organizer and leading international communist movement start setting its mark on the "Anti-Globalization Movement".

The task of the communist movement is to try to have a say on the future of the international mass movement. We must not give opportunity for this movement to be used for reactionary and utopist goals, and conduct ideological and political struggle against the petty-bourgeois reformist and utopist components of the movement. Otherwise, we will not be able to benefit from this development, which mobilizes millions of toilers on the international arena, for development of the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The actions of the movement are also carried out as solidarity actions in daily struggle of the international proletariat and toiling masses. These internationalist actions, the development of the international organizations of trade unions, mass organizations, revolutionary and communist organizations must be dealt with the proletariat's task to develop revolution in single countries.

Being only a participant is not enough. And only being active during the actions will not mean that we are active in the movement. The leading tendencies within the movement are discussing and spreading their own point of views. The right one is to participate in the discussions and play leading role. The urgent work should be to participate in each individual action or with concrete suggestions concerning the movement's problems in order to put this movement into the true class stride and to direct wide masses, which expressed with millions, by revealing the movement's actual anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist content and elements. We cannot forget that the only way to be a guider and effective in the movement passes from putting point of views forward in each concrete situation and finding the way of how to participate and with which policies, slogans and calls. On one hand, we must definitely participate in the continuing ideological struggle, and on the other hand, we must take initiative within the de facto organization of the movement. These two must be dealt together and without putting one against the other.

The dispersed and separated components of the international communist move-

international movement was born against these contradictions; international problems of the capitalism. The international capitalism has caused to appearance of the international movement. This movement is the first real and massive international and internationalist movement of the last years, on the basis of reaction against international monopolies and that goes beyond the borders of national states.

What are the factors that determine whether the movement is progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist or not? Doubtlessly, it depends on how and under which class basis its content being dealt. Many fascist and reactionary organizations are also using anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist words and want to get into the movement. "Anti-Globalization Movement" under their influence, it does not matter how much its being dealt correctly in the content, can not be evaluated as progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. In this case, the thing that makes determination is the class content, thoughts and policies of the participants of the movement; the class position of the forces those who set their marks on the leadership of the movement. The petty-bourgeois class characters and policies of the forces leading the movement have also brought movement to be petty-bourgeois and spontaneous. The fact that weakens the anti-imperialist side of the movement must be searched at class compromising and reformist attribute of the tendencies that leads it. Only a revolutionary and communist leadership can put the real anti-imperialist; objective anti-imperialism of this movement in the forefront.

The objective anti-imperialist side of the "Anti-Globalization Movement" can only be a determining side by the leadership of the communist forces. That is to say, the movement can only be anti-capitalist by the leadership of the communist forces. Because, only communists would struggle under the perspective of destroying capitalism and building socialism. The point that we must always keep in our minds is this: Although it has concretized its present aim on the IMF, WB and WTO, and it characterized with spontaneous, reformist and petty-bourgeoisie, the movement, which develops in the shape of anger and protest against the heavy economic and social destruction of the imperialist globalization attacks, is essentially progressive. It is an anti-imperialist movement and carries anti-capitalist sides as well.

These anti-ML trends such as petty-bourgeois reformists, utopists, anarchists

process where the hegemonic struggle of the imperialist forces will sharpen upon itself. Turkey is a direct subject of the conflict for imperialist hegemony.

TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association), Chief of General Staff, the AKP (Justice and Development Party) government have all agreed to be on the side of the USA in the imperialist war on IRAQ. Therefore, neither the Turkey-USA relations nor the Turkey-EU relations will be the same as they were before. Until recently, in order to keep Turkey away from the USA's axis, the EU was, on one side, applying political pressure and, on the other, compromising with her. The Turkish Bourgeois government have also implemented the same strategy. They, on the one hand, were developing their strategic collaboration with the USA and, on the other, making her entering into the EU as the centre of its strategic goal. The Turkish bourgeois state will not seek to cease from this dual strategy. But, despite to that, two factors are making the situation really hard. The first one is the Turkey's participation to the war on the side of USA, and second one is the clear appearance of the conflict between the France/Germany and USA-UK axis. This situation, before anything else, blurs the future of the NATO and the EU. The EU will follow different policy then the past on the Cyprus and Kurdish questions, which became internationalised problems of the Turkish colonialism. They will also increase their activities to make pro-USA wing ineffective in Turkey.

Until recent months, the AKP government and TUSIAD were having a conflict with the army on the matters of decreasing the impact of the Army on the State, of immediate fulfilment of the laws for accession to EU, and resolving the Cyprus question in accordance with the Annan Plan. But, now they seem to have united on the same ranks. The agreement was made on the occupation of Iraq together with the America, but also they left the rest of their disagreement of other matters on the side. The Chief of General Staff's view on the issue of Cyprus and the Kurds has become dominant. However, both issues are creating very sensitive balances. When the Annan Plan was refused by the Turkish side, the representatives of the EU have started to define Turkey as being an occupier force in Cyprus. It is very clear that this matter will increase the tension between EU and Turkey in the near future. The Turkish bourgeois government is doing this because of their level of relationship with the USA. Even the USA is not happy about it. Therefore, they had to speak about their disappointment on the Turkish side's uncompromising attitude on the Cyprus question.

The Turkish colonialist state will also define a new route on the Kurdish question. The Chief of General Staff, who managed to hold the string with the help of the USA, will not give attention to the EU's calls on the question. However, the fascist Turkish colonialist state can not openly return to their "denial" policies anymore. The Turkish State will try to find a way to destroy the revolutionary dynamics of the Kurdish people and to make them accept the Turkish colonialist occupation by force. This behaviour will suit the nature of its increasing expansionist direction. The announcement of HADEP's (Peoples' Democracy Party) closure by the Constitutional Court on the following day of the decision of the European Human Rights Court against the Turkish state on A. Ocalan case, opening a court case demanding closure of DEHAP (Democratic Peoples' Party), and reconsideration of the State of Emergency, all these can be counted as the Turkish bourgeois state's preparation to take position as an occupant force in the South Kurdistan. Considering all of this, it is clear that we are entering a new period on the Kurdish national question. The occupational movement against Iraq and the mobilization of the Turkish State towards the South Kurdistan inevitably brings South and North Kurdistan more closer to each other and makes "unification of the pieces" more necessary than ever for the liberation of Kurdistan.

The same necessity is also valid for other peoples of the Middle East. The Palestinians, Kurds, Arabs, Turks and all oppressed peoples of the Middle East must unite against the imperialist occupants and their local collaborators. Therefore, their relations must be turned into a common struggle and go beyond the "solidarity". The imperialist occupation in Iraq may continue for long time by the increase of enmity between the people to each others and by sabotage against all sorts of unities of the people. In order to prevent conflicts between Kurds-Arabs, Turks-Kurds, Arabs-Turks, Shiite Arabs-Sunni Arabs, there must be a democratic struggle union of the people of the Middle East, and this must be connected to the aim of Democratic Middle-East Federation.

The Turkish colonialism wanted peace in Iraq, not war. But, its master, the imperialist USA, needs war in order to redesign the region for their plan on world hegemony. Although the Turkish colonialists wanted stabilization in the region, they are face to face with a war that they could not exclude themselves because of their imperative interest. Therefore, the attention of the ruling classes and administrative state bodies is now concentrated on the war, which they have been dragged to.



ideology, lack of theory becomes theory and lack of principle becomes principle. This is what especially was wanted by the leading personalities of the movement; the reformist forces. Because, in this manner, the movement's integration to the bourgeois institutions or turning into full bourgeoisie is going to be more easy, and going beyond the borders of the bourgeois system is going to be more difficult. Therefore, the political education process, the political organization process in the movement, and the movement's organization level have been hindered in different ways.

Why and on what degree does this movement, which developed in the last 10 years against the internationalized capitalism; imperialism at giant levels, and organized tremendous demonstrations from Seattle to Florence, is international? Imperialism is an expression of the creation of the world economy through connection of single country economies to each others. In the imperialist age, the capitalist production is international. The capitalist production is international independently from the development degree of internationalization. In today's internationalization process, the national borders have become unimportant and the world politics and world economy start directly effecting the conjunctural developments in this or that country. So naturally, the internationalized capitalism has also internationalized its own contradictions. As a result of this, an

movements do have determining role in this. Because, it didn't carry out its historical and political duties. It was really necessary to make influential and revolutionary intervention to the wave of international mass movement which was growing like a snow ball. But the revolutionary movement didn't succeed in this. Yet, the movement was carrying important revolutionary dynamics, conditions and elements. And the subjects of the historical action were presenting opportunities for revolutionary and communist parties to form, produce themselves and to realize their programs. There was a strong ground to advance revolutionary tactic, slogan and calls, and revolutionary work. The process still waits for a revolutionary intervention.

Lenin said: *"there will not be revolutionary action without revolutionary theory"*. We are seeing the correctness of the above sentence at the development course of the "Anti-Globalization Movement". The international revolutionary and communist movement has shown no interest to the movement and it became almost an audience of the developments. Although it saw the reformist and spontaneous character of the movement, it didn't tackle it political and theoretically. And thus, it couldn't make leadership or become a vanguard in clearing the way of the masses counted by millions.

The reformists have determined the agenda. Revolutionary and communist parties had have to keep in step with that agenda. That is to say that they have contented with participating into the actions organized by the movement. Of course, the dispersed situation of the international revolutionary and communist and workers' movement, the effects of the developments after the disintegration of the social imperialist Soviet Union and revisionist block, and the imperialist bourgeoisie's heavy anticommunist attacks can not be minimized in appearance of such situation. Loosing force, weakening of believe on the socialist theory, theoretical and organizational liquidation under the name of re-thinking etc. etc. The international revolutionary and communist movement, in any case, did not tackle the movement on the basis of criticisms. It did not concentrate theoretically and practically on the destructive effects of reformists, anarchists and Trotskyites in the movement, which developed externally but, also affected it.

The "Anti-Globalization Movement is a rainbow movement. And always there is a need for an ideological and political struggle from the inside. Looking at the development of the "Anti-Globalization Movement", Porto Alegre and later developments, and the alliance efforts, one will see that lack of ideology becomes

For them, there was no other choice but to be on the side of the USA during the war. They, therefore, wanted to benefit from the situation and make a good marketing of their geographically strategic position. The Turkish colonialist state was aiming to reach these goals by being involved in the war:

- a) To prevent the post-war division of Iraq and establishment of a Kurdish State.
- b) To keep Iraq as the 'Unitary State' instead of a Federation.
- c) To destroy KADEK's forces in the region.
- d) To prevent Mosul's and Kerkuk's oil being held by the Kurds.
- e) To become one of the founders of the protectorate colonial regime that planned by the USA and Britain in Iraq.
- f) To get a high amount of financial grants and credits by being involved in the war.
- g) Desire to get, at least, some portion of the oil income and to become one of the decision making countries in the reconstruction of Iraq and trade relations with the new regime.

Moreover, the Turkish bourgeois state aims to become one of the effective elements of the USA's post-war reconstruction plan on the Middle-East by using the advantage of being involved in the war on the side of the winners.

However, all this does not mean that there are no contradictions between Turkey and USA. Especially on the Kurdish question, Turkey does not trust the USA. And, this is the main reason why it goes towards to involve in the war.

It is obvious that the collaborationist regime, which is directly dependent on the USA imperialism, will not be able to refuse the USA's demands. However, it is also clear that there are disagreements on the Kurdish question between the USA and Turkish State. Because, what is being talked about is a threat on the vital interests (i.e. its colonial hegemony on Northern Kurdistan) of the Turkish colonialism. The Turkish state was not able to show strong will in participation to the war since the beginning. That was mostly because of their disagreement with the USA on the Kurdish question.

DECISION OF WAR IS OFFSPRING TO NEW CRISES

The decision to join the war together with USA has lead to new balances of power within the Turkish bourgeois politics and these have caused new elements of crises.

The AKP (Justice and Development Party) government, the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD) and the General Staff are forming the war front. The President, the Assembly Chairmen and a selection of AKP MPs and Republican People's Party (CHP) were not totally against this front but tried to show different stand. This can be also called as "indecisive wanting". Both fronts do agree on the Turkish Army's occupation of Northern Kurdistan and the annihilation of Kurdish revolutionaries. The point they are divided on is the "international legitimacy". The situation seemed not to be important but lead to an important crisis. For instance, when the first bill about sending troops to Iraq was not approved by the parliament this put both the government and the General Staff in a difficult situation. This was an unsolvable problem. This was the same for America as well. In a statement made after the refusal of the first bill, the American General staff had said that soon or later the northern front would be opened. The USA knew that the Turkish bourgeois state would have no other choice but to bow. This is why the dispatch of troops continued uninterrupted. Where as the USA had already agreed with the Turkish General Staff. These "preliminary" and "secret" agreements added new elements of crisis to the relations between the ruling powers.

The real elements of the crisis are in deep places. The ex-elements of the crisis are falling back because of the decision on war. The ruling administrative power of the state, which put Tayyip Erdogan into prison and tried to prevent him from taking part in the elections, is now as good as mobilised to make him the Prime Minister. Tayyip would be appraised as the Prime Minister of war government.

As stated above, the relations with the EU, the Kurdish and Cyprus questions would still continue to be the reasons of contradictions and clashes in different dimensions and upon different actors between the rulers. The interior crisis of those rulers would increase proportionally to the tension between the USA and France-Germany relations.

There is also another important point. It is very unlikely to guess today how long the war will last and what it would bring with it. However, separately from the things that it can bring in general, the problems that it would create are foreseeable. A state of emergency in Northern Kurdistan, war taxes, inflation and the increase of unemployment, attack on rather limited freedom and rights of people through censorship, and a new wave of chauvinism. The oppressed people under the heavy economical and political pressures of the war would no longer

"democratic", "peaceful", "just" and "social" capitalism do exists. So, there must be a "humanist", "democratic", "peaceful", "just" and "social" state also, if not, we must struggle to recreate it. It's as if there was such a development once in the history of humanity and they want to re-institutionalize it!

* According to the some components of the movements, the global capitalism is a "bad" capitalism and it must be struggled. And the "good" capitalism is the "local capitalism". There must be a struggle to found "local capitalism". That is to say, one must take aside with petty capital against the big capital. The objective laws of the movement of capital don't mean anything for them. What is being meant by "Another world is possible", "another globalization" and "globalization from the below" is the defense of the petty (national) capital, the "local capitalism", and yes idealized capitalism. What a brave imagination!

* This movement defends "social state" in principles. It is spreading the illusion of that the state can be controlled by laws, taxes and thus the capitalist barbarism can be clamp down.

* The movement shows the bourgeois society different than what is in real; tries to put on millions mind that there is a contradiction between the bourgeois state and capital. According to the movement, the bourgeois state; in fact social state, is a state that exists for the "welfare" of the citizens. Therefore, the state must be reformed, and the parties and politicians those who are causing misinterpretation of the state must be criticized. It is not accidental that all the calls made by ATTAC and all other leading reformist components of the movement are addressed to the parties and politicians.

* In this manner, the movement does not make the legitimacy of the bourgeois domination as the subject of a discussion. On the contrary, it accepts this legitimacy and thinks that the demanded reforms can be realized and a democratic life and production controlled from the below in the bourgeois relations of production and property could be provided by applying pressure of the giant show of force.

Our world needs revolutionary thoughts, revolutionary theory and revolutionary action.

The only way to hinder this movement to end up like previous ones is the revolutionary and communist leadership.

For many years, the international mass movement have marched under the influence of the reformists and spontaneously. The revolutionary and communist

* This movement perceives the “globalization”, which is the reason of its existence”, as a new level, a new fact of capitalism. Yet the “globalization”; internationalization of the capital is not a unknown or new development of the capitalism. A capitalism that is non-global is unthinkable. If so, the global capitalism is not a new phenomenon. If so, the thing that is expressed as “globalization” is nothing else than the process of intensification and centralization of the capital, which is peculiar to the method of capitalist production and seen always. And this process exists since the formation of capitalism as a system. After the free-rivalry period of the capitalism, that is to say, since the imperialist stage of capitalism, the new thing is imperialist globalization that we know for about 100 years. However, this movement does not understand that the capitalism is in the trade of labor power, money, production and raw material since its existence as a system.

* This movement thinks that the neo-liberalism is a product of wrong politics. But, the neo-liberalism is a doctrine of bourgeois politic-economy that is in operation at present.

* This movement does not criticize the capitalism as a whole, but contrarily it criticizes some of its aspects and phenomenon those in forefront. According to the movement, its as if, the exploitation and plunder exists only in “third world” countries. The exploitation and plunder in the imperialist countries does not interest them. Thus, this movement reduces the division of the world into two camps as exploiters and exploited to “North-South Contradiction”, that is to say, to known social democrat and over classes understanding.

* The movement defends that the “globalization” with financial markets and giant monopolies is destroying the peoples right to take decision on their own, the democratic institutions and the sovereign state. Thus, the movement defends that the people could have right to take decision on their own in capitalism. They are of the opinion that not the bourgeoisie but the wide masses could democratize some of the institutions and provide sovereignty of the state.

* The “Anti-Globalization Movement” defends “globalization” to be more just. It considers that, in the capitalism, it is possible to reform and democratize international institutions such as WB, IMF and WTO, to clamp down and control international monopolies.

* The movement defends “honest” and “honorable trade” but not the “free trade”.

* According to the “Anti-Globalization Movement’s” leading components, the bourgeois state is everything. According to the movement, the “humanist”,

wish to be governed as they used to be. Because of the weakening effect of the pro-Americanism as an utopia of liberation, the closure of the way of reformist solutions due to worsening economical and political oppression as a result of the war and the masses’ developing ability on the struggle and organisation together with the actions and organisations against the imperialist war, the labouring masses, differently from the previous periods, would organise more frequent and more comprehensive street demonstrations, strikes and resistances. The people would no longer wish to be governed in the old way. They would not only demonstrate this through election pools and political surveys, they also will show this by preparing themselves to give sacrifices. A long-lasting war would lead to a revolutionary situation in our geography as in the region. This will be the main crisis which would be created by the war situation. This means the war would bring important changes in the conditions of the struggle and therefore the conditions of the struggle would get tight.

Some of these are absolute facts, but others are most likely possibilities. But, they are still possibilities only. Converting these possibilities into reality is the work of revolutionary practice and organisation.

THE NEW FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL MASS MOVEMENT

The workers and labourers from all nations, those oppressed; millions in the international mass movement are standing against the boundless aggression of the US imperialism. When we consider the international mass movement, which has developed fast by resting on the experiences and accumulations of the movement against the imperialist globalisation and who opposes the war and defends peace, together with the international mass movement against the



imperialist globalisation, it will show that we are at the beginning of a new increasing wave of the world revolution.

The international mass movement which aims to stop the USA aggression and defend the peace is, doubtlessly, a “reformist” movement despite its anti-imperialist characteristics. It is a reflection of the capitalist-imperialist world order, which was shaped within the last wave of imperialist globalisation, in consciousness, organisation and struggle of the masses. Of course, this does not make it unimportant.

The movement is centralised in Europe, (the UK, Italy and Spain those which are the USA’s close allies in Europe are the countries where there is a large mass movement against the war), but the movement covers the whole “West”. The movement is provoked by the crisis of the imperialist-international relations and by the USA imperialism’s boundless aggression that does not recognise any law.

The horizon of the movement is limited by preventing the imperialist aggression against Iraq, and by stopping the imperialist war in the case of its’ start.

The similarities of the international mass movement on the timing, unity of aims and the modes and methods of struggle in numerous countries and cities are some of the considerable specialities which also show the relativity of the movement with the existing world conditions.

The gradual worldwide centralization of the anti-war organisations which develop independently from each others’ and their actions taken all over the world at the same time are the elements of the “new” situation. This movement is different then the “anti-globalisation” movement. Because, it is an international movement that does not restrict itself with the international-imperialist institutions but directly aims at the national state institutions also.

The leadership of the international mass movement and its subject question need to be investigated carefully. Therefore, we must avoid showing conventional and diagrammatic approaches. The movement consists of individuals, many different social organisations and numerous subjects, and they all make influence on the movement. It seems like the movement is equalizing the singular subjects within itself. And this means that the revolutionary leadership, which considers itself as bound to take part within the movement and conduct hegemonic struggle, can march towards the movement’s centre on the ideological-political meaning by getting involve with the international movement by using

people who are against the EU and people who are traditionally against “anti-globalization”.

* This movement is objectively internationalist, but transnational in actual fact. This movement objectively has to be revolutionary, but actually it is reformist. This movement is objectively anti-imperialist, but this side of it has always been pushed behind by the dominant reformist forces.

* This movement don’t see and doesn’t want to see that the capitalist method of production does not have ability to end its own contradictions, on the contrary it produce the material conditions for contradictions to be more sharpen, that is to say that the system does not have ability to renew itself.

* This movement don’t see and doesn’t want to see that, it doesn’t matter how much its being reformed, the capitalist method of production and also the market, wage, profit, exploitation and etc. can not be subjected to social aims, it is incongruous with the nature of the capital.

* Because of same reasons, the “Anti-Globalization Movement” does not understands that it is not possible to create a system that takes equality, solidarity as essential, where monopolies doesn’t exist, the petty production is dominant and the money, exploitation is not so important, by exceeding/destroying capitalism.

* This movement is looking for “possibility of an another world” within the bourgeois democracy and, at the same time, it doesn’t see that the reasons creating the “globalization” have appeared as the results of this democracy.

* So, the movement doesn’t want to understand that the capitalist system doesn’t have any chance to be transformed into another system by inner-development or exceeding itself; there is no possibility, which would correspond with the opinions of the groupings participating in the movement.

* This movement doesn’t want to understand that the capital would not be able to do anything else than its own conditions to grow and these conditions, at the same time, are the conditions of the “globalization”.

* This movement sees perfectly good that, for today, 65 thousand international monopolies and only about 100-150 monopolies in between them are playing with the future of entire humanity, but it doesn’t comprehend that the struggle against super monopolies is the struggle against the existing system which bring them into existence; the struggle against capitalism. On the contrary, it tries to obstruct the understanding in such way with its reformism and thinks that it may can reform the system.

imperialist war, or the struggle against the imperialist war also is a struggle against “holy alliance”. The ‘Anti-Globalization Movement’s attitude against the war just after the September 11 was fully pacifist as today. The war has been rejected in general and without making just or unjust separations. After the defeat of Taliban (now Iraq) the uncolored attitude against the war has also scraped off the street.

As a result:

This movement has gradually developed and gained strength after a protest action against the WTO in Seattle that participated by thousands of people from different organizations, initiative groups and trade unions. This movement, in fact, occurred from the unification of many different protests in the countries dependent of the imperialism. Following the collapse of the social imperialist Soviet Union and leading revisionist block, desperate revisionist parties and mass organizations dispersed, and the traditional mass organizations of workers movement became ineffective, therefore this movement became center of attention for many “leftists” in the western world (EU and USA).

It is not for nothing that the “Anti-Globalization Movement” has been defined as the “movement of movements” since Seattle. This definition is correct. It is obviously a movement of movements, an International Protest Movement. Politically, it is rather a heterogeneous movement. Therefore, it is also rather difficult to categorize it anyhow. When we consider it historically, we will see that every movement during their foundation and development period will be influenced in terms of content by so many different and wide political thoughts and groups. Each grouping will carry their point of view, the organization and struggle understanding to the movement and will try to influence it. It’s natural also. And this was the case in the “Anti-Globalization Movement”. The movement’s formation has also determined by the political tendencies that forms it. And today we are seeing that the movement is at the hands of the reformist forces.

However, the discussion, which would determine the direction of the movement to develop, has not started yet on the real meaning. This discussion will take place between the reformist tendencies those who are dominant in the movement and revolutionary/communist forces. But, the present discussion in the movement is essentially a discussion in between the reformist forces. And this drives movement to the tendencies such as people who are against the war,

numerous methods and positions, and by directing towards the targets of the revolutionary programme.

By moving from this “new situation”, it will be more beneficiary to consider the question of the communist international also in connection with the reality of the international mass movement. Above all because of the following reasons: these organisations which organised internationally are open to all sort of revolutionary undertakings. The organisations who are coming together are also taking part in each single country’s organisations against the imperialist war. The decisions taking here are also accepted as binding and implemented at the same time. The oppressed people of the world are creating a new method of organisation and struggle on international level. This also means that the workers, toilers and oppressed are rescue them selves from the national narrow-minded point of view, start feeling that they are the part of the oppressed mankind of the world, and the blooming of the idea of the liberation could only be achieved through organisation unity of the world’s oppressed people. After a few experiences of worldwide general strike and resistance, these actions would cause to great animations even in the countries which are in “deadly” situation in terms of the class struggle.

THE REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTIC HAVE TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS

1-a) The crisis of the system of imperialist-international relations, **b)** The imperialist war and its effects in our geography, **c)** The efforts of the Turkish fascist regime -that experiences a process of bankruptcy- in order to recreate itself on the new plane by involving in the war on USA side, **d)** The problems that could be created by the long term occupation in Southern Kurdistan;

2-a) Because of the severe consequences of the war, the wish for getting rid of the regime in Turkey may become strong among the masses those who have already been lost their hopes on the regime, **b)** Weakening of opportunities for the trade-union bureaucracy in controlling the workers and, in connection with this, creation of initiatives from the below in trade-unions, **c)** The growing impossibility for the reformist parties to keep masses -those under their influence- in the former boundaries and, as a result, the increase of the revolutionary pressure in the ranks of the reformist parties, **d)** The creation of tens of different types of organisations in everywhere against the imperialist war e) Increase of widespread, crowded and militant street actions, **f)** The necessity, that the Kurdish National Liberation struggle’s reaches a new phase;

3-a) The creation of the anti-imperialist struggle unity of the peoples of the region becomes necessary by the beginning of the imperialist occupation in Iraq, **b)** The oppressed peoples' worldwide struggling unities become stronger and the creation of worldwide platforms is increasing, while imperialist camp experiencing divisions, **c)** If necessary, the workers and labourers of each single country are subordinating themselves under the will of these international organisations by going beyond the local trade-unions and organizations. These are the main and most important elements that have to be taken into consideration in strategy and tactics.

The communists of our geography should take "new duties" from these "new developments" and positioned themselves in accordance with the "new situation". On the contrary, the revolutionary tactic should consider the situation realistically as a whole.



The mass movement, which has targeted the USA aggression, has reached its high point in Ankara. But still, it has been counted with ten thousands and is far away from being adequately big. It must be accepted that the struggle against imperialist war has played role in the failure of the Turkish parliament in reaching necessary number of votes for the Second Bill (the bill was allowing the USA troops to use Turkish soils), but everything should not be explained by this.

The duty of developing the mass struggle against the USA aggression and imperialist war still maintains all of its importance. In this sense, organising the work of mass agitation is totally coherent with the route of transition to leader party. It is the most concrete field for the implementation of the directive: "to the masses".

base and lean on to the certain class structure. In the second case, the struggle for the real solution of the problems which caused the birth of the movement and the sources of these problems will be criticized, and the importance will be given to the quality instead of quantity. The "Anti-Globalization Movement" has chosen the first path. In fact, it was forced to choose it. Because, the class and political understandings of the forces, who played a role in the creation of the movement, did not leave any other choices.

The dilemma of the "Anti-Globalization Movement" is also showing that it carries the elements of crisis since its creation. This reality was also seen by the components of the movement. But the excited mood, the greatness of the expectations at the beginning, have always pushed thoughts upon the subject to the back. When rising and excitement process weakened; the greatness of gap between the expectations, demands and achievements appeared, the components of the movement start talking upon themselves in the meetings which were supposed to be serving to the development and organization of the movement.

The division of the "Anti-Globalization Movement" or the difference between its components has shown itself in the attitude taken against the war. Especially the attitude of being against the war in imperialist countries, at the same time, in terms of political attitude, was coming to meaning of being separated from the forces who were under the influence of and believing to the imperialist bourgeoisie's propagandas. After the September 11 attack, when imperialist propaganda showed its influence, some of the components of the "anti-globalization movement" don't succeed anymore in being against the war, to take side with the oppressed Muslim peoples; to stand against the imperialist banditry and barbarism. Therefore, the understanding to be satisfied with some statements has become more important in the fight against the war. For example, such tendency has been seen very clearly at the attitudes of trade unions. So much so that, instead of struggle to stop the war, they have shown a practice waiting for the war to come out of the agenda and restart the struggle against the international monopolies in the known concept and style.

However, during the war the only criteria and practice of being democrat is standing against the imperialist war, and this would also be the only assurance of the struggle of the masses for their demands and future.

Some parts of the Movement somehow didn't and is still not understanding that the struggle against "holy alliance", at the same time is a struggle against the

coin) between the imperialist state and monopolies, and make us believe that the subjects which are criticized by them can be solved by some rectification.

These efforts of them not only raise the reformist illusions, but also serve consciously to the obstruction of anti-imperialist development of the international mass movement.

The “anti-globalization movement” as a social movement has put millions of people into motion, carried the consciousness of necessity of change to the millions. Organizations those taking part in the movement have got their programs and initiative groups have got their platforms. But all these do not make the movement alternative against the capitalist system. Because, the forces that are active in the movement does not understands the characteristics and contradiction of the capitalist system.

Moreover, there is a competition taking place for political leadership between the groups. That is to say, the movement does not have political unity and, in these circumstances, it is not possible to achieve political unity.

Of course there is no doubt that there are “radical” elements in the actions and programmatic understandings of various groups taking part in the movement. But these are limited with petty-bourgeois understandings and using force that is broken off from the aim.

In the movement, efforts to unite masses in a anti-imperialist platform are very weak. It is not possible to build the movement as a democratic and anti-imperialist mass movement with the leadership of existing forces who are taking part in the movement.

IS IT REFORM OR REVOLUTION? (The future of “Anti-Globalization Movement”)

The crisis of “Anti-Globalization Movement”: Together with its foundation, the “Anti-Globalization Movement” has came face to face with a dilemma which all social movements come face to face in the capitalism: Either all principle understandings, political direction, class base is going to be throw away and only the number of masses is going to be the most important thing, that is to say, the worship on the number of masses and spontaneous action is going to be taken as the base, or some principles, political direction is going to be taken as the

The main means of organizing the mass struggle against the imperialist war are the platforms organized on different levels against the imperialist war. Development of the platforms against the imperialist war on the basis of the base-initiative and under the axis of units of production and location is the appropriate way of development of mass movement and mass initiative, and strengthening of the revolutionary influence upon the movement. The centralization of such platforms through co-ordination etc. is the necessity of the perspective of claiming the leadership of the movement.

We must try to involve revolutionary organisations in the platforms and, in the case of their involvement; we must go in the direction of uniting our efforts in order to direct movement towards revolutionary goals.

The movement’s relations with the movements and centralised organizations in other parts of the world must be tightened, and the planned common methods of struggle must be putted into practice in our geography.

By many legal, semi-legal and illegal organisations and by using tens of armed, unarmed, peaceful and militant methods of the struggle in many places, the movement should turn into a mass movement that comprises everybody who oppose the imperialist war and the government of war; and should always be connected to the general-resistance.

Having close relationship with the Kurdish National Liberation Movement, making national democratic demands of the Kurdish nation as the subject of the actual struggle, building the barricade of peoples’ brotherhood against the chauvinism and its’ social-chauvinist defenders; are the indispensable elements of the revolutionary tactic.

The initiatives in order to form organisation of the common struggle among the progressive, anti-imperialist organisations and parties of our geography, participating in the international meetings of the international mass movement and taking part in their decision-taking mechanisms are the duties of our revolutionary tactic that absolutely to be implemented.

THE SITUATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND OUR DUTIES

In the Communist Manifest it says “though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the Bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle”. This theoretical definition has been proved many times and without any doubt by the socialist practice and its historical experiences. This has been shown sufficiently by developments within the imperialist capitalism and counter-revolutionary front and socialist practice, the ideological and organizational crises within the international communist movement, the capitalist restoration, reflections of the disintegration of the revisionist and social-imperialist leaderships of the SU and Eastern European countries on the communist movement’s world of thought, organization and action.

When the proletariat as a special product took its place as independent political force in the history of class struggle in the second half of the 19th century, this at the same time, came to the meaning that the proletariat took its place as well in the proletarian ideology and policy, in the class position towards other class, in the class interest and in the line of action. In this way, the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie no longer was the struggle of the single workers against the Bourgeoisie. It became a struggle fought in one country between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Over and above that; it became a general struggle of the proletarian world army or of the “doomed” of the world against the capital and against capitalist imperialism. The slogan of: “workers of all countries, unite!” and the Mayday celebrations as the day of solidarity, unity and struggle are completely expressing this international character, spirit and conciseness of the proletarian struggle. That means class against class; the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie are facing each other!

Under the conditions of waged-slavery system, the international character of the communist movement and class struggle is a reality of the theory, logic, aim and law of the class struggle. And in the current social reality, this internationalist thought, organization and action is much more valid.

thing else than profit and more profit and who won’t be able to act different than what they have done; who drive humanity and nature to catastrophe.

Their criticisms are reactionary, because they don’t promise a future for humanity. In our day, the petty-bourgeoisie, whose imaginative power is so strong, defends capitalism without monopolies and thinks that it could make petty production dominant and could give an answer with the internationalization from the below against the internationalization and international organization of the monopolies. The petty-bourgeoisie hates from the international institutions (IMF, WB, and WTO), international organization of the monopole capital, but regards property and market as divine! Instead of Marxist theory; making search to find reasons of the social movement and its transformation; comprehensive investigation of the changes in the production style; making search to find tools to overthrow contradictions, they are turning their back to the contradictions of the world they live. They tend to create their imaginary world in the same conditions, and try to explain the social existence of mankind by consciousness, and suppose that the “badness” and illness of the imperialist reality can be cured through absurd arguments they put forward. There is nothing revolutionary in their thoughts and theories.

The fact of imperialist state’s plunder, domination and occupation of other countries has displayed the foundation thesis and thoughts, fundamental reformism of the leading theoreticians of the “anti-globalization movement”. The life itself is proving the mistake of writers such as Susan George, Toni Negri, Ignacio Ramonet, Robert Korten etc. Because, the thought of creation (it’s as if it doesn’t exist) of a world market (contrary to defenders of local market) and the market’s central role must be the abolishment of the poverty and inequality, is a utopia, anachronism.

These writers and all reformist groupings who are giving direction to the “anti-globalization movement” as a whole, are interpreting the relations between the imperialist state and monopolies; the understanding that says the imperialist state serves to the monopolies, totally wrong. According to their understanding; the state must not be serving to the monopolies, other countries must not be occupied, millions of people must not be suffering from misery, and millions of people must not be migrated because of political and economical reasons. But, unfortunately, we are experiencing a process that denies such understandings. These writers are trying to hide the reality of the relation (like two sides of one



The anarchist and independents are against the organization, so to the organized struggle, in principle. For them, the organized mass struggle is an expression of “authoritarianism”, “anti-democracy” and it’s oppression for “individual”. These so-called radicals defend “free individualism”. They don’t see any difference between seizure of the power by the proletariat and building its dictatorship and domination of the capital/bourgeoisie.

The Trotskyite groups do not have courage to defend Trotskyism in the movement. They are aiming to get hold of the movement by infiltrating into movement. They defend the most backward demands and are leader in mass tailing. In the movement, they are relying on to the “entrism” and struggling against the Marxism with all their strengths.

The ideology that sets its seal on this movement is the petty-bourgeois reformism. The movement’s struggle against the monopolies, IMF, WB and WTO essentially reflects the petty-bourgeois reformism’s opinion on the “anti-imperialist” struggle. It is expressing the pacifist, legalist and reformist petty-bourgeois’s criticism on imperialism which becomes concrete upon the IMF, WB, WTO and monopolies, but not the radical, revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie.

Their criticisms are inconsistent; don’t have efficiency, mortal impact. Because they are addressing to powers who rob millions of people; who don’t think any-

The objective laws of imperialist capitalist economy and capitalist production process, the movement and consequences of these laws, internationalization of the imperialist capital, trade, goods and technology in the world, the giant-scale increase and centralization of the capital, giant but tens of international monopolies’ domination on the world economy, the imperialist institutions such as IMF, WB and WTO which drive undeveloped and new colonial countries’ economies to ruin, bankruptcy and imperialist dependency; surroundings of the imperialist globalization and neo-liberal attacks on all organizational and political actions of the working class and toiling masses, doubtlessly, will also have meaning on the conditions of the world proletariat revolutions. Moreover, political, ideological, moral and organizational surroundings of imperialism and world reactionaries upon the proletariat and its vanguard groups, their total and dimensional attacks towards socialist practice and theory, revolutionary thought, revolutionary organization and revolutionary action, on the international arena puts new and difficult duties -that cannot be neglected- on the communist and revolutionary parties.

The existence of the 1917 October Revolution and socialist SU was the greatest source of inspiration and strength for the world proletariat revolution and national liberation struggles. The construction of socialism in the SU, socialist economical developments and successes that especially fitted into 20 years, defeat of trinity fascist enemy which was the chief enemy of the peoples of the world and the international proletarian solidarity caused tremendous sympathy, attraction and trust to socialism in the eyes of the proletariat and peoples of the world.

The pressure of the socialist system and the socialist practice had also brought the terminology of “social state” and “planned economies” into the agendas of capitalist countries of the world. Thus, nowadays, where propaganda such as “socialism has died” is conducted, the political parties of monopoly capitalism still name themselves social democrats, socialists, democratic left etc. When the fascist movements appear under the name of “neo-national socialism”, this does not mean anything else than the effects of the socialist thought that was transformed into material power in the political, ideological, social and economic field.

Tactical defeat of socialism has led to national, ethnical and religious sects conflicts and strangles in the motherland of the socialism, the SU, and almost in all former socialist countries. After the pressure of socialist system and successes of socialist construction vanished, the neo-liberal attacks have been fearlessly carried out under concrete and genuine forms in all countries of the world. But, in a very short time, the economical and social disaster and destruction where humanity is driven to by capitalism, which was sanctified and shown as eternal, appeared with barbarism and filthiness.

In our time, the international bourgeoisie is using the experiences of counter-revolutionary war, methods of military and psychological war, all types of counter- and secret organizations, bourgeoisie media and ideologists, which are directed through bribe, universities and data producing centers, military and political strategists, the power of the capital and technology, by centralizing its productions and giving all these opportunities to the service of each reactionary and fascist managements. And it still continues to guarantee and sanctify its waged-slavery system.

International bourgeoisie is reorganizing the international organizations such as NATO, IMF, UN under the new concepts and turns them into universal tools of repression of revolutionary stands and uprisings, which oppose imperialism, capitalist system and bourgeoisie methods. There are striking examples of this, such as the intervention of Balkans and Afghanistan, stand against the rebellion and popular uprisings in the Latin American countries, Kurdistan revolution, Palestine resistance, against the people war in Philippines, Nepal and etc.

After the September 11 attack, all imperialist countries' and world reactionaries' collaborated with the USA imperialists. Under the name of "fight against global terrorism", their support to this fight of barbarism and savageness was, in fact, a counter-revolutionary international unity and alliance of the bourgeoisie against the international revolutionary struggle. The capture and extradition of A. Ocalan, the leader of PKK, to the hands of the Turkish fascist regime, the detention and trial of comrades from PCE(r) (Communist Party of Spain – reconstruction) in France and Italy under the name of "solidarity with the Spanish democracy", the EU imperialists' support on the F-Type isolation prison attacks in Turkey, closing eyes on the Israeli massacres in Palestine and imprisonment of thousands of Palestinians, extradition of revolutionaries from different countries to the fascist regimes, all these are some of the actual, concrete and striking examples of international alliances of the bourgeoisie.

gets half of its budget from the American state. Moreover, many states in the new-colonies are also being obligated to support NGOs and take their point of views just as the consultations with the IMF and WB.

The widespread NGOs, at the same time, come to the meaning of increased spreading of understanding of civil society.

The trend of sivil toplumculuk (an ideology that defends civil society – in Turkish) is essentially a bourgeois liberal understanding. This understanding has been actualized especially after the II. World War by the bourgeois ideologists as an alternative of socialism. The sivil toplumculuk trend does not recognize the existence of different classes whose interests are antagonist, and restricts itself with the eradication of visible weaknesses and correction of wrongdoings in the system. That is to say, it is the reformism itself. Because of this kind of particularities of it, the sivil toplumculuk trend can not see the real reason of the repression and exploitation.

The reformist understandings are the political and theoretical obstructions that stand in front of the development of the "anti-globalization movement" as an anti-imperialist and also anti-capitalist movement. However, it is not a difficult mathematical equitation; everybody knows whose organization the UN is and who rules it. And it is also very well known of which powers are exploiting the new-colony and depended countries. Despite all that, they are forwarding reformist illusions and stop revolutionary development of the movement which is joined by millions of people, and block and narrow it within a sphere that could be accepted by the imperialist bourgeoisie!

Almost all components of the movement, from anarchists to reformists, environmentalists to feminists are uniting on denying the importance of theory and practice of the working class and its party in the overthrow of existing system. The petty-bourgeois, reformist and populist organizations who share the mentioned opinion are setting their seal on the "anti-globalization movement".

Other components of the movement such as localism; defenders of local "economy" and returnees to genuine; existentialists want to take world history 200-300 years back and imagine the petty production, the production relations of those dates.

president of ATTAC-France, Susan George once said: *“George Bush himself has understood the badness of the tax-oasis for economy. Thanks George Bush! You have shown that it is correct to put ATTAC’s program into practice”*. For ATTAC, the measures taken by the imperialist state to save monopolies are a progressive move and a perspective in struggle.

It is also very interesting that the ATTAC does not have criticism on the “war against terrorism”. The struggle against capitalism is not the important thing for ATTAC. It didn’t develop a program for that. The important thing for ATTAC is to make system operate again.

In a discussion with the right-wing economist Thomas L. Friedman, the president of ATTAC-France, Ramonet explains the valve-role of ATTAC in the face of developing displeasure in following words: *“Millions of people worldwide are, doubtlessly, ready to set barricades and apply violence to quench their basic needs. Such solution makes me sad. If we can be clever, this will not be the case. Why we shouldn’t give small part of the world richness to the ‘damned of the world’?...What we can do? How we can prevent half of the humanity from uprising and applying violence?”*

By reforming it, ATTAC is trying to show the imperialist state as a trustable organization in the eyes of the large masses and as an organization where people can take refuge. This is the historical mission of ATTAC.

The number of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) has fairly increased in recent years. It’s being estimated that there are 30 thousand NGOs round the world for today. There are organizations, which have got giant organizational structure and important financial resources, such as Greenpeace, Médecines sans frontières, Save the Children and Amnesty International in between them also.

In recent years, these organizations became so important. Because, both in imperialist countries and dependent countries, the states start heading towards cutting their support on the social institutions and subsidies. Since poverty, unemployment and social discontentment becomes more deepened and increased worldwide, they also open wide areas for such organizations to act. These organizations are consciously supported especially by the imperialist states in their activities. For example, the organization called “U.S. Wildlife Fund”

World’s imperialist bourgeoisie and reactionaries are already prepared and organized against the proletariat and oppressed nations’ liberation struggle based on their hundred years of management experiences, historical examinations and buildups, power and superiority of their regional and central organizations. Parallel to establishment of its hegemony on the world and internationalization of the capitalist production, the bourgeoisie is, one or other way, organized on the universal level. Today’s level of the internationalization process of the capitalist production has, one or other way, led bourgeoisie to organize itself more against the world proletariat and toiling masses, oppressed people and nations. The unorganized Marxism can only achieve relative and temporary successes against the organized bourgeois ideology.



The world proletariat is also unorganized, dispersed, broken into peaces and spontaneous in the international arena as it is in every single country against this nasty alliance and the capital’s organized forces. The proletariat’s deprivation from the international organization makes it weak and ineffective against the political, ideological and military organization of the imperialist bourgeoisie and on the attacks of all brands of revisionist and anti-ML trends.

The question of binding-organizational unity of the communist movement on the international level is a strategic and historical question, and not a tactical or conjunctural one.

Lenin says that: “revolution will be realized through the conciseness, the will, the passion and imaginary power of tens of millions, who will be set into motion in a special moment of forward-development and tension of all human abilities by the strongest class struggle.” The political vanguard staff, who will lead, create, organize, prepare and realize it, is formed by the communist party of the international proletariat, which are forming its sections and vanguard detachments in the single countries. It is the class-conscious proletarian armies in the different countries, who are creating this will, this consciousness, this passion and this action that will lead the proletariat and humanity to final

liberation. And these armies are obliged to make the perspective of world revolution to a main line of the revolution in their own country.

International organization of the communist parties or groups cannot be considered as a matter and necessity that imposed by the periodic developments and as a tactical question. This is a strategic and historical question. In any case, the Marxism-Leninism's international organization through its sections in different countries is an international organization. Just as it is not possible for proletariat to organize itself as dominating class in one country without the proletarian party, it is also impossible to organize the world proletariat revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat and organization of international class struggle without international organization of the communist parties. We can not consider the foundation of a proletarian party in order to realize revolution in the national borders, which drawn outside the will of the proletariat, as a tactical question. But, at the same time, we also can not consider the international organization of the world working class against the world bourgeoisie as a tactical question. Without getting organized, it is not possible to turn Marxist theory into a material force at the hands of the masses and mobilize them in the struggle. Party is the name of it. And international organization is the international organization of the communists parties and it is the world party.

PRESENT SITUATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The years of 1957-60 and 89-91 are turning points of history, theory and practice of socialism. In the first one, the management of the CPSU and SU was captured by the modern revisionist trend, and in the second one, the modern revisionist and social imperialist countries have acceded to capitalism by having internal disintegration and destruction. Both historical developments have caused ideological crises within the ranks of revolutionary and communist movement, but particularly in many parties, groups and individuals who were influenced by revisionist and centrist trends. These developments have been pushed towards total liquidation and submission process due to bourgeoisie's ideological and political attacks.

After the collapse of revisionist and social imperialist system in 89-91 and under the conditions of developing counter-revolutionary wave, the ideological attacks, demagogies and charlatany of the bourgeoisie, such as "socialism has died",

transfer. Thus, the capital, that's continually in circulation and looking for speculative sphere or that causes the speculation, is going to be obstructed. ATTAC is, in essence, fighting against the international movement of the capital with the "weapon" of "Tobin-Tax"! This is what it essentially understands from the anti-globalization struggle.

In France, ATTAC is a melting pot where people those directly affected from the internationalization of the capital and exploitation gathered. The people who are homeless, unemployed, the illegal immigrants, the petty and middle peasantry struggling against the EU's and WTO's policies on agriculture, the people who are organized here or there and the unorganized people are coming together under the umbrella of ATTAC.

One of the leading representatives/founders of the ATTAC, Vincent Espagne, suggests international organizations such as "Security Council", "International Environment Agency", "International and Independent Economy Court" to make better and efficient control on the world economy and trade, and defends following understanding: "We are not against the globalization. We are only against the liberal globalization. And we are not against the World Trade Organization also. We only want its rules to be in harmony with the human rights". According to the people from ATTAC, withdrawing from the "World Trade Organization" is a foolish behavior, withdrawing into the shell is a catastrophe and this will be synonymous with isolating oneself. According to the thought that constitutes the basis of this opinion, it is, supposedly, possible to return to the old forms of the "market economy" based on the principles of equality. Because of that, the power of the monopolies shall be rejected.

ATTAC doesn't want to do anything than calling ruling classes to act clever. Furthermore, it spreads illusions about the imperialist state. For example, the famous member of the ATTAC in Germany, social democrat Oskar Lafontaine speaks very clearly on the subject of state: "*The state is us*".

According to the ATTAC, the measures taken by the President of USA, W. Bush, just after the September 11 attack, to take economy out of crisis are correct. About this, "*Bush have never been close to ATTAC as he's today*", says Bernd Cassen, one of the founders of ATTAC. The attempts of Bush "to dry tax-oasis" and to make efficient control on some of the speculation methods "in the frame of fight against terrorism" fit into the thoughts defended by ATTAC. The vice-

also on regional and continental level. The social forums in everywhere have turned into a discussion field of the political groups and trends who want to set hegemony on the “anti-globalization movement”. This is the case in everywhere.

The World Social Forum (WSF) and European Social Forum (ESF) do not carry any meaning except being a worldwide forum of the civil society. Their pragmatist understandings are projecting the domination of the liberal bourgeois and reformist petty-bourgeois forces within the “anti-globalization movement”. And, leaving the development of the movement towards anti-capitalist direction aside, the movement’s development towards anti-imperialism is also being plugged by the leadership and domination.

ATTAC (“Association For Taxation Of Financial Transactions For The Aid Of Citizens”) is the one of the most important components of the “anti-globalization movement”. This organization demands control of the movement of capital. This is the one that comes first to our minds when we talk about “anti-globalization movement” in France and Germany. Therefore, the ATTAC is equating with the movement. The ATTAC, which is formed as the result of efforts by the circle around the Le Monde Diplomatique, is the favorite of the movement.

Good-willing people who want to do something against hunger and misery! Good-willing people who express the feelings of people whose hearts are wrenched upon the misery of the poor, plundered people, people starving and the ones left their countries because of economical and political reasons! This is ATTAC. ATTAC has gradually gained sympathy from more and more groupings. This is because it addresses to the masses under the influence of reformism and pacifism, and, instead of class struggle, it takes class reconciliation as essential. All suggestions of the ATTAC are realistic political, they can be realized in the existing system.

ATTAC defends control of the movement of capital. Therefore, as a first step, it demands the speculative capital, that is in continual circulation worldwide, to be taxed. It says, the capital should be subjected to taxation every time when it goes out of one country.

According to the understanding, which putted forward by the American economist Tobin and because of that its called “Tobin-Tax”, the international movement of the capital will be made difficult by increasing the price of global

“the working class has vanished”, “the world of ideologies now became history”, “the free world has gained ultimate victory” have become influential. The bill made out to the modern revisionist managements after the 1960 was also paid by the socialist theory and practice.

There is no doubt that the capitalist restoration of the socialist countries also amounted to tactical defeat of the socialist practice. But, this was not an unexpected, unknown or surprising development. The socialist doctrine has theoretically foresighted that socialism is a historical necessity. This envisage was realized in practice by the October 1917 revolution after the Paris Commune.

Socialist doctrine was formulating that under the conditions of proletariat dictatorship, the class struggle shall continue on different ways, to encounter its former heaven, the bourgeoisie would try to organize counter-revolutionary actions when it finds suitable opportunities and conditions. Based on this point of

view, socialism is equivalent to the transition process from capitalism to communism. The socialist way and capitalist way will also continue to fight with each other under the conditions of socialism.. Unfortunately, this simple reality of the theory of class struggle and foresight of the danger of capitalist restoration have not been made subject to an effective political and ideological struggle against the political and ideological attacks of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism by the communist movement and parties.

Disintegration of the SU and Eastern European countries in 1990, kneel-down of socialist Albania before the imperialist surrounding have deepened the “ideological uncertainty and confusion” in the ranks of International Communist Movement,



which was already dispersed and broken into pieces. Not only revisionist and centrist trends, some of the communist and revolutionary parties and organizations have also chosen the way of reformism and liquidation. And they turned into reformist and social-demoparties.

MLCP has again pointed out that the problems and necessities of the class struggle in our geography and the world cannot be dealt by isolating one from the other. It has brought up this historical and political responsibilities in a complete consciousness, revolutionary will and pretension. It has given the message that it will play its role with all its accumulation, talent and strength. In the 3rd Congress, it determined that the “international communist movement is having an ideological and organizational crisis” and defined its main duty by the slogan, “from vanguard party to leader party”.

This reality of the International Communist Movement puts important and hard duties in theoretical, political and organizational spheres on all communist, revolutionary parties and groups those who conduct democratic and socialist struggle in the perspective of world revolution. The question of how to come out of this crisis is a current duty that stands before all communist parties.

It has many times seen in the history of fight for revolution and socialism that the ideological and organizational crises, confusion and turbidity is appearing in periods when Marxist doctrine is not the dominating doctrine and when revolution and parties are defeated. This organizational and ideological crises is, on one point, a production of this process. From start to end, the fight for revolution and socialism is a production of revolutionary consciousness and will, preparation and organization of revolutionary practice that has aims and intentions. The overcome of this crises, which is one of the reasons for ineffectiveness and marginal situation of the communist movement in each country and in the world, can only be possible by increasing revolutionary fight and by an influential ideological struggle.

Modern revisionist treason, ideological poisoning and action of ideological defection have been big attacks against the idea and practice of revolution and socialism. Its consequences have been severe; they occurred by ideological, political and organizational liquidation and submission. It is understandable for everyone who feels responsible for the ML doctrine, to the cause of mighty communism and class struggle that the trends, parties and groups those

ization movement”. The political trends, those considering bourgeois institutions as allies, have start coming forward in Porto Alegre. Moreover, this movement’s European orientated reformist wing have found it right to hitch this movement to EU’s (European Union) foreign policy.

In Porto Alegre, the following message has been given to the imperialist powers: We are a power and you have to speak and agree with us. And later, the imperialist bourgeoisie who took lesson from Seattle has showed that they are not reluctant to talk with reformist wing of the movement. In fact, the “anti-globalization movement” has created its own bureaucracy, sent its experts to the meetings and, thus, displayed that the reconciliation of differences is the only understanding of the struggle. This was the point where spontaneous reformist movement could reach, and it reached there.

There is no doubt that the creation of Porto Alegre (World Social Forum) cannot be denied and minimized. Many activists want to discuss the problems of the movement and find solutions, and therefore, doesn’t matter if they want to or not, they listen expectantly and follow every development about the question in Porto Alegre or other places. Porto Alegre or other places, where the problems of the movement are discussed, are a podium or platform. For that reason, they can not be neglected and minimized. But, the international revolutionary and communist movement was not able to use this podium and still not using it. If we put some of the parties and groups out of the question, both as the international groupings and as the single parties they have shown a practice contending with watching, following and recording. This podium has been used constantly by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reformist trends. This was the case in the World Social Forum (Porto Alegre) and the European Social Forum (Florence). Because, the alternative forces, who could use the podium and refute systemic thoughts, that is to say, the real revolutionary and communist forces were not there or were in audience positions. However, the “anti-globalization movement” should have gone further then Porto Alegre. It should have been pulled forward. But it couldn’t go further.

The thought of forming regional social forums was expressed in Porto Alegre. The European Social Forum came into being in Florence as the reflection of the European “anti-globalization movement”. Social Forums have been considered as a tool for development of the “anti-globalization movement”, and for that reason, social forums have been founded not only on the basis of countries, but

protest the IMF, WB and WTO in accordance with their own perspectives and the anti-globalization can be continued in such way. Shortly, it is completely a spontaneous attitude that dominates within the movement in terms of organization, politics and ideology.



The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology is determining within the “anti-globalization movement”, and it has been shaped in accordance with the reformist policies. But, the movement does not have an organizational, hierarchical structure. Each important components of the movement are representing the alternative political positions only by themselves and tries to dominate their own understandings within the movement.

We see that the forces who unite action to action, for example in Seattle, Melbourne, Davos, Prag, Goteburg, Geneva, Florence are constituted from quite different trends: All colors of petty-bourgeois organizations, radical petty-bourgeois trends; anarchists from all colors, Trotskyites, from “leftist” parts of the workers’ movement to reformist, trade-unionist and centrist forces; so-called “leftist” parts of the bourgeois “worker” parties in the imperialist countries, certain parts of the social democrats, youth organizations, organizations of petty and middle peasantry; NGOs, ecological groupings and parties, feminist organizations, individuals (intellectuals, philosophers, teachers etc.) and communists.

The “anti-globalization movement” has also developed its specific forms of organization methods. Its main organizational method is the Social Forum.

When we think about the organization form of the “anti-globalization movement”, the Porto Alegre quickly comes on our minds. Porto Alegre; the World Social Forum has become a center of the attraction for components of the “anti-global-

carrying ambition of communism, revolution and socialism are, at this moment, in theoretical and ideological turbidity, uncertainty and confusion; are organizationally dispersed, broken into pieces and marginalized. The facts of being unconcerned with the social and political developments as big as revolutionary situation, uprising tries and rebellions in some countries; not being able to show revolutionary and active intervention within the international mass movement that grows under the name of “anti-globalization” every passing day and just like a snowball in the world; ineffectiveness in the process, being dragged and revolutionary spontaneous attitudes are already showing everything.

The international mass movement, which is growing and showing the tendency of further development every passing day against the attacks of imperialist globalization and neo-liberal policies, has been united with the struggle against imperialist war on Iraq and therefore increased. On the 15th of February, more than 10 million people were demonstrating in the streets. The international mass movement carries serious revolutionary opportunities, dynamics and elements in itself.

The revolutionary and communist parties are incapable to intervene in this movement, which has a big developing tendency on international level in later years. Unfortunately, we haven’t seen considerable action or success of revolutionary politics by these parties or their international groupings during the imperialist war. Therefore, the revolutionary garrulousness gained the upper hand over revolutionary organization and action. But, when and under which conditions, with which opportunities and dynamics, and on which real relations the communist forces are going to make their history, to create and develop themselves when they could not take their place in front of the masses with their allies and tactics, slogans and calls under the conditions where millions of workers and toilers marched in the streets and rose against the imperialist capitalism! Not being organized in the same “international platform”, of course, is not an obstruction in front of these parties to work to become one of the attractive and revolutionary groups in the anti-global movement and to lead increase of the anti-imperialist war front on Iraq and the Middle East.

It should not be forgotten that the real international and comradely relations, separations and sameness, political trust and bilateral recognition will also be realized in this revolutionary action and activities. The traditional international solidarity, struggle and style of organization of the near past stayed general, theoretical and abstract. It has distanced from its real revolutionary core and

content. Advance of the international relations in an international spirit and context can only be realized through common intervention into the actual political developments and increase of the common struggle within the national and international political struggle in which its' possibilities, conditions and grounds are developing.

The crisis on the ideological area is, doubtlessly, not the crisis of the Marxist theory and its theoretical explanation of social realities. This is obviously a crisis of not reproducing ML theory by considering it as a science and being unable to succeed in developing it further as the solution of actual needs of the class struggle. And it is the crisis of distortion, narrowness and backwardness in understanding and applying ML doctrine.

The way to overcome this crisis is, firstly, to make theoretical explanation of today's movement and development of economical and social realities; secondly, to make scientific and revolutionary ML doctrine attractive and influential again within the ideological struggle against anti-ML trends.

Today, the number of political and ideological trends which appear on behalf of socialism are not less than in the period when Marxism appeared. In those days, Marxism was developing in the struggle against fractions and trends which were acting on behalf of socialism. Today, we have got more advantages, because we have achieved a developed socialist doctrine and experiences of International Communist Movement.

To make an effectual and successful ideological struggle against the imperialist bourgeois ideologists and anti-ML trends on the international arena, there is a need for high theoretical illumination and new persuasive and conclusive arguments, concepts and theoretical analyzes. To be prepared with ML theory is also not enough. The improvement of revolutionary struggle and achievement of victory under the leadership of communist parties, who take ML doctrine as a



the countries, regions and world wide. It applies similar methods of struggle such as demonstration, refuse to work and general strike. It fought and is still fighting against the USA imperialism's war on Iraq. Its actions are taking place simultaneous, regional and worldwide. And they represent the spontaneous, unified struggle of the workers and toilers from all nations and nationalities, and oppressed classes from the below.

The Such and similar demands or, in general, the main demands of the "anti-globalization movement" does not target the imperialism and capitalism as a system, which is the reason of all these problems and contradictions. It doesn't consider the destroying of capitalism as the only way to escape from these problems and to solve contradictions. The "anti-globalization" is being limited with reformism by overwhelming majority of the participants of this movement and its components. Only the revolutionaries and communists are staying out of this scope.

Yet, the problem is the problems of capitalism; contradictions of imperialism and internationalization of the capital. That is to say that, in the concretized situation, the IMF, WB and WTO is taking the place of the term of capitalism and imperialism. And, in terms of concretizing the imperialism, it is right to target these organizations. But this must be announced; that is to say, it must be announced that the IMF, WB and WTO are the concrete expression of the imperialism, monopoly capitalism. So, not-doing this is the greatest mistake.

The essential thing for the overwhelming majority of the groupings participating in the "anti-globalization movement" is the wish and search for the people to have their own control upon their living conditions back "again". On this meaning, it is expressing integrity in terms of the concept of search, but it is not at all integral on the basis of the content of the concept; every component of the movement shows different approach to the question.

The important thing is to be against the "globalization", that is to say, the internationalization of the capital. The important thing is to develop the movement against the "globalization". Although it is being discussed, the question of how "anti-globalization movement" is going to be developed from the below and how is it going to be organized is not considered as the binding matter. The understanding is very simple: Everyone who is against the IMF, WB and WTO can develop the protesting movement in the place where they stay. Everybody can

created by the neoliberal attacks, which spread into the time and carry different reflections in each country, on economical and social field. It targets the imperialist monopolies and institutions. This movement has united with the movement against the imperialist war, and become a more massed and worldwide movement by involving its predecessor movement also. Because of its present state, the aims become more concrete and the participation was carried out in more prepared and organized manner. So, therefore, this movement is not “solely” a movement against the imperialist war, but also includes the struggles of the millions against the neoliberal attacks and policies of the imperialist-capitalism. It is an incomplete anti-imperialist movement.

The movement’s influence and the desire and fermentation to struggle that it has created on the mass consciousness in the world cannot be ignored. Previously, the anti-imperialist struggle was identified with the “national independence” struggles of the new-colony, colony and oppressed peoples. But today, the struggle against the IMF, WB and WTO as well as the imperialist war and occupation is, directly or indirectly, an anti-imperialist struggle.

This massive international protesting movement is international. Because their demands are common. It targets the imperialist aggression and war, capitalism’s neoliberal attacks and policies. The methods and forms of the struggle are similar. It has been organized under the form of co-ordinations and platforms in



guide for acting, will also play an important and determinative role to obtain superiority and to defeat the enemy in this struggle.

DUTIES AND REQUIREMENTS

Capitalism’s law of unequal development have made the revolution in one country a precondition and put it on the agenda. Today, in accord to the horizontal and vertical development of capitalism and the internationalization of capital, trade and technology, beside the revolution in one country, the basis and possibilities of regional revolutions have also strengthened.

The contradictions within the imperialist capitalist system are sharpening. The mass movement in the imperialist countries, the anti-imperialist movements against imperialist globalization, expands and reaction against neo-liberal policies grows world-wide.

Practice of monetarist and neo-liberal policies, seizure of social rights in the undeveloped and new colonial countries and increase of poverty have resulted in chronicle mass unemployment and deepened social differentiations.

In contrary to propaganda, the sanctified capitalism and its color-window, the New World Order of the imperialism and the demagogies on the imperialist globalization have driven humanity into a catastrophe through social rotting and estrangement, wide-spread hopelessness and futurelessness in very short period of time. Capitalism did not bring welfare, freedom and peace for humanity. But, on the contrary, we see all the illnesses and nastiness that is caused by capitalism and private property under the form of war, fascism, national and ethnical conflicts, chronic unemployment, hunger, misery, colonialism and militarism in every part of the world.

All sections of the International Communist Movement do have the objective conditions, social dynamics and revolutionary possibilities of the struggle for revolution and socialism in entire world and in single countries. In today’s world conditions, the role of the proletarian revolution, its international and regional affects and at the same time the international conditions of action and the regional and international power of effectiveness of the victory of single revolutions have increased.

The international communist movement will be more powerful with the successes, accumulations, experiences and legacy of the history and practice of the socialism if they could succeed in doing theory, analysis and comments on the socialist history and practice.

All this shows that the proletariat's and communist movement's duties on the international struggle and organization are increasing and gaining importance.

Unfortunately, today, the proletariat and international movement are deprived of a communist vanguard, which could direct it in accordance of the aim of dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. This prevents the movement's development in revolutionary way in single countries and also weakens its international action and organization. The historical and political responsibilities of class struggle make revolutionary and influential intervention obligatory in this situation.

Therefore, our party finds it necessary to struggle on two fronts to obtain organizational unity of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, revolutionary and communist forces on international arena.

The 3rd Congress of MLCP has decided to do systematical, persistent, concrete and advancing work to develop relations aiming at ideological and organizational unity with other parts of the world communist movement. It counted the development of international action of the communist movement and the success in obtaining ideological and organizational unity of it as the most important and urgent task. It will continue to "do its actions on this field in connection with the aim to establish a Communist International".



In our day, determined development of the organizational and actual unity of the revolutionary organizations, which are communist and open to communism, is an urgent task. International unity can only be achieved by acting with the perspective of building ideological and organizational unity and under the political ground of increasing the interna-

monopolies and imperialist countries in plundering whole world. By its activities, this "trinity" sets all social classes and stratum against themselves, except for the imperialist bourgeoisie. There is a contradiction between the "trinity alliance" and whole world and nature: This alliance, which destroys humanity as productive force, at the same time destroys the nature also. The worldwide working class, toiling masses and in addition to that also the circles of non-monopole bourgeoisie, come face to face with the "trinity" in every sphere of the production and social life; at frequent intervals. The interests of the imperialist countries and monopoly capital are lying in the privatization, fixation of financial policies, regulation of foreign trade, seizure of social rights, fire from the work, continuity of destruction of nature, environmental pollution and particularly the direction of production in social sphere. And these interests are expressed by the IMF, WB and WTO. Therefore, millions of people are coming face to face with these three organizations, but not directly with the imperialism or American, German, Japan, France etc. imperialists. The workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, in other terms; the trade unions, political parties, organizations, groupings, associations to protect animals, women organizations, NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations), "civil" organizations, youth organizations, initiative groups, citizen organizations, churches (i.e. religious sects), universities, political trends are taking part in the struggle against this "trinity alliance" at this or that shape.

When we look at the political content of the protests participated by hundred thousands from MAI protests to Seattle, Davos to Prag, Geneva to Florence we see that the millions of people in the whole world are showing global reaction against the international capitalism and the internationalized movement of the capital because they are convinced that the activities of the IMF, WB and WTO are not reconcilable with democracy, but run counter to social rights, they provide profit to multinational monopolies directly from plunder, violation of human rights and without taking health and environmental issues into consideration, they cause to poverty, striking inequality and use of force in the new-colony countries, and turn everything living into a merchandise, and they make humanity futureless and estrange to himself. The movement against the imperialist globalization wants to set a limit to the imperialist exploitation and arbitrary, and to stop imperialist aggression.

This international mass movement is a mass movement that develops against the imperialist globalization and imperialist war aggression. It is the expression of an anger and accumulation revealed through destruction and damage

THE IMPERIALIST GLOBALIZATION ATTACKS AND DEVELOPING STRUGGLE AGAINST IT

After the anti-fascist and peace movement that was organized by the parties of 3rd International and trade unions in the years of 1930s, the democracy and peace movement which started at the second half of the 1940s and continued by strengthening until the second half of 1950s and was led by the socialist countries and communist parties, the anti-imperialist movement that reached a peak in 1968, and the peace and disarmament movement that developed under the influence of revisionist countries of SU and East Europe and which was especially on the agenda in the years of 1980s, there is a new movement with a characteristic of different "leadership" start developing. This movement, which appeared in the struggle against the attacks and policies of the imperialist globalization and its concrete tools "Holy Trinity Alliance"; IMF, World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organization (WTO) and which gradually start influencing 100 thousands of people on international scale, is being defined as the "Anti-Globalization Movement".

The spontaneous unity actions of the local and other local movements, which gradually become international, are expressing the today's "Anti-Globalization Movement". The reaction against the IMF, WB, WTO and multinational monopolies in this or that country of the world, at the end turns into a massive international movement: Seattle, Washington, Brussels, Melbourne, Gotebourg, Davos, Prag, Geneva and Florence show the growing international dimension of this movement, and the content of the actions is informing about the class structure of the movement.

That is to say that this Movement is an expression of unification of the protest actions, which started in different countries on the basis of different reasons against neoliberal attacks and IMF, WB and WTO, on international plan, and it actually is an international protest movement.

As their programs in operation show, this "holly trinity alliance", which consists of the IMF, WB and WTO, is an expression of indispensability for the multinational

tional action of the proletariat and peoples. Doubtlessly, the organizational target is creation of the Communist International.

MLCP aims to stay away from sectarianism and the mistake of giving prejudice decisions on whether its' addressees are communist or not without having direct relations with the parties or groups, which are communist or open to communism, and without considering the content of their actions. Therefore, every platform, every effort, every attempt and every intellectual and practical step that connects with the duty of organizational unity of the international communist movement attracts MLCP's attention.

The MLCP, which is active in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan located in the center of the region (triangle of the Balkans, Caucasus and Middle East) where contradictions have mostly being sharpened and hegemonic struggle between imperialists has been intensified, gives special importance to obtain organizational and unity of action of the communist forces of the region. This correct and actual effort will also be a serious and concrete step that is taken for the international unity of the world communist movement.

MLCP regards the development of relations with other revolutionary and progressive parties, groups and forces, those which he can not be together within the platforms of the communist movement, in respect of forming international anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, democratic front or unity in struggle as one of the other subject of the struggle on international level. It believes that a revolutionary and influential intervention to the anti-imperialist, the anti-globalization movement and to the regional revolutionary developments can be realized through such platforms, and unities in the struggle.

The establishment of a new international organization is a duty and responsibility of today not tomorrow. This great historical responsibility should consider the binding organizational unity of the communist movement as a theoretical-principle and urgent question.

It is theoretical, because we have to be prepared with the strength of the ML theory and make theoretical openings and explanations on the subjects such as changes and requirements that occurred in the conditions of proletarian revolution due to imperialist capitalism and capitalist restoration, development of the working class movement and the trade unions, the theory of the class

struggle etc. This is not enough, it is also necessary to be in a theoretical production and progress. The theoretical illumination and production is also necessary for the success of ideological struggle against bourgeois ideology and anti-ML trends.

It is principle, because the class struggle is, in essence, an international struggle. This character of it requires presence of each communist party in the international organization and action and the common revolutionary political action and unison. The dispersed, spontaneous, split and disorganized situation of the communist forces is the own problem of every communist party, and it is important in principle. This problem cannot be considered as outside of one's problems.

The stones of the road going to the real international will be flooded by international revolutionary political action and principled ideological struggle, not in garrulity. This, at the same time, will bring real comradesly relations and hold of emotional and psychological unity between the world communists. This will also be the end of introversion, estrangement and considering things only from far away. The common fight on the communist grounds, if not, on the revolutionary democratic grounds upon the urgent political developments in the world and revolutionary intervention to the political developments will also open a road for organization of the communist international.

This, at the same time, is an organizational question. It has a dimension to be realized in organizational field. And this will make organization of meetings,



platforms and conferences on the world and regional levels and in different combinations necessary. The other tool is theoretical publications.

There is no doubt that the foundation conditions of the communist party in a single country and conditions of the international organization of the proletariat is not the same. But it is also true that they are the continuity of each others and connected with unbreakable ties. Under any conditions, the communists will give organized struggle or create conditions of organized struggle. In what ever form

it may be, the organization of the communists will be realized in any case despite to all prevention, oppression and prohibition of the bourgeoisie. After the organization of proletariat's national sections, there should not be any obstruction in front of their international organization. Communists must also struggle for international organization and action just as their struggle in organizing national sections. If the existence of communist parties, groups and organizations in different countries of the world is true, than it also comes to meaning of there are objective conditions for foundation of

the communist international. What is missing is the subjective factor and the will. Also the reality of having enough theoretical and principle clearness on the subject of which principles the new international must be raised. All communist parties must have perspectives and concrete objectives that could concretize undertakings toward the international. MLCP will concentrate on this both on the field of thought and practice.