

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

RED DAWN



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*On the 10th anniversary with the
Party to Victory, to Revolution*



- ✂ **THE DAY OF RECKONING**
- ✂ **IMPERIALIST OCCUPATION, MIDDLE EAST
AND THE KURDS**
- ✂ **REVOLUTIONARY POWER OF SELF-CRITICISM**
- ✂ **ORGANISATIONAL SECURITY AND STRUGGLE AGAINST
THE POLITICAL POLICE**

MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
TURKEY/NORTHERN KURDISTAN





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PREFACE

We are saying hello to all our readers through the 8th issue of Red Dawn. In this issue we are introducing four different articles to our readers.

The time since the publication of our 7th issue in December 2003 has been witnessing very important political struggles. The battle during the local elections, March-May period –which involves certain fixed-days- and the struggle against the NATO Summit in Istanbul, the struggle against cell and isolation prisons, the struggle against the isolation and chauvinist attacks that have increased over the Kurdish Nation and the struggle against the attacks on the working class: All these were some of the various areas of struggle that had been taken into agenda and challenged with the state by Marxist Leninist Communists. The struggle built around the independent communist candidates in the local election carried our party to broad masses, and both became a process of school –in which our forces examined, educated themselves and developed their self-confidence- and a process where our party has spread its activities -above all in Northern Kurdistan- but into many other new regions, too.

The period of March-May, which involves the period until the 1st of May, become a setting of militant struggles that reinforced the will and commitment of our party. It was also important due to its international dimensions regarding the fight against the NATO Summit that was organised on 28-29 June 2004 in Istanbul and where all eyes were turned upon because of its importance both for the front of revolution and counter-revolution. In this period, the Marxists Leninists Communists concentrated on the dispersion of NATO Summit. They both tried to bring all anti-NATO forces together and to enliven and put into action the anti-imperialist consciousness that was emerged in 68s and through which soldiers from the 6th Squadron of America were thrown into the sea. While at first spreading the struggle into wider areas by localising it, they led their forces to fight in planned and co-ordinated manner in the frames of the fixed tactics during the Summit. They both applied many tools and methods of legal and illegal struggle and showed the necessity and legitimacy of militant fight in the barricades against the imperialist war-machinery, torturer and rapist NATO to friends and enemies. The imperialists and their local servants in our country were not com-



fortable even in the circle where they have imprisoned themselves in Istanbul. MLCP organised actions -which confused them- by entering into the areas announced as the areas with "zero risk" and showed good examples of that their tanks, weapons and bombs cannot stop our revolutionary will.

The first article we are publishing in this issue is reflecting the international view points, determinacy and preparation of the Marxists Leninists Communists on the struggle against the NATO Summit. Our article with the heading "Imperialist Occupation, the Middle East and the Kurds" is analyzing the USA and other imperialist forces' aggression and occupation policies on the Middle East and specially Iraq. But it also emphasizes the developing struggle against the imperialism in this geography and explains our party's view points, the politic of Democratic and Socialist Federation of the Middle East, on the international unity of the working classes of the region.

The article with the heading "Revolutionary Power of Self-Criticism" reflects how the Marxist Leninist vanguard has overcome its weaknesses, shaken its forces and upraised them, made new political and organisational moves through the revolutionary power of criticism and self-criticism. And the last article with the heading "The Organisational Security And Struggle Against The Political Police" explains from its own experiences what sort of things to be considered by an illegal Communist Party, who fights for power, in terms of protecting the organisational security and how to turn out to be nothing the enemy's attacks in all areas of the class struggle. Both last two articles are aiming to present our party's experiences on these points to the international communist and revolutionary public opinion.

We hope to meet again in our next issue! □

June 2004:

Resistance of the Socialist Platform of the Oppressed (ESP) at the US military base Incirlik



THE DAY OF RECKONING¹

The revolutionary inheritance of Deniz and his comrades², rests on our shoulders. We will fight in the same way they did.

We can hear the Iraqi Nur, the Palestinian Ahmet and Kurdish Berivan shouting. We will prove ourselves to be worthy of our brave children with their strong hearts.

The world's peoples watch us with their eyes full of hope. Resisting Native American peasants of Ecuador, self-sacrificing miners of Bolivia, the heroic people of Cuba, the freedom fighters of Nepal and the workers of South Korea not giving up at all - We won't dash your hopes.

We will make NATO and pro-NATO pay for the blood they shed in Bosnia, Kosovo, in Genoa, in Somalia, in Sudan, in Ethiopia, in Algeria, in Indonesia, in the Philippines, in Kurdistan, in Afghanistan, in Iraq etc.

We will pull down their torture centers such as Ebu Garip on the rapist coarse imperialist bandits.

1 From the Newspaper: Ezilenlerin Sosyalist Alternatifi Atılım (The Socialist Alternative of the Oppressed – Atılım), 26 June 2004.

2 who were the students' leaders of the 1968 movement in Turkey- translator's note



Do Not Let NATO Come Through!
MLCP

We will expose the real face of those decorating themselves medals and selling our youth' blood for a few billion Dollars so that they will die in place of American soldiers.

We will show that those, pleading the belief and the brotherly values of our Muslim people, have replaced their Kaaba with the USA and that their god is called money.

We will prove that those who spread out red carpets for the murder Bush, organize feasts in Ciragan Palace in Istanbul, build a NATO-Valley in the city center for the comfort of

imperialist masters, those who blacklist the people and put emergency laws into practice, those who place CIA agents everywhere, and those who occupy Istanbul, are the people's enemies and collaborator servants of the imperialists.

Hand in hand, side by side

Let them come, we are waiting! The first barricade will be created in Ankara by the people. On 26 June, the powers of honor and freedom will flow to Ankara from all sides. The murderer Bush will not be welcomed with flowers but with hatred as he deserves it and as it happened in Iraq. This time, the fighters of honour and freedom are going to speak, the imperialist murderer and collaborationists will be stopped talking. As it happened with the rejection of the bill of sending troops to Iraq, their weights will be counted firstly in Ankara!

Let them come, we are waiting! If they are ready, then we are ready as well! On 27 June, the fighting comrades are meeting in Istanbul. Workers, labourers, poor people, youth, women and intellectuals, the bravest of all! We are waiting for you with your heroic courage and bravery on the day of reckoning!

Hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder and side by side we will clasp together firmly and fight and move on together. On 28 – 29 June we will march towards you to destroy your NATO-valley where you are hiding yourself with your scared soul observing even a fly with fear.

We will drive you into a corner in Istanbul! We will thwart your plans. We will not allow you to clink glasses in a toast filled with the people's blood. We will attack you in the spirit of those who overthrew the imperials. Hand in hand we will attack the martial, plundering and rotten principals of your capitalist/imperialist



*28 June 2004: Street fight in
Okmeydanı/Istanbul*

civilization. We will run over your lies and smash the bogey with which you are frightening the people.

If they will come they will get what for!

We are the people. The one who is right is us. It is legitimate to resist against barbarians and oppression. It is of honour and dignity not to submit to the imperialist brigands and to their collaborator puppets. The biggest virtue is to fight for a new world, a human and free life. History has given the chance to us, our people and its revolutionary and progressive sons and daughters to serve this great duty of dispersing the NATO summit in Istanbul. We will take this chance seriously and wave the oppressed peoples' flag of justice and freedom high and higher. And we will hoist this flag on their "impregnable" bastions of the NATO bandits.

Hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder...

In the name of Deniz and his comrades... in the name of the people of the regions and the world... we proclaim: If they will come they will get what for!

We are ready and we are awaiting you!



*Unity Against NATO And Bush:
Do Not Let NATO Come Through!*

IMPERIALIST OCCUPATION, MIDDLE EAST AND THE KURDS

Crisis and stagnation in the USA and other imperialist countries has deepened the crisis of the order of international relationship between the



occupying and reshaping Afghanistan, Iraq and the Middle East, it also wants to become the unrivalled and undisputed ruler of the world. This is

capitalist world. The occupation of Iraq, the internal clashes and contradictions of the UN, the EU and NATO show this. The imperialist globalisation attacks and neo-liberal politics applied mercilessly in every country is another evidence. Today, imperialist hegemony and rivalry throughout the world is at the same time linked to the target of re-establishing or shaping the order of international relationship.

US imperialism, closes its more than 500 billion dollars a year budget deficit and hundreds of billions of dollars militarism investment with occupation, plundering, colonialism and capital transfers in backward countries. They have already drawn a war bill costs 180 billion dollars for Iraq. The USA is not just aiming to become the only hegemonic power in the region by

why it is in an unlimited and non-stop aggressiveness of war. It does not see the international agreements, rules and organisations, which it takes part in or voted for, as binding.

US imperialism is applying many ways in order to establish its domination in the world.

Firstly, through the occupation of Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine in the name of a “pre-emptive war”, and a “war against global terrorism”, or, with the same imperialist aggressiveness and barbarism, through threatening what it calls “the forces of evil”.

Secondly, through carrying out or attempting to carry out tens of coup d’etats

on the governments of different countries such as Haiti and Venezuela.

Thirdly, as in Georgia and Azerbaijan, through the training of armies and the supply of weapons. The USA has carried concentrated masses of troops and military bases to all areas of the world. Today, there are a total of 320 thousand US troops in 120 countries. And this makes up 60% of the US army.

Fourthly, by indirectly deepening its hegemony and influence through international organisations or making partners of other powers; such as the Greater Middle East Initiative or the international struggle against terrorism.

Of course, if it is thought that, outside, the US and other imperialists apply militarism, competition, imperialist war and colonialism, and inside, they carry out neoliberal attacks and politics, then their quickness and agitation to organize internal reaction can be understood. These new arrangements are in the shape of the bringing out of reactionary and fascist laws, the establishment of new organisations and new international agreements. "The joint struggle against terror" is being used as the reason for new laws and practices on immigrants. Immigrants are being shown as the root of unemployment, crime and even environmental pollution. The laws and practices of repression on immigrants also target the native working class and toilers. They are also used to threaten and intimidate the struggle against imperialist war and the rising international mass movement.

In short, even the formal bourgeois democracy is being put to one side. It is such that, after being caught red-handed,

it has been made public that the US President can order the human violation of torture when he considers it necessary; and that Americans will not be tried in international courts for war.

THE OCCUPATION OF IRAQ

USA aggression and occupation is, on one point, the regional echo of the attack of imperialist globalisation. Imperialist capital has charged the imperialist state and militarism to abolish all political, economical and administrative obstructions that would be in its way. The active participation in the occupation of Iraq and the Greater Middle Eastern Project of the G8 countries, NATO and the UN can be explained with the same needs and profits of the international monopolist capital.

US imperialism, by occupying Iraq and attacking the Middle East, is aiming to gain strategic advantages over its rivals in the hegemony of the world; to hold the world's economy in its hands by controlling the oil reservoirs and its distribution in Iraq and in the area; to crush the region's resisting states and political forces; to secure the safety and future of the state of Israel.

The USA occupation and aggression has not brought freedom and peace to Iraq. It has brought imperialist barbarism and plundering. The torture and rape cases of the USA have occupied the news for a long time, and were remembered with hate. In front of the world's eyes, the USA has plundered Iraq's petrol. No biological weapons have been found, and a connection between Iraq and Al-Qaeda has not been proved. Iraq's economic and social frame has been destroyed. The seeds of national, ethnic and religious slaughter,

attacks and hostility have been planted in Iraq. Unemployment has grown, the poverty and misery has increased in Iraq. Burglary, sex trade, prostitution, illnesses etc. have grown. The Arab world and all peoples of Iraq have been degraded. It was natural that the Iraqi peoples' response to the occupiers was and only could have been to resist and to make the resistance larger.

The so-called "left-wing" and intellectual sanctifiers of capitalism or vain reformists, who described the US intervention in Iraq and the Middle East as "democratisation", raised their voices again through the Greater Middle East Initiative (GMEI) after all the things that were done in Iraq. According to them, "The USA is changing the status quo and bringing democracy to the Middle East". Some of them have even tried to theoretically explain the situation by claiming that the contradictions between feudalism and capitalism are taking place again. Osman Ocalan and his friends, who broke away from the KONGRA-GEL (PKK) and became comfortable with US collaboration and support the GMEI and the occupation, are waiting excitedly for the role that they and the Kurds will be given. They are vulgarly showing that their lack of hope in the historical movement of the peoples and sanctifying capitalism with the phrase "democratic colonisation". This trend and individuality of non-belief in the determination and strength of the peoples is so natural to them that, they do not think that



Iraq and Palestine are resisting for all the peoples of the world, it cannot be expected of them to take part in the international support and solidarity of the Iraqi resistance.

Therefore, revolutionary and communist forces not only have political struggle tasks against the occupation, but also ideological struggle tasks that can not be delayed. These tasks are firstly, to expose through the non-coverable practices and implementations that imperialism is the root of political reaction, fascism, and chauvinism; secondly, to struggle against and break the ideological influence and illusions which weaken the international support and solidarity of the Iraqi resistance.

IRAQ - RESISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY

The resistance in Iraq which grows widely and deeply for more than one year, the Afghan peoples' no acceptance of protectorate colonialism, the Palestine Intifada (Uprising) which in every occasion renews and reproduces itself in different forms, they all are, at the same time, representing the power of resistance, tradition and the will of the people of the world. There is not only the will of USA in the world and despite its armament from top to bottom it is not invincible. On the contrary of this there is the peoples' historical action and power. It is abundantly being proven by the anger, will and struggle of the oppressed peoples that broke out in various forms in every corner of the world.

USA has sunk into a bog in Iraq, the centre of resistance. It is having difficulties in establishing the administration of protectorate colonialism. Its strategic targets and policies on Iraq and Middle East have struck the hard rock. It wants to “handover” the administration to the Iraqis, to involve NATO in the occupation and to overcome the situation, in which it could sustain a defeat, through Greater Middle East Initiative (GMEI). Moreover, it tries to involve the G-8 and UN to this uncertain and unsolvable process it is experiencing. We can also say, right from today, that the new moves and policies such as considering Turkey as a model country in GMEI, giving her a role of double-presidency and “democratic partner” will suffer the failure. Because, before anything else the will and struggle of the peoples’ of the region will prevent this.

The anti-imperialist, anti-occupation front is gradually widening in Iraq. Different political forces, social classes, groups, and persons are taking part in this front. Pro-Baath and Saddam supporters, Islamists, nationalists and patriotic Iraqis, revolutionary and progressive parties, forces and individuals are the main elements of this wide front.

Searches and efforts for forming initiatives and platforms in order to develop the united struggle on the basis of ending imperialist occupation in Iraq are still continuing.

During the early days of occupation of Iraq, millions of anti-war people took the streets throughout the world. The struggle against imperialist war and occupation was, at the same time, able to unite with the reactions of the workers and toilers against the globalisation and neoliberal policies in the imperialist countries.

But, unfortunately, same solidarity and support was not shown in latter process of the occupation. The lack of active intervention of the progressive, anti-fascist, revolutionary and communist forces on the international mass movement and the process is doubtlessly the first reason of this. The détente of Germany and France over the USA occupation, the “clash of civilisations” propaganda of the bourgeoisie, the outstripped Islamic motives in the resistance and some actions of the radical Islamic organisations have weakened the support and solidarity to the resistance.

However, on some points, the people of Iraq and Palestine resisted and are resisting for all people of the world. The USA, the one who announced a lawless and endless war against the peoples of the world was blocked. Its strategies, projects and policies have stuck into the desert of Iraq.

The resistance in Iraq is a just and legitimate resistance. Under the conditions where progressive and revolutionary forces are not able to become alternative it is natural for political Islam to give its colour to the resistance, and one cannot ignore their anti-occupation and anti-war position. If one will look at the history of national liberation fights in the world and the fronts against the occupations and imperialist wars than this fact would be seen without any discussion. Today, it is an historical and political duty to support Iraqi resistance and to be in solidarity with it. The principle criterion of being democrat is to stand against chauvinism and social-chauvinism.

With the growth of the Iraqi resistance, the USA’s brutality, massacres, torture and

rape has risen the anger of the peoples, at the forefront of which are the peoples of USA, of the countries which partake in the occupation. It is possible to see it in the surveys carried out in Spain, England, Poland, Italy and Ukraine, and in the protests against the existing governments.

THE BALANCE OF POWERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS SLIPPERY

The USA's occupation of Iraq, the GMEI and its threats has dragged certain Arab countries' administrators into panic. Saudi Arabia and Egypt did not take part in the G-8 summit, to which they were invited. Libya stepped back in the face of besiegement and threats and started to develop diplomatic relations with EU countries. USA's petrodollar partner Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Syria and Iran have increased their diplomatic relations, meetings and visits on different levels and positions have become more frequent in the region. New examples of alliances and collaborations in different combinations are being formed.

In fact, the Middle East has never come out of the world's agenda. Oil reserves, imperialist rivalry and aggression, the Palestine question, Islamic radicalism, the Kurdish question, etc. have become the main subjects on the agenda.

Israel, with the support of the USA, is applying every form of dirty and lawless methods, massacres the Palestinians and their leaders. Palestine is resisting against this.

The oppressed Kurdish people, who fight for their national and democratic rights, are raising their national and democratic

demands under the developing balance of political powers. They are having difficulties in going towards a revolutionary solution because of being squeezed between the region's colonial states, imperialist policies and reformist Kurdish national leaderships.

The Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan (Southern Kurdistan), under the leadership of the traditional collaborationists YNK (Union of Kurdistan Patriots) and KDP (Democratic Party of Kurdistan), have gone to certain institutionalisations in the shadow of the USA, gained some achievements and were able to take steps towards forming a state. Even if they were under guidance, their experiences in administration and diplomacy have increased. These developments in Iraqi Kurdistan have affected the other parts of Kurdistan. Two demonstrations were organised in Iran, participated by 50,000 and 10,000 people. There was an uprising in Syrian Kurdistan which entered the world's agenda.

The PKK's (The Workers' Party of Kurdistan) 15 years of guerrilla activity; the 1st Gulf War and the achievements obtained during the beginning of the occupation of Iraq strengthened the internal link and dynamics between the four parts of Kurdistan. It developed the trend to establish a national state and the United Kurdistan.

THE UNITY, BROTHERHOOD AND FREEDOM OF PEOPLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Imperialist rivalry and intervention, colonialist administrations, Israeli Zionism and reactionary Arabic regimes are the roots and causes of reactionary internal and external fights, national and religious

strangles and slavery in the Middle East. The bourgeoisie of Imperialist and regional states has always incited national hatred. The enmity between Israelis and Arabs is the foremost of these. National hatred and distrust between Turks and Arabs, Turks and Kurds, Arabs and Kurds, Arabs and Persians, Persians and Azerbaijanis etc. continue.



*Freedom For Peace/MLCP
(in Kurdish and Turkish)*

Imperialist Capitalists incite and reinforce national enmity and distrust in the Middle East as they did in the Caucasus, the Balkans and in Central Asia. They sometimes become part of these conflicts and sometimes played the role of a referee. But each time they exploited existing conflicts and distrusting for the interests and needs of imperialism.

In the beginning of 20th Century, British and French imperialists prevented the formation of one Arabic nation and the establishment of a united Arabic nation state. They brought about many big and little Arabic states with artificial borders. In this way the Arabs were divided being governed by sheikhs in puppet kingdoms and emirates.

Imperialist forces have brought trouble to the peoples of the Middle East by creating the Zionist Israeli state. The occupation of Palestine by Israel and following massacres and wars caused a bloody distrust between the Israeli and Arabic peoples.

Arabic peoples live in another dimension of distrust caused by Sunni-Shiite separation.

Kurdish nation was divided into four parts with the Lausanne treaty. Kurdish nation's right of self-determination was prevented. The grounds for an enmity between Kurdish nation and colonialist nations of Turk, Persian and Arab were created.

Imperialist forces incited the war between Iraq and Iran which lasted for eight years. By providing reactionary Saddam regime chemical weapons, the imperialists had accomplice the killing of five thousand Kurds in Halabja.

The US imperialism, by getting support from the Kurdish organisations KDP and YNK during the beginning of the occupation of Iraq, brought deepening of enmity and distrust between the Arabic people and the Kurdish people.

Historical and current incidents indicate that the enmity and distrust between the peoples of the Middle East is in its apex and this enmity could continue for years in the form of blood feud in Iraq and the Middle East.

As can be seen, in this political environment, the brotherhood and unity of peoples in the Middle East can only be realized on the base of revolution and labour patriotism.

MLCP defends that this only will be possible by the Democratic and Socialist Federation of the Peoples in the Middle East, and struggles for this.

DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Related to that, the Marxists Leninists Communists point out an objective reality as follows: *"Today's internationalisation level of monopolist capitalism has further developed the material ground of peoples' unity which occurred in the era of imperialism. Today's level of the socialisation and internationalisation of labour extremely presents the proletariat of different nations the possibility to establish socialism together on the ground of national freedom and volunteer unity."*¹. Then they express their determination on the revolutionary solution to the question as follows:

"The development of trust and unity of labourer peoples of our region, as well as the role of divided and colony Kurdistan's war of independence in reinforcing the unity between proletariat and labourers' revolutions in many countries of the region, furthermore, the material ground created by the capitalist imperialist system's economic integration make urgently necessary the programmatic solution of the question of revolutions and international unity of labourer peoples and proletariat of our region. Demonstrating the proletarian internationalist responsibility, the Marxists Leninists Communists, developing the tradition of Comintern in actuality, take as a programmatic task the democratic federation of peoples of the Middle-East based on the working class and labourer peoples' governance giving preference to the success of the revolution. In this direction, they are currently trying to

*build up and develop the unity of struggle of the region's revolutionary and communist movements. They are determined to go forward in this proletarian internationalist path. They will raise the revolutionary path of the region's working class, labourers and oppressed people as an alternative to the USA bandits' imperialist world order and occupation of the region. From radical Muslims to Arab national movements, up to Kurdish reformist nationalists in the region, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois currents of different nations cannot develop any solution and struggle building the unity of peoples and self-confidence, and they will not..."*²

Communists fulfil their historical and political duties in this concept. And they formulize the understanding of federation as follows:

*"Democratic Federative Unity of the Peoples of the Middle East, which was approved in the Congress decisions of the Marxists Leninists Communists and agitated in daily struggle, is based on decisive victory of peoples' revolution in the region, and free and voluntary unity of power of proletariat and labourers. Moreover, it is based on the theoretical basis that peoples' international unification cannot be formed before smashing the power of bourgeoisie and realisation of definite victory of proletariat and labourers' power."*³

Just as, during imperialist attacks, war and occupation, the thought and call on progressive, revolutionary and communist parties, organisations and groups of the

1 Teoride Dogrultu -Direction in Theory- theoretical journal of the Marxists Leninists Communists, published bimonthly in Turkish language, April/May 2004, vol. 16, p. 47

2 ibid, p. 51

3 ibid, p 50

Middle East geography to organise a "Middle East Conference" is an actual reflection of this understanding.

MLCP, in the call on "Middle East Conference", which was seen as a stepping stone for a united anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East, but has not been realized yet for outer reasons, were stating as follows:

*"In order to developing further the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle and to organize and prepare the united revolutionary struggle against imperialist occupation and aggression in the Middle East, as a first step, this conference has to be realized."*⁴

"The resistance against the US imperialism and the imperialist war in the Middle East is growing daily. This period bears great resistance and struggle opportunities and dynamics. The neoliberal attacks of the imperialism, the consequences of imperialist war and occupation and the anti-imperialist traditions of struggle of the peoples of the Middle East led to the situation where a great anger accumulated within the peoples of the Middle East.

Under this objective and political circumstances on the Middle East, it is not surprising that radical Islamic trends and organizations are getting new possibilities and are popular. The progressive, revolutionary and communist parties and forces of the region surely have a historical and political responsibility in this situation. Although there is no serious development of international organization and actions of the revolutionary parties and forces from the region, the Islamic internationalism is

*developing a serious solidarity and a common struggle."*⁵

The USA, which has stuck in uncertainty and inability to solve the problem, will not easily accept the defeat. Because this will not mean a defeat only in Iraq and the Middle East, but it will also mean a step back in its hegemony of the world. Therefore, they will continue to stay in the region with their Greater Middle Eastern Initiative, military forces and different alliances, aggressions and threats. And this points to the duty for an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in the region. MLCP is aware of this historical and political duty. It fulfils this duty decisively with calls and acts in the homeland, the region and throughout the world.

A STATELESS PEOPLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE KURDS

The Kurds are a nation in the Middle East, whose country is under occupation and divided into four parts. It has come to a state that during local wars and conflicts they are treated as "refugees" in their own country. Historically, they have been kept under oppression by the colonialist and imperialist collaborator Turkish, Iraqi, Iranian and Syrian states. Kurds have been the victims of those states' denial and annihilation policies.

Kurds with a population of over 30 million have experienced examples of great struggles, rebellions, and national movements in the history, as well as betrayals, being the followers of colonialist states' policies and the failures of primitive nationalist leaders.

⁴ Call of MLCP, Dated 15/07/2003

⁵ ibid

The Kurdish question is a principal factor to the relations and balance of power in the region, as well as to the alliances and co-operations. The Kurdish card has always been played by the imperialist forces and regional colonial states in their policies.

The main thing which feeds the reactionary, fascist and colonial regimes in the Middle East has been the existence of Kurdish problem. The Kurdish question brings together Turkey, Iran and Syria who have enmities against each other. It encourages them to meet in common attacks and military operations towards the Kurds. It brought the handover of Abdullah Ocalan, the Kurdish national leader, to the colonialist Turkish bourgeoisie as a result of common conspiracy of imperialist countries.

The annihilation of the PKK guerrillas could always be the basis of debates on sending Turkish troops to Iraq or on the negotiations to let American troops to use Turkish basis, and the first condition of developing deep and comprehensive collaboration with the USA.

The Kurdish question is pushing CIA, MOSSAD, and MIT (National Intelligence Organisation) to work together and makes them "strategic partners" despite their problematic relations.

It makes the Turkish state to step back from the Cyprus question and lets her to make meetings with the Kurdish politician's Talabani, the leader of YNK, and Barzani, the leader of KDP.

So there is not only the question of occupation of Iraq and Palestine in the Middle East. There is also a Kurdish question and it is a principle question in the Middle East.



Near past has witnessed many national awakenings and uprisings in the whole of Kurdistan. The handover of PKK's leader Abdullah Ocalan to Turkey by an imperialist conspiracy, the national festival of Kurds, the Newroz and lastly some achievements in Southern Kurdistan that reflected to the draft of new constitution have brought protests or celebrations all over Kurdistan. These national awakenings and movements have driven the colonialist states to a great fear and tensions. It is obvious that there are two important dynamics in the basis of these developments. One of them is the awakening and freeing impact of the guerrilla fight that lasted 15 years in Northern Kurdistan and second one is the achievements in Southern Kurdistan.

The guerrilla war started under the leadership of PKK in August 1984 in Turkish-Kurdistan (Northern Kurdistan) caused a national awakening, mobilisation and freedom in the biggest part of Kurdistan with about 20 millions of population. Kurdish people have politicized and freed themselves until they fight, and they fought more until they freed themselves and broke with the colonialist regime.

The colonialist Turkish State has been left insoluble, irremediable and unhopeful in the face of the guerrilla war that conducted both politically and militarily. It continued with its denial and annihilation politics. In 1992 the guerrilla struggle joined with revolutionary mass movement, and the national uprising came to its highest level ever.

Turkey and US imperialism has defined this process as a "low-density war". There was the situation of "strategic balance" for many years. Under these political conditions, the Turkish State has given heavy concessions to its imperialist masters in order to repress the Kurdish national liberation struggle, and bowed her head on strategic interests and needs that imposed by them. The fascist regime has gone into collaboration with CIA and MOSSAD. It put its methods and experiences of unlawful, dirty and secret war against the Kurdish people into the service of them. And they are today implementing this savageness in Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq.

During the process of the concept of "low-density war", also supported by the USA, North Kurdistan was forced to be left without people. Thousands of villages were evacuated and burned down. Millions of Kurds were forced into migration; hundred thousands of them were taken to detention and thousands of them were massacred. Kurdish intellectuals, journalists and businessmen were killed in 1000 operations of "unknown perpetrators". Along with 1 million armed troops and police, they have also established a system of "paramilitary" that numbered with 60 thousand through gathering from collaborator Kurdish families. It formed the organisation of Turkish Hezbollah, which

later troubled them, and tried to influence the Kemalist Kurdish Alevis.

The revolution started in Kurdistan was not being spread to Turkey. MLCP's idea and practice of forming a revolutionary front in the west was not able to change the situation. The support of external dynamics was not enough. The limits, national narrow-minded situation and etc. of the PKK have accelerated the defeat of the Kurdish national movement and its transition to reformism.

In the region, the defeat and destruction of the colonial Turkish regime in the face of the Kurdish national movement was not only going to mean the end of the rule of the ruling classes, but at the same time, it was going to mean the defeat of the USA's "strategic partner". The EU imperialists were also annoyed with the PKK's revolutionary line against the New World Order. And they also became the partner of the conspiracy and supported the process. Under this surrounding and squeezing, the reformist transition of the Kurdish national liberation movement was accelerated.

The Kurdish national movement has experienced a defeat over Abdullah Ocalan's "Imrali line" and PKK became a national reformist party. The new strategy of PKK is characterised with ideological surrender, break of political will and liquidation.

Following the call of Abdullah Ocalan, the armed guerrilla forces were left with no movement, in accordance with the process of cease-fire, for five years in Southern Kurdistan (Iraqi Kurdistan). This did not direct Turkish State to make new openings but caused internal contradictions and unhappiness within the PKK. Osman Ocalan and some of his friends have split



from the PKK by the support of the USA and went into a process with unclear-ending.

KONGRA-GEL (PKK) and HSG (Armed Forces of the Peoples) have removed their decision of one-sided cease-fire with the reasons of ongoing operations of the Turkish bourgeois State, not changing their minds on annihilation of guerrilla forces and not making serious openings, and have declared that they will defend themselves.

Turkish bourgeois government has freed Leyla Zana and her 3 friends, former MPs of the legal Kurdish party, DEP (Party of Democracy), from prison after 10 years because of the pressure of the Kurdish national liberation fight and the insistence of the European Union. It has started a 30-minute of broadcasting in Kurdish language on an official TV channel. The Kurdish national forces consider this as a positive development but find as not enough. They also demand their own national identities, a general amnesty and stoppage of the operations.

The administration of the USA has announced that they will “work” together with the Turkish State against the guerrilla forces of PKK in Iraqi Kurdistan. In the future, this “work” may also include the idea of physical annihilation, but today they are searching for the ways of dividing PKK and making it ineffective by Osman Ocalan or - if they can - by influence on the former DEP MPs those being freed. We could say that the policies of the carrot and the stick against the Kurdish national movement are being carried out together. Because, the Kurds are also being wanted to be made a base in the Greater Middle East Initiative

In connection with the developments within the Middle East and Iraq, the process is also open to new developments for the destiny and future of the Kurds. □

Revolutionary Power of Self-Criticism¹

"The new energy that wakes up among all parts of the vanguard of the proletariat, the determination in victory and success cause us to feel them. Hope is growing and the happy songs of the constructors are being heard loudly. The vanguard unit of the proletariat is changing its own situation also in practice. It cleans, renews and purifies itself in the fire of the revolutionary action. The springs of alteration and renewal, which started by all instruments of the great orchestra in themselves, in their positions and areas, will turn to a river that flows loudly by becoming a united whole..."²

The revolutionary struggle makes progress by giving numerous sacrifices; numerous experiences of the revolution verify this. But, in many cases, the readiness to make sacrifices of the revolutionaries gains a special and outstanding meaning in terms of the development of the revolutionary vanguard and the struggle. This basic approach makes it possible to understand the special meaning of the martyrdom of Comrade Tuncay Yildirim, whom we lost last year in the resistance house³ in Izmir, for the Marxist Leninist Communist Party. The subject of this article, of course, is not to deal with this issue. But, it seemed extremely meaningful for us to start here the article that aims to analyze the main lines of the developing course of the Marxist Leninist Communist movement in the last one-year.

The resistance houses, which were opened by the communist vanguard in January 2002 in Izmir and Istanbul, had also carried a meaning and an aim of increasing the revolutionary commitment -that was weak outside the prisons - to the level of the resistances in the prisons. The foundation of the resistance houses, the implementation of the Party decision on this path is also involving a shaking revolutionary impact upon the vanguard itself. The party, one more time, wanted to try and tried her revolutionary determinacy over the F type isolation-cell attack by opening resistance houses outside the prisons. The party was in a search to gain her revolutionary spirit.

1 Translation of an article of the journal Teoride Dogrultu (Direction in Theory), number 10, January/February 2003

2 from: Yeniden Atılım Newspaper , 20 April 2002, Editorial" The Word Makes Process in the Action"

3 Centres or houses of resistance, houses in which the political prisoners which had been in death fast continued their death fast outside the prisoners after their tactically temporally release in order to reject the tactics of the State.

Here it will not be wrong to make following definition: The communist vanguard, which has whipped herself with the revolutionary power of criticism and self-criticism, had fought against the political indecision and semi-willingness starting from center to outside; from backbone to all other organs, and made her revolutionary will and political determinacy the subject of an examination through the implementation of the decision to form the resistance houses outside the prisons. The demand of “opening three doors – three locks”⁴ that putted forward by the Bars had almost become ownerless after the first initial impact and interest. When the communist vanguard started to act in order to mobilize her forces on the basis of defending the demand, she then start making progress by rowing against the current and by fighting political indecision that both surrounded like a harmful ivy not only her own forces but all revolutionary movement as a whole and pulled antifascist forces into its swamp.

Because of his splendid revolutionary action, the son of the Party, Tuncay, who kicked silently the political indecision among the ranks of the communist vanguard and walked in gravity upon the death at the resistance house in Izmir, has deserved to be remembered as the symbol of rise-up with revolutionary commitment in the history of Marxist Leninist Communist Party.

For example, the efforts spent by the communist vanguard in order to develop the communist work among the women, the direction that it has constructed and the visible results those becoming more concrete, are very important and meaningful. This shows itself not only in the axis of activities of 8 March but also in the 1st December demonstrations against the imperialist war and in all the other activities throughout 2002, including the 3rd November elections.

When we follow the communist press carefully, the great care shown by the communist vanguard on testing self-criticism in the praxis that she has developed in this area will be visible. Again, the efforts on the protection of the route and ensuring continuity will pull the attentions. The desire and direction on putting theory into practice have become an exceptional area of concentration in order to obtain wholeness between word and action. Through the political activities in the period of last one-year, the following can be determined: The communist vanguard, that has shaken herself, has succeeded to correct her route also in practice by creating an important change on her position towards the labourer women.

The May Day of 2002 witnessed the achievements of the communist vanguard’s efforts at the main spheres in order to let its own forces to rise-up and mobilize. On the unification, solidarity and struggle day of the world proletariat, in the main spheres a revolutionary practice prevailed on the position of considering summertime as a break for political work and fight.

4 Demand claiming the raising of the complete isolation of the prisoners by putting at least three people together in one cell.

Here, it must be underlined that the communist vanguard has turned her face to the outside throughout the year of 2002. The communist vanguard made important and valuable progresses on the way of establishing consistency between theory and action by ensuring stability and continuity of her works in the route of “definitely ending the estrangement from the masses, making politics not towards the party but towards the masses and leading the masses to the course”.

In the year of 2002, the 3rd November election campaign is the most advanced point where we reached on the way of “overcoming the estrangement from the masses”, “making politics toward the masses” and “leading the masses”. In terms of being a meaningful signal of the political quality, we must also pull attentions to the election campaign that communist vanguard conducted and succeeded in reaching and contacting with new forces.

The communist vanguard, that is paving itself the way of becoming a leading party, has putted her political activities into the route of making progress and development, and has succeeded in turning her face to the outside, to the masses. The political sensibility, commitment and reflex of the communist vanguard have entered to the developing process, and her revolutionary moral, discipline and self-confidence increased.

It is not necessary for us to draw general balance sheet of recent political activities of the communist vanguard for the objective of this article. But, initially we had to determine the developing direction of the communist vanguard. And this is what we have tried to do above. As it's necessary to emphasize this, again despite repetition:

The communist vanguard has entered into the developing direction both organizationally and politically. Here, we have only mentioned some of the most striking reflections of the communist work that could be seen almost in all areas, and determined the developing direction.

Since the communist vanguard develops politically and organizationally on controllable manner, in that case, what are the revolutionary dynamics of this development? It is maybe quite clear for everyone that no great or meaningful changes happened on the conditions of revolutionary struggle and the communist work in the period of last one-year. So, it means the communist movement did not get strength from a surge of the working class movement or the suburb, youth, woman or Kurdish national democratic movement etc. In that case, we should direct our attentions towards her-own to be able to understand the organizational and political developing dynamics of the Marxist Leninist Communist movement and to understand the internal process of the communist movement.

On 1 May 2002, the communist vanguard announced that she has organized her 3rd Congress successfully. Through its analyses those were reflecting the level, content and impact of the revolutionary self-criticism developing in the ranks of the Marxist Leninist



Communist Party, Partinin Sesi (Voice of the Party) was also drawing the lines of the revolutionary dynamics of organizational and political development of the communist vanguard.

By mentioning that the *“MLCP’s 3rd Congress did not hesitate in dealing with and having debate on all programmatic, strategic, political and organizational subjects that had got to be dealt in seven years of her history”*.⁵ *Voice of the Party* also reports that *there was a hard, shaking and extensive struggle being conducted in the ranks of the communist vanguard*.

Again, when *Voice of the Party* is stating *“the 3rd Congress of MLCP have also putted on to the table the period which is characterized with revolutionary spontaneous attitudes, bureaucracy in organizational life and opportunism”*⁶, it is also pointing the shaking revolutionary power of criticism developing in the ranks of the communist vanguard.

“If we are turning our face to the internal class struggle” says *Voice of the Party* and summarizes the route of the communist vanguard as follows: *“we have to construct the line of definitely ending the estrangement from the masses, make politics not towards the party but towards the masses and thus achieve the line of leading the masses”*.⁷ However, this is also meaningful and explanatory from the point of view of understanding the developing line for the last one-year.

Doubtlessly, the developing struggle, criticism and self-criticism within the ranks of the communist vanguard also have a history that cannot be denied. Because, it is not possible to think that the organizational and political developing line that was started by the communist vanguard in the last one year would be constructed suddenly. Necessarily, there was a preparation work and struggle before the development. Likewise, the communist press gives enlightening datum on the subject.

5 from: Editorial of the 34th issue of Partinin Sesi -Voice of the Party-, illegal published Central Organ of MLCP, dated March/April/May 2002

6 ibid

7 ibid

Just after saying *“in all their movements, the Marxists Leninists Communists must glance over, control their connection with the masses and must ensure continuity of principle consistency in order to respond the revolutionary leadership demand of the masses and in order to spring to the level of revolutionary leadership of the masses”*⁸, Teoride Dogrultu (Direction in Theory), also emphasizes the need for self-criticism in the following words:

*“It is very obvious here that the relationship of the vanguard with the masses is forming the main point. And there is the need for the communist vanguard to look at her connection with the masses, to recheck her experiences in a critical revolutionary way together with all of her different levels and elements. Even, such ideological/theoretical work is an ideological precondition of conducting the work in order to ‘become the leading party’ and in order to respond to the burning revolutionary leadership demand of the masses in Marxist and revolutionary route. If this is going to be a qualitative leap then the communist vanguard must clarify how and in which way she is going to change and develop. And she must direct consciously and systematically.”*⁹

As it can be seen, Teoride Dogrultu, which was pulling attentions already at the beginning of 2001 to the urgency of self-criticism for the communist vanguard, at the same time, was strongly emphasizing the necessity of putting the communist vanguard’s connection with the masses to the center of revolutionary self-criticism. The next issue of Teoride Dogrultu is also deepening on the same line of self-criticism and was specially dealing with the *“Connection with the masses in vanguard style”*.¹⁰ Teoride Dogrultu, which was underlining the *“necessity of directing and dovetailing the attention of the vanguard completely towards the masses”*, simultaneously, was drawing attentions to the fact that *“today, the revolutionary will of the communist vanguard is, before anything else, confronting itself with the hard examination to create connections with the masses”*.

“The vanguard must direct all her activities towards the masses; otherwise it would mean denial of the vanguard herself. Because the reason for the existence of the vanguard is enlightening and organizing the working class and the oppressed millions, to mobilize them against the domination of the capital and the fascist dictatorship in the fight for political freedom and socialism. She will lose her claim on leadership and right of existence in the percentage of distancing from this point”.¹¹

When the communist vanguard started to act with the will of changing her situation, which was not appropriate to the reason of her existence and her great revolutionary claims, the criticism and self-criticism have appeared as a real question, a burning revolutionary need. The criticism and self-criticism is nothing else than communist vanguard to renew her and the effort to revolutionize it. The revolutionary power of the

8 Teoride Dogrultu (Direction in Theory), No 3, March/April 2001

9 *ibid* Page 13

10 Article from Teoride Dogrultu, No 4, May/June 2001

11 *ibid*

criticism and self-criticism have both started a revolutionary transformation -that spread from center to circle- and awaken the great revolutionary energy -that has directed the vanguard to the masses- in the ranks of the vanguard.

When looking from the inside, the internal change and renewing experienced by the communist vanguard, before anything else, involves the ideological and organizational area. But, at the same time, it carries also elements regarding the revolutionary theory, program and strategy. This is also the meaning of *“discussing the period which is characterized by revolutionary spontaneous attitude, bureaucracy in organizational life and opportunism in the political struggle”*.¹² The political energy –which concretized in the increase of the claim of political leadership, political commitment and sensibility- has become a power revealed by criticism and self-criticism. Because, the communist vanguard had cross-examined the understanding and mentality of “the revolutionary spontaneous attitude” that prevailed as an understanding within the political leadership and the struggle and became dominant in the party activity. In that case, the purposefully effort of shaking revolutionary change and renewing within the ideological and organizational area reflects the outside in the form of revolutionary change and renewing of the political practice.

The propulsive power, the dynamics of the political and organizational developing/progressing line of the communist vanguard -that become evidential in about one-year period- is the revolutionary power of criticism and self-criticism that she succeeded to develop among her ranks.

Because of the self-criticism, the communist vanguard was able to turn her direction towards progressing in the route of becoming the leading power. Also, she was both able to deepen in self-criticism through ideological, organizational and political achievements and to increase her opportunities to continue in the developing line by leaning on these achievements of her.

The communist vanguard has succeeded in turning her route towards overcoming the estrangement from the masses. But this question has not been solved yet. Therefore, the need on thoughtfully and practically deepening on the self-criticism is still making itself to feel. If the connection of the vanguard with the masses is forming the center of the work for “leadership” or “going to the leading party” than the communist vanguard must check and strengthen her concentration on the masses.

The revolutionary role of the self-criticism that develops from inside to outside in its purging way has been proved once more time by testing of recent practice of the communist vanguard. All markings and remnants of estrangement from the masses must be thrown away, liquidated both in all the existing collectives of the communist vanguard and on the level of cadres. All organizations and cadres must participate in direct mass work and get in

¹² Partinin Sesi (Voice of the Party), No 34, March/April/May 2002

direct contact with the masses. All cadres and organizations must be directed to engage with the real theoretical and practical problems of the work that will enable the vanguard to conquer the revolutionary leadership of the masses. The engrossing will of the leadership will continue to play an important role both in the liquidation of estrangement from the masses and in the politics towards the masses and developing the leadership on the masses. However, the final solution of these vital revolutionary tasks is not the question of the self-criticism. But, self-criticism contains making progress in every specific situation at some limits.

In that case, where could the communist vanguard, which wants to put the opportunities of the revolutionary self-criticism -that still exists but are almost exhausted- to the service of her development, find the revolutionary propulsive power in order to ensure continuity of her development via protecting her route on becoming a leading party? Here, we must emphasize that this is a real question for the development of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party. And only “reaching to new forces” and “discovering new ways of development” can be the answer of these questions. Also, the existing opportunities of the self-criticism can only be made useful by protecting the direction of “reaching to new forces” and “discovering new ways of development”.

The communist vanguard can advance in her developing route on becoming leader by protecting her direction and commitment by meeting with fresh forces, and also by both bringing these fresh forces into open, by physically collecting these forces in her ranks and by deepening in renewing herself through breathing the air and the spirit of these fresh forces. But, in parallel with that, she can also advance through strengthening her direction and effort on “discovering the new ways of development” and of course by uninterruptedly putting her achievements in this area into the service of the struggle.

Today we must especially underline the following: The communist vanguard can only be able to ensure her continuity of development in the route of becoming a leading party through the way of breathing, collecting the revolutionary strength and energy of those fresh forces. The aim of the criticism and self-criticism developing in the ranks of the communist vanguard, at the end, is to meet with fresh forces. Because, the communist vanguard can only be able to strengthen and stabilize the revolutionary renewing and change -that she has achieved through leaning on to the revolutionary power of criticism and self-criticism- by meeting with fresh forces, which is to say by the new forces that she collected, united and developed in her ranks, so to say by developing a new generation of cadres. Also, she only can uninterruptedly continue her march-forward on the way of becoming a leading party on this basis. Thus, the communist vanguard now must turn her attentions to the fresh forces more strongly. □



*Socialist Platform of the Oppressed:
Socialism will free the world!*

Protest against NATO Summit on 27 June, Ankara: attacking barricades and tanks of the police



ORGANISATIONAL SECURITY AND STRUGGLE AGAINST THE POLITICAL POLICE¹

Our party, which struggles for and organised to take power, have to do its strategic and actual practical duties, responsibilities in order to follow the needs of being secret organization and illegal work, and must act in accordance to this. In the political struggle, the organization and leadership are forming the most strategic points and institutions. Political and organizational works need continuity. This continuity can only be achieved by an organization and leadership that provides its own continuity. Of course, the continuity that we are mentioning here is not only for continuity of self existence, it is also for a continuity of leadership that successfully organizes and directs the struggle for power.

The enemy is trying to reach ideological and political liquidation also by, together with other things, the way of organizational liquidation. In our geography, the existence of many organizations have been endangered and even liquidated by the strategic operations that carried out frequently and one after another. Or they have been left to struggle to be alive as a small organization. During formation of our party, the liquidation and becoming small organizations were on important level in our

¹ Translation of an article from Partinin Sesi (Voice of the Party), Number 28, January/February 2001

geography. Our party which was formed by the unification revolution was a stand against this on many aspects. This process that developed in the world and in our geography couldn't take us inside of itself. But, on the contrary, our party have insisted on distancing from this tendency and showed a conscious practical stand against it. Because they have not been able to surrender our party on ideological and political points of view, the political police is now trying to make our party powerless and ineffective through organizational operations, surveillance, torture, kidnapping, assassinating, Cell type prisons and by trying to make people secret agents in order to realize the ideological and political liquidation of the party some time. Furthermore, they are also trying to force us to work legal and for that reason they are preparing the way for legalization. Of course, it is a revolutionary duty to make good use of this working area and its opportunities in revolutionary way, but it is also one of our strategic revolutionary duties to stand against this legalizing or restricting works within the opportunities of legal work. Against such attempts, that try to restrict us, the fight must be carried out strategically. Insist on illegal organization and illegal work is an ideological stand. Struggle against political police and the question of organizational security is a political question. Doubtlessly, it also contains technical aspects.

The political police, which specialized by the ruling classes as a instrument of war against revolutionaries, communists and leaders of mass movement, is dealing with our party very closely. Their approach towards our party that contains the dynamics of renewing itself and works insistently in the struggle for revolution and socialism is more serious. The "short" history of our party shows that we are conscious and have important force, potential and consciousness of leadership. Developments in our country and in the world shows that the class struggle is going to continue more hardly and because of that the question of ideology, policy and, of course, those going to turn this into a material force, the organization/party and the leadership are becoming key issues. This is why the ruling classes are mercilessly attacking the organization, the consciousness of organization and institution of leadership. After the unification work and unification revolution, the works and attacks of the political police towards our party have intensified. They wanted to obstacle our party's development by the police operations that conducted one after another. They did achieve important successes too. They did not satisfy with physical attacks and operations they also put their secret agents on duty. They have tried to make our party ineffective and marginalized by surrounding her internally and externally. They are not satisfied with this also they will try to do more things. They will try to attack our party's most strong parts. By attacking our party unification, our ideological unity and strength, they will try to send our party back into "the world of groups", to

provoke some of the petty-bourgeois attitudes that belong to ex-group feeling. They would try to damage our party's revolutionary atmosphere, internal-trust, fraternal relations. If the enemy wouldn't succeed on this than they will try to follow a politics and attacks to distance the party from the aims and make the party aimless, try to let the party to stay as a small group, let the party to be engaged in protecting itself and be marginalized.

On what sort of things does the enemy lean on when trying to attack and liquidate our party?

- a) They lean on to their own opportunities. Opportunities that brought by being on power. Technique, education, financial means, years of examinations and experiences, support of the international organizations.
- b) Secret agents and collaborators within the masses.
- c) Secret agents and people (if there is) helping them within the revolutionary organizations.
- d) Errors, weaknesses, and indirectly wrong politics and tactics of the revolutionary organizations and militants, too.
- e) Statements and confessions under the torture of political police, violation of working style in security and rules.
- f) Different decipherers those made within the party publications and during communication.

The enemy gives importance to intelligence work. They will concretize their works through information, data, proof received from this work. They would draw practical duties. We are witnessing some of their complaints about weaknesses of their intelligence work in some important developments. The Turkish ruling classes and their political police have gained important experiences in their intelligence work in the last years. The more success they have the more they give importance to this work. They do not restrict them selves with intelligence work, they also conducting a work inside the organizations that could influence the politics inside the organization. We do, some time, mention the capital's secret agents in the trade unions and in some of the associations. These secret agents are described in such way, because they work according to the interests and policies of the capital.

The enemies' works to place secret agents within the revolutionary organizations and parties goes very past. They also trying to make weak personalities in the revolutionary ranks as secret agents or benefit from them as helper. We did find such

people in the ranks of our party as well and punished them as they deserved. This was published in our party publication. We cannot fully stop the infiltrations. But it is possible to identify, reveal and ineffective them. Again we can minimize the damage within the party works that could be given by enemy elements.



The people who became secret agents are coming from the ranks of workers and toilers. Again, having Kurdish and Alevi identification was used as camouflage. The people who turned into secret agents from their college time or at even younger ages are doing this without having consciousness on what they are being doing. These people are being deceived with illusions on ostentatious life or adventure of what they are doing and without any consciousness. Yes, the political police use the weak elements of workers, toilers or their children for their own interests and against our struggle, the struggle of workers and toilers.

The main aim and duty of the enemy elements those placed in a revolutionary party or organization is to give damage to that organization or party. As it can be understood here, they will give or they will have to give shortage in practice. We should look at their practices to understand them or bring them to an open. Of course, here is the question of, what do we understand from practice, is very important. Our party's program, the strategy, tactics and our work to put them in daily practice, all of these serves one single aim: to overthrow the power of the ruling classes, establish revolution and socialism. The enemy within the party will work to obstruct this. For this reason, the work of the enemy can be easily understood and brought to an open within the party. Daily work, life and the duties within the party of a communist consist in realizing in practice the programmatically and strategic thoughts of our party. Every negative point seen here and violation of party program and strategy are the points those should take our attentions. As it's known, differences of thoughts and ideological struggle in our party is not prohibited. But, it can not be hold with out principles. The principles, laws of our party also declare how to conduct this. We should not mix this with the things have said above. According to the enemy elements those brought to an open, it understood that their main aims are to get information, to give damage to inner party atmosphere, to blow internal trust and

comradely relations, pull party to a right opportunist-legal party or turn it to a left adventurism. Are these things that could be done very easily inside the communist party? This depends on that communist party's organization, management and on the organization of practical works suitable to its own program and strategy.

Of course, such thoughts, attitudes will not be enough if we consider them separated from each other in order to expose enemy elements within the work of the party. This also covers the danger of the possibility of misunderstanding correct revolutionary thoughts and attitudes. Every "wrong" thoughts and attitudes must be supported by other elements and evidences and be evaluated with the entire context, than it can be of importance.

Our party's, party organizations and militants weaknesses, errors are the friends of the enemy and of those secret agents who succeed in entering into the party.

The enemy is always interested in our weaknesses. They would want go deep from there. They would analyze all positive and negative sides of every militant. How would they do that? By following, by information received under torture, by our weaknesses and errors those seen in practice, by reports given by secret agents. They will do analyzes on our party and on every militant and they will centralize their information and data. The enemy and their secret agents would attack our party's and her militants strong and developing sides. They will use many tools at the same time. Follow, abuse, threat, detention etc. They will use liquidation to stop development of our party and her activists. The enemy is scared of a militant and revolutionary who makes examination, research, who is asking questions and learning etc. They will attack him/her. They will try to liquidate our best ones.

Some examples from the efforts of the secret agents those were able to enter into party ranks.

◆ They will spend enormous efforts not to be blown. They will always scare that at the end they would be blown. They will set an action plan after analyzing specialties of the organ or leader that they have been in connection with. Opportunist and liberal style are their living areas. They will try to distance themselves from all controls. They will always talk about what they have done, will talk about many opportunities but they won't create concrete things.

◆ The duties of secret agents those who were able to enter into party ranks are

different from each other. Some of them will try to damage party relation, some of them will try to pull party line to the left or right, some of them directly will try to get information and go to higher organs, some of them will show anarchist attitudes and try to create groups like mafia etc. Each of them will try to do their duties within the party.

The following points which were explained by the enemy elements that were blown are very important. The enemy will spread distrust on the leadership of the party through their elements in the party, will discuss the leadership, accuse the leadership of leftist or rightist deviations, of going behind some other political parties, they will use weaknesses against the party, in criticisms they will follow destruction manner.

◆ The enemy elements are conducting special attitudes to destroy and destruct the organ that they work in and on the secretary of the organ. By making the organ secretary ineffective, they are trying to damage the works of the organ and turn it to an organ that only deals with itself. They will prepare themselves for the place of secretary by shaking their authority. For this purpose, they will try to form and develop “special” relations with other members of the organ. In spite of comradely relations and party norms, they will try to achieve their relation by forming different relation those in contrary of party relations. They will use weakness and errors of the secretary. They will demoralize secretary comrade, try to let him/her to loose self-confidence and try him/her to turn inside by using those weaknesses, etc.

◆ The cadres those making researches, examinations, are asking questions, that is to say those containing potential to become good revolutionaries or good leaders are their special target. First they will try to push them out of the struggle and the party. If they would not succeed on this then they will let him to be imprisoned by an operation.

◆ The enemy elements in the party will try to push our party to make mistakes against working class and labouring people. They will try to reduce attraction of the party. They will develop practices, ways and methods those in contrary of the party culture and style.

◆ They will plan to bring some of our party militants against each other or against the party. They will try to give damage to self-confidence of those comrades by forcing them to make errors and they will plan to bring them face to face with party by pulling party’s criticisms on those comrades. They will try party to make errors, try

activists to commit “mistakes”. By moving from this, they will aim at creating a psychology of a “guilty person” on the revolutionary militant and activist. Here, their aim is to turn cadres into passive and dilemmatic cadres. Their aim is the militant to lose self-confidence. The aim is to reach that they stay passive with the intention not to damage the party and that they only hesitatingly do their revolutionary duties. And the aim is also a party that does not trust its activists. If the enemy is aware of the errors and weaknesses of the activist then they will try to hide themselves there or to nest in the weaknesses or errors. Even they will try to enter into the activist or party by using those points. This sometimes would be carried out in a natural way, and sometimes this point would be a concentration point when that militant or activist were in detention or torture.

◆ They will organize systematic follows. They will organize the follows by using other comrades or from points those being confirmed before. By following the comrade, they will try to get he/she to do error, try to find out about some opportunities and identification of other comrades. They will try to take photos of comrades and to film them and document all the information in order to use it against the comrades. In detention they will say, “Look, we know what you are doing and which people you are meeting. These things can let you to go into prison for many years. Also if the organization would learn about this error of yours they will punish you and won’t trust you” etc. They will aim increase of party criticisms on this comrade, evaluation of him as a comrade that is not being careful and weak about work in security and will aim distrust on him/her on this point.

With systematic follows, they will turn a militant not being able to do duties. By gradually creating a psychology of “this will not work”, they will aim to spread of a thought that “people can’t work better in illegal work, and they won’t become able to do any work” and they will aim people to distance themselves from an illegal work and change their minds on illegal work. They will try to force the party only to organize legal works. Of course, the aim here is also to support legalization with actual situation.

◆ While comrades from the party or other comrades are engaged with follows, they will let the spy of enemy to do their own work more comfortable. The controlling within the party would also be weakened.

The enemy will do its works by benefiting from our errors and weaknesses. Our errors and weaknesses are not just negatively affecting the party’s development, at

the same time they are preparing opportunity for the enemy to settle and reproduce inside of us. This is also one of the important reasons of why those spies who were able to enter inside of us couldn't be blown for many years. Our errors and weakness are the friends of the enemy. They are the places for the enemy to live.

Let's enumerate some of our errors and weaknesses which the enemy especially benefits from.

◆ We did mention our weaknesses and errors those seen in illegal works in our previous articles. We should continue to follow our basic principle, to know what has to be known, to know things that will help us in our work. We must know that talking everything in everywhere and with everyone will not bring us anything positive. We should not talk, share everything with everyone but, at the same time, we should not listen to everything that is explained, if there will be someone talking about everything, then we must stop him. Let's end violation of illegality rules in our comradely talks.

◆ We should not discuss our party's line and general tactics everywhere, and if we see one doing so we should stop them.

◆ The enemy will benefit from negativities like unhappiness, dissatisfaction, damage of comradely relations, criticising the party and comrades in destruction manner etc. They will make them as sources of spreading distrust to the party leadership and to the party.

◆ Problems on the feelings, unhealthy searches, and sexual weaknesses are the important points which the enemy tries to benefit from. In spite of totally natural love and such relations, they will provoke bourgeoisie's perverseness. As it's understood from the explanations of enemy elements which were blown, first they are analyzing the stand of activists on this points even they are testing them. They are drawing action plan according to the situation of the party militant. It is very clear that some of the weak personalities have being entrapped through these unhealthy and distorted relations. They will be filmed. If the comrade affected is a man then they will send a woman, but if the comrade is a woman than they will send a man. They won't do this openly. They will use it as an element of blackmailing when they have detained this comrade.

◆ They will work more easily on the ones who feel yearning on Bourgeoisie life, the ones who carry important bourgeoisie habitats. These personalities around the party or in the party will be open to be entrapped, bought or be indirectly directed of the

enemy. We have also seen that these weak personalities have been tried to be bought, entrapped by promises of a luxury life and by threatening them with death under torture and by that pulling them to their side. The people those chose to work for the enemy are also the ones yearning for this bourgeoisie life, the ones having sexual weaknesses, the ones who chose the “easy” one in spite of difficulties.

- ◆ The political police will use the relations like mother-father, wife- husband, brother, sister and child in order to force people to work for them.
- ◆ Imprisonment penalties, evidences those could make people to face detention and torture will be used as threat or elements of negotiation.
- ◆ Money and financial help, promises to send him/her outside the country, are the other tools of entrapping people.
- ◆ The ones who make statements under torture will be filmed. Recently, such cassettes have been shown to some of our comrades who had been taken to custody. Under heavy psychological torture, the Police is also trying to demoralize and damage the trust of our comrade to the party by saying “look, these people came and explained everything; your resistance makes no sense. Are you struggling, resisting for these people, they don’t deserve it.” They will try to clear the thought of struggle for working class and labouring people, for socialism from the mind of the comrade and try to let him think that he struggles for these individuals. Comrades who are taken to police custody should know what sort of things they will face. They should not be surprised with that.
- ◆ They will benefit from inexperience, weaknesses of our new comrades. They also will benefit from “old” comrades bad habits. Comrades who do not renew and develop themselves will have difficulty on understanding the inner attacks of the enemy.
- ◆ The following point from the explanations of elements those were blown is also very important. In the process of practicing the decisions those taken by the party collectives, they try to change them or to practice them wrongly. They will try to destroy every thing that is developing the party, strengthening its relations with masses etc. Now, can’t we see them, understand them? Of course, not all of those people who are doing these are elements of the enemy. But, we should know that these indirectly helps them and makes their work much easier. When we are practicing the decision of the party or its organizations, we must do so without damaging their spirits and in appropriate to the decision.

- ◆ They will benefit from our sectarian and narrow attitudes. They will use them to narrow the party and to damage the relations of comrades.
- ◆ They will benefit from liberal opportunist attitudes. In here, they will try to produce rightist tendencies within the inner live of the party and in the line and try to make the party legal.
- ◆ They will provoke left adventurism. We know that they are working to turn our party into left adventurer and provocateur party and through that they are trying to liquidate our party and turn it to a legal party.

Some points in the struggle against the political police

The revolutionaries of our geography have narrowly understood the struggle against the political police. They have been weak in dealing with this, in seeing the whole context of the ideological, political and organizational sides of the problem. The consequences of this narrow understanding were very sad. The work of many organisations, parties, revolutionary and communist militants had been liquidated and the organizational existence of some of them became discussable. Our geography's revolutionary organizations, which have shown great commitment on political work and revolution deserved praise, but at the same time they also deserve criticisms on the subject of struggling against the political police. We must deal with its ideological, political and organizational sides. We can't explain this with opportunities, technical superiority of the enemy. It is also very clear that we can't go further by repeating same errors. After one point, determinism, commitment won't be enough. The ideology of scientific socialism must direct our works and organizations.

We must save our selves from pragmatist, one sided attitudes when giving works to people. When we are identifying them we should look at their revolutionary life and practice. When they are doing their daily duties, we should evaluate them whether they are doing them in accordance with the party line, revolutionary values and Marxist theory or not. We have to define correctly the term of militancy. One sided evaluations may take us to wrong identifications.

Marginalizing is a fact that forced against us. This is a work of the enemy which is done in conscious. They want to distance us from the masses, they want to turn socialism into a hobby of a few intellectuals not of the working class, they are trying to cut our comrades relations with the masses and from production by putting them on to wanted list etc. The isolation they force us into makes the political police's work

***On the 10th anniversary
with the Party to Victory, to Revolution/MLCP***



easy. In the struggle against the political police, the fight against marginalizing attempts is also very important. Here, having relations with masses, organizing the most progressives of them within the party, having correct policies and tactics and practicing them is very important. Struggle against the political police is one of the important fronts of the class struggle. We should know that the revolution can be realized by the conscious actions of the masses, and that the fight against the political police can be won through the conscious work of the masses.

The struggle against the political police is not just the work of the comrades who works in illegal organs. This struggle must be carried out by all areas of class struggle. This is also the work of legal organs, trade unions and legal parties.

To extremely respect and apply the security rules is the duty not just of a few but of all comrades.

Every militant should be open with his private life, works etc to the party. We must be able to explain all our works with the party line and practice. We must not have difficulty on this. There must be harmony between our life, practice and theory. We should not forget that the enemy will benefit from it if there will be negativity in this. □