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International Perspectives of the United Revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan

Upon the Regional Coordination for
Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Imperialism and Political Islam

MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
TURKEY/NORTHERN KURDISTAN



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PREFACE



In this issue, we are bringing together our readers with the Marxist Leninist Communists' views on three different political questions.

One of these questions carries the heading of "International Perspectives of the United Revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan". The thoughts put forward by the Marxist Leninist Communist Party in her 3rd Congress have caused certain uneasiness among some of our country's revolutionary groups those who always repeat themselves and who could not overcome their ideological and organisational problems. One of these groups was the Revolutionary Proletariat. The article, which was published in the 17th issue of the Teoride Dogrultu (Direction in Theory) dated July-August 2004, responds to the attacks of the Revolutionary Proletariat on the Marxist Leninist Communists and once more displays the thoughts of the Marxist Leninist Communists on the subject. While dealing with the strengthening of possibility of regional revolution together with the single country revolution depending on the developments within the imperialist system, the article also stresses on the importance of the influence that could be created by the United Revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan on the Balkans, the Caucasus-Caspian Basin and the Middle East.

Our second article titled "Upon the Regional Anti-imperialist Coordination to Struggle" studies the up to date problems of the anti-imperialist struggle since the temporary defeat of socialism in 1956. The article examines the developments after the collapse of the Revisionist Bloc in the world's problematic regions through various examples and replies the question of why there is a need for regional anti-imperialist coordina-

tion to struggle. It also concentrates on the conditions, dynamics and opportunities to develop regional and international anti-imperialist struggle and enumerates the functions of the regional anti-imperialist coordination to struggle.

And our third article carries the title of "USA's Greater Middle East Project - Imperialism and Political Islam" and is being taken from the 18th issue of the Teoride Dogrultu (Direction in Theory) dated September-October 2004. It deals with the developments in the political Islamic movements since the Cold War period, touches on the compromises between the Islamic movements and the imperialism in the past, and studies the changing positions of some Islamic organisations from USA collaboration to USA enmity in the new international conditions. It is said that the anti-USA attitudes developing among some of the Islamic movements have reached to the level of giving blows to the USA and imperialism especially after the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Therefore, although they are ideologically reactionary and defend to go backward, these movements are politically playing limited anti-imperialist role. The article, which draws the lessons that communists should take out from all these elements and the leading tasks, also reveals the perspectives for developing the anti-imperialist struggle in our day.

We wish to meet you again in our next issue, developing the fight for revolution and socialism.

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International Perspectives of the United Revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan*

The 3rd Congress of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party (MLCP) has caused understandable uneasiness among some other groups. It was understandable because the 3rd Congress was targeting everyone who was suffering the similar illnesses in the name of socialism and revolution by bringing the “revolutionary spontaneous”, “bureaucratic and makeshift” attitudes to account. The Revolutionary Proletariat (RP), who was already in pain and bleeding due to the unsuccessful ideological struggle in the organisational questions, attacked the 3rd Congress with unbelievable narrowness. At this point, it is necessary for us to touch on this subject. For the ideology, which arose from the mentioned vulgar attitude, has got a relative role as being a guinea pig here.

While criticising KADEK in their article headed “The Imperialist Occupation and the ‘3rd Way’ of the National Reformism”, RP wrote also: “Formation of a federal system in Iraq will be the nucleus of the ‘Democratic Middle East Federation.’” In

the mean time, RP was also commenting: “The sky became cloudy”.

And, the RP writer was adding the followings to the footnote:

“The following decision was taken at the MLCP’s 3rd Congress regarding the ‘Changes in the Programme’ part: ‘The 3rd Congress has approved our Party’s understanding of the formation of democratic or socialist federations together with the people of Balkans, Caucasus and Middle East.’ (Political Report, p.101). Of course, we are not going to claim that the programme on the national question is being taken from the national reformism. This idea of federation, which is extended towards the people of the Balkans and Caucasus by MLCP, is entirely formed according to their actual needs. It is possible to understand this from the current situation, - however, in terms of a congress which is not even capable of meeting those needs, what practical needs it serves and on what political ground it settles, - apart from the theme of “peoples’ brotherhood”, - and at

* Translation of an article taken from the journal Teoride Dogrultu (Direction in Theory), number 17, July/August 2004

what point it differs from the Kurdish national reformism's understanding of federation." (RP p. 25)

It is being said "Of course, we are not going

to claim that the programme on the national question is being taken from the national reformism", but in fact we would also have expected such a thing from the RP writers. What is being done with insufficient directness is almost nothing other than this. But what is more important is the demonstration of the fact that RP does not understand the matter even in the slightest degree. At least, on this occasion, it would be expected from them to start thinking about the question of "International Perspectives of the United Revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan". But it doesn't work; the result becomes such when the love of criticism, conceitedness and haughtiness are combined.

Yes, the question concerns the theory of revolution as much as concerning the International Perspectives of the United Revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. The 3rd congress reached conclusions which renew and enrich the MLCP's theory of revolution, by analyzing our current world in economic, politic and social terms. For example: "The contradictions and struggles among imperialists, the law of unequal development of



capitalism rendered, starting from the October Revolution, triumph of revolution in one single link of the imperialist chain, - in other words possible in a single coun-

try. It will continue to render it so. In the present stage, apart from revolution in one country, the possibility of regional revolutions has increased depending on the level of extension and intensity reached by capitalism in the internationalization of capital, commerce and technology." (Political Report, p. 42)

"The mentioned features of capitalist imperialism conditions coalescence more the proletarian revolutions with the anti-imperialist revolutions in a single world revolution front. Nowadays, military technological privileges of imperialist states and technical development in transportation enable them to intervene directly in every revolutionary development in the world. This increases the role of the international and regional revolutionary conditions (which are direct complementary forces of a revolution) in the triumph of revolutions in one single country. This also increases the regional and international revolutionary influence of victorious revolutions. The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie has internationalized a lot in this aspect, too. Although the role of the national factor remains significant for revolutions in

single countries, the regional and international role of single-country revolutions is augmented, together with the role of the international revolutionary conditions.” (ibid, p. 40)

“All these have made more convenient the material conditions for the international proletariat to be bound to the basic and programmatic goal of world proletariat dictatorship against imperialism. The economic-social conditions for the proletariat to lead the struggles of the peoples against imperialism and unite them for world revolution through an anti-imperialist wave became more convenient. On the other hand, the current reality makes the international actions and unity of the revolutionary proletariat, the peoples and the communist vanguards much more necessary for the triumph of the revolution. As a form of fraternity of the peoples, regional federations have gained a special importance both due to these mentioned reasons and in order to prevent imperialists and local bourgeoisie from driving peoples to chauvinist conflicts. This is much more needed for regions such as Middle East, the Balkans, and the Caucasus, where imperialist aggression and wars are densest. Our party is for the revolutionary federation of all peoples in our region. Although the conditions of united and international action have matured, revolutions will develop unequally. Our party sets forth the program of federal unity of the peoples for the revolutions of the peoples of our



region, which will win victory simultaneously or non-simultaneously, and will try to achieve this possible goal.” (ibid, p. 41)

“The intensifying main contradictions of capitalist imperialism perfectly mature the economic, social and material conditions of the world revolution of the international proletariat, bound to the program of world proletariat dictatorship against imperialism.” (ibid, p. 43)

And lastly let us recall the following note of the Report: “Not only world-scale or general, but also regional organisations are necessary, valuable and important for both communist and anti-fascist, anti-imperialist unity and front.” (ibid, p. 52)

Almost all revolutions of the 20th Century have witnessed the break of the imperialist chain at the most weakest links. The imperialist globalisation does not invalidate the situation. There is no doubt that the revolution in one country and the break of the imperialist chain at its weakest link are still holding their validity in our day. But “the possibility of a regional revolution”, the opportunities for a regional revolution have been increased by whether the regionalisation tendency accompanies the imperialist globalisation or the conditions of imperialist globalisation. While the economical, social and material conditions of the world revolution are ripening, in short we say:

a) The theory of the break of the imperialist chain at the weakest link, “revolution

in one country” still holds its validity. Together with this;

b) The role of the international factors on revolutions in single countries is increased.

c) The regional and international role of revolutions in single countries is increased.

d) The possibility of a regional revolution is strengthened.

The revolutionary programme and revolutionary strategy must take into

account and respond to these facts that are brought into the open by revolutionary theory.

However, the international perspectives of the united revolution have always represented one of the questions that the theoretical efforts of the currencies with the claim of Marxism and socialism have not been much concentrated on. This situation is the result of a somehow “national narrow-mindedness”, but it could also be said that it produces the same on the contrary. This somehow “national narrow-mindedness” means the narrowness of limiting the question of revolution with the borders of political geography that we live in, or the perspective that world revolution is not being developed. So much so that -in the political geography where we live - the revolution has been considered almost as satisfactory

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on its own since the beginning. But the currencies with the claim of Marxism and socialism cannot continue with their previous positions due to the 3rd Congress’s consideration of and decision on the “international perspectives of the united revolution of Turkey”.

In order to satisfy the curiosity of the RP and others who are interested, we must say that the idea of federation

was in the programme of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party since the beginning. In the programme, the national question was formulated in the following way:

“13- A full equality of rights between Kurds and Turks shall be ensured, restrictions on all languages and cultures shall be abolished, a systematic struggle against Turkish nationalism shall be carried out, efforts shall be made to get Kurdish and Turkish peoples as well as Lazes, Gypsies, Abkhazians, Georgians, Caucasians, Arabs, Armenians, Greeks and other nationalities live together in the Union of Workers’-Toilers’ Soviet Republics on the basis of full equality of rights and completely of their own accord.”

The programme foresees unification of two equal workers’-toilers’ soviet

republics in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan for the victory of our united revolution and the solution of the Kurdish national question. The programme, which foresees a type of state formed by the unification of two republics, is also involving the idea of federation as the way of unification. We must underline the fact that the Marxist Leninist Communist Party is therefore open to form democratic or socialist federations with the people of the region before any other reason. And it was not very difficult to reach a conclusion of forming federations with the people of the region together, with the view of developing world revolution once we start searching for the answer of the question concerning the international perspectives of our united revolution. It was not difficult because the idea of regional federations already exists in the accumulation of the communist movement.

The honour of actualisation, bringing into the open the communist movement's idea of federation -that was forgotten or allowed to be forgotten- is incumbent upon the Marxist Leninist Communist Party as a revolutionary duty that its (MLCP's) own history created. It is also meaningful and coherent when taking into account that the role of losing ability of understanding and pedantic objectivism was made in a high pitch without understanding what it means, and the theoretical conservatism is incumbent on the rest.

What sort of conclusions could be taken out from the defeat of the Kurdish nation-



al revolution in terms of the international perspectives of the united revolution? What are the international perspectives of the united revolution of Turkey? These questions can also be formulated as well as what is the possible revolutionary influence the united revolution in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan could create on international level? What are the possibilities for our revolution to defend itself or how our revolution can defend itself against the imperialist intervention; - that is to say against the threat and danger of being crushed by isolation, strangulation and use of open counter-revolutionary violence of the world counter-revolution? What would be the strength and scale of the international influence of our united revolution? The determining importance of these questions and their answers in terms of the revolutionary theory, programme and strategy, that is to say revolutionary action and preparation as a whole, is far from in doubt.

The Kurdish national revolution, which was isolated because of it not being able to be put into action, raise up the working class and peoples of the region, at first the Turkish proletariat and the people, was crushed and a decaying defeat was



imposed by imperialist intervention. The national limitedness and the national narrow-mindedness of the leadership of the national revolution's strategy is a reality. But the relative limitedness of revolutionary influence that was objectively created by the national revolution, is another reality which should not escape notice also. Moreover, the national revolution was shown a tendency to spread in other parts of Kurdistan and the strategy followed by the leadership has also tended to reply that.

The result that should be taken from the basic lesson of the national revolution's defeat for the united revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan is; if Turkish and Kurdish proletariat will march with a perspective regarding revolution that is only sufficient for its own within the "national borders" –in the political geography of Turkey- then very likely it cannot avoid reaching the same end. That is to say, imperialism and the regional reaction and the ruling counter-revolutionary forces would want it to be crushed and it would be crushed through isolation,. For example, it is not very difficult to guess implementation of very strict isolation and blockade by trying to turn Greece and Cyprus into the bases of an imperialist intervention.

As it is known the collaborator capitalism of Turkey is tightly connected to the imperialist world economy. Their economical relations with the USA and the European imperialists are vital. But, they also have got vital interests in Turkey. In the period of the last quarter century, the collaborator capitalism has done everything in order to articulate and integrate within the reconstruction of the imperialist world economy, and it develops much deeper relations with the imperialist world economy. Particularly the conditions after the 90s' have created opportunities for collaborator capitalism to come forward also as an economical actor for the region and allow it to make openings in its economical relations with the Russian Federation and the Balkan countries.

It is not possible to predict for the scale and dimensions of the influence that would be created by the revolution on Europe and the world economy. But it is also clear that the united revolution of ours, which would march towards victory, will cause crisis-making effects over the world economy, at first over Europe. Moreover, it will not be a surprise to have the crisis-making effect in the Balkans in more shakeable manner.



The revolutionary influential area of the national revolution that broke out in Northern Kurdistan cannot be compared with the revolutionary influential area of the united revolution of Turkey and Northern Kurdistan. The united revolution will be able to cause revolutionary quakes in the Middle East (at first in Iran, Syria and "Iraq") because of ending the Turkish bourgeois state's counter-revolutionary relations with imperialism and the ruling classes of Israel, Iran, Iraq and Syria, and of dismantling all these imperialist and reactionary alliances, but at the same time, by having a basic component such as the Kurdish national revolution.

On the other hand, all the following historical elements bring us to the conclusion that it is totally possible and, even in some degree, inevitable for the united revolution to activate the proletariat and peoples of the Balkans, Caucasus and Caspian Basin by influencing and shaking them deeply: The interaction and relations between the Turkish people and the people of the region because of the historical and cultural heritage left by 700 years of Ottoman sovereignty in, firstly the Balkans, the region; - the Turkish bourgeois state's influence on the region because of the international condition that was created at the end of the 20th Century and, more importantly, its relations of alliances with the ruling classes of other countries against the peoples of the region; - and the Turkish capitalism's expansion towards the mentioned spheres and its developing relations etc. The Turkish bourgeois state is an important factor and prop for collaborator bourgeois and reactionary regimes of imperialism in Balkans, Caucasus,

Caspian Basin and Middle East. Our united revolution is going to attract great sympathy from the peoples of the region, who suffered a lot from the Turkish ruling classes and their predecessor Ottoman despotism for centuries, and to both propagate people of the region to rise up and facilitate the collapse of the regional countries' ruling classes by weakening them.



The result, which should be taken from all these, is that the Kurdish and Turkish proletariat marching towards their socialist goals by uniting around the aim of united revolution cannot limit their perspective of revolution only with the "political geography of Turkey", that is to say the "national borders". The united revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan should have the revolutionary perspective of realizing the revolutionary influence that it could create in Balkans, Caucasus-Caspian Basin and Middle East, activating and rising up the proletariat and toilers, the peoples in the mentioned regions and countries, and "expanding" towards all these directions. The international direction of the uninterrupted "united revolution" or its connection with the world revolution comes into clear perspective here.

What should be the programmatic goal of a revolutionary strategy tended to realize the influence that could be created by united revolution? This question is taking us to the matter of federation.

The history of the idea of regional federation goes back at least to the beginning of the 20th Century. Although it was not what was foreseen, the Soviet Union was established in the form of a federation and later was organized as the USSR. So much so there were federations among the republics that created the USSR. The Russian Federation for example.

The "Balkan Federation" strategy is also being developed as a respond of the communists to the bourgeoisie's and imperialists' strategy of "Balkanization"; taking peoples under yoke and domination by weakening them by dividing them into small pieces on the basis of national and religious differences, and causing them to kill each other. However, the roots of the idea of "Balkan Federation", doubtlessly, are in the 3rd International's theory and programme on the world revolution.

The programme of the 3rd International considers communism as the "world system":

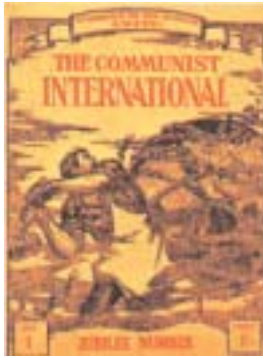
The united revolution of Turkey and Kurdistan should have the revolutionary perspective of realizing the revolutionary influence that it could create in Balkans, Caucasus-Caspian Basin and Middle East, activating and rising up the proletariat and toilers, the peoples in the mentioned regions and countries, and "expanding" towards all these directions. The international direction of the uninterrupted "united revolution" or its connection with the world revolution comes into clear perspective here.

"The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to de- grade and destroy the human race." (A Hand Book of Marxism Edited by Emile Burns, The Programme of the Communist International, p. 984)

After explaining the aimed "Communist World System", "Communist World Society" in "the Ultimate Aim of the Communist International – World Communism" section, it later dwells on "the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". "Between capitalist society and Communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential State form is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as

well as victories; a period of continues general crisis in capitalist relationships and growth of social revolutions, i.e., of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, - in so far as they undermine the domination of imperialism, - constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in "peaceful" relationships as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars of imperialist States against Soviet States; a period in which the ties between the Soviet States and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc." (ibid, p. 988)

"Thus, the dictatorship of the world proletariat is an essential and vital condition precedent to the transportation of world capitalist economy into socialist economy. This world dictatorship can be established only when the victory of socialism has been achieved in certain countries or groups of countries, when the newly established proletarian republics enter into a federal union with the already existing proletarian republics, when the number of such federations has grown and extended also to the colonies which have emancipated themselves from the yoke of imperialism, and when these federations of republics have grown finally into a World Union of Soviet



Socialist Republics uniting the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international proletariat organised as a State." (ibid, p. 990)

To what extent the communists of all countries throughout the 20th Century were attached to the programme of 3rd International is another subject that should be separately researched and discussed. But when one looks from the perspective of the world revolution, and if you are well versed in the accumulation of the international communist movement, then it becomes "not difficult" to reach the conclusion that the "formation of democratic or socialist federations with the peoples of Balkans, Caucasus and Middle East" is in the extension of our united revolution's international perspectives.

It is the success of RP to think of federation only in relation to the national question and consider it as the programme of the national movements, and to make so many mistakes only in a single sentence. ■

UPON THE REGIONAL COORDINATION FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

Socialism received temporary defeat in 1956. The Soviet modern revisionists under the leadership of Khrushchev cleared the way for capitalist restoration with the pretext of transforming into communism in short time. Together with other countries under their control, they established revisionist world system instead of the world socialist system. This system collapsed in 1989/1990. The Soviet revisionists took as principle the use of the struggle of the working class, labouring masses, oppressed peoples and nations for their own hegemonic interests. They have also distorted the Marxist-Leninist struggle and the theory of revolution on the sphere of anti-imperialist struggle in order to theorize the "interests of socialism". This chorus was also attended by China revisionists.

The ideological and organisational crisis of the international communist movement; its disorganised situation on the international level is forming the other disabled part of the anti-imperialist

struggle. The sharpening contradictions between the imperialists under these circumstances, the rivalry for the world hegemony and the imperialist occupations, wars and threats –which almost continue since the beginning of 1990's– have caused development of a strong anti-war movement on the international level, a giant international mass movement. But the pacifist forces, who are keeping the leadership of this movement in their hands, have appeared as another obstacle in front of the development of the anti-imperialist struggle in correct line. These points show: The international anti-war movement; international mass movement is either going to become ineffective and be dispersed under the leadership of the pacifist and reformist forces, or the revolutionary and communist forces are going to organise the movement for revolution and resistances on the basis of countries and regions. Today, the revolutionary and communist forces on the international level are face to face with this dilemma and task.

A) Recent developments in the world's problematic regions

The imperialist bourgeoisie, who in the last quarter of the 20th Century or, more correctly, together with the disintegration of the revisionist bloc have announced the eternity and superiority of capitalism by promising peace, democracy and welfare to the humanity, led mankind to live all sorts of characteristics of capitalism, the barbarity, war, savageness and colonialism.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologists' promises did not work. Because, our world witnessed to an imperialist aggression, war, occupation, military mobilisation, threat and coup d'etats, the religious and ethnic conflicts propagated among the peoples and nations in accordance with the movement of the capitalism's objective economical laws and the imperialist hegemony even in the period when the "Cold War" was ended.

In these conditions of the crisis of the system of imperialist international relations, the imperialist bourgeoisie put aside not only the curtains and in formalities of the bourgeoisie democracy through unbridled imperialist aggression and occupations, but also the international agreements, contracts and rules determined or signed by their own. The USA imperialism have occupied Afghanistan and Iraq by denying all



international rules and decisions in order to dominate the world and the Middle East and to serve the needs of the arm and oil monopolies. It continues to rain threats on Cuba, North Korea, Syria, Iran and Sudan. After Guantanamo, the pictures of torture and rape of women in Abu Ghraib have once more brought the USA's and UK's real faces to open. And the German imperialism was not late to take its place in this dirty and dark picture by letting their soldiers to make torture exercises.

The imperialist capitalism and the local collaborator bourgeois administrations have dragged peoples to the quagmire of national and religious enmity in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucuses. The peoples and nations have been conditioned with chauvinism, nationalism and national despise. They planted the seeds of national enmity, distrust and prejudice and their consequences will spread out to many years. In these regions, tens of contradictions and conflicts such as Serb-Albanian, Armenian-

Azeri, Chechen-Russian, Israeli-Arab, Turk-Arab, Persian-Arab, Kurd-Turk, Persian-Kurd, Persian-Azeri, and Shiite-Sunni are being deepened by provocations. Whilst Turkey supports and provokes the Turks in Cyprus, Turkmen in Iraq and Chechens in Caucuses, the US imperialism does same thing to Bosnians in Bosnia-Herzegovina; Russia does to Serbs and Germany does to Croats.

The regional plans and projects developed by imperialism under various names in the world are aiming the strategic interests of the Capital, to make ineffective the rivals in the imperialist rivalry and hegemonic war, to lift the economical and political obstacles before the circulation of the Capital and to liquidate the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.



In Balkans, there is a political and military hegemonic war between imperialists of the USA, EU and Russia. These contradictions and conflicts are being carried out sometimes in the manner of military support, sometimes with reconciliation, sometimes by interfering in elections and creating reactionary internal uprisings.

In Latin America, the centres of resistance; revolutionary Party and forces are being threatened via “Plan Colombia”. They want to establish an “order” in accordance with the needs and strategic interests of the monopoly Capital.

Through the Greater Middle East Project (GMEP), they want to redesign the reactionary regimes of 22 Muslim countries from Morocco to India in relation with the interests of the USA and the monopoly Capital, and to weaken or liquidate the anti-war and anti-occupation forces in pretext of the fight against “global terror”.

The US imperialism tries to take position in the Central Asia and Caucasus through military bases, military education, governmental coup d’etats, internal uprisings and etc.

By the reflection of economical and structural crisis, the EU imperialists begun to implement the neo-liberal attacks via concrete attacking programmes and packages after the September 11. They have put the immigrant workers and labourers, the political exiles into the target of attack through considering them as the reason for economic crisis, unemployment, criminal incidents and environmental pollution.



They have provoked chauvinism and racism against the Muslim peoples. In Europe, the fascist movement is growing in the arms of the monopolies and the State. In different countries of Europe, system parties are trading on the foreigners in their election campaigns, and the governments are organising the inner reaction with new laws and organisations.

The neoliberal attacks in Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Britain, Russia, Turkey and other countries are continuing in the form of seizure of social rights, attacks on all sorts of organisation, increase of the working hours, massive dismissals from work, attacks on retirement rights, privatization of education, health and etc.

There is, doubtlessly, an international mass movement being raised on the imperialist globalisation attack, neoliberal policies, imperialist aggression and occupation by the labour and oppressed front. The international mass

movement continues to bring out progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, revolutionary dynamics and opportunities in the ranks of the millions who suffer from economic, social and political destruction and devastations.

B) The necessity of regional coordination is the produce of social and political developments:

The capitalism's unequal development in the beginning of the 20th Century, the contradictions between imperialist States have made possible the break of the imperialist chain in single link, in other way, it made possible the victory of revolution and socialism in single countries. The capitalism's level of horizontal and vertical development at the end of the 20th Century; the deepening and organisation of the internationalisation of Capital, social production, trade and technology have also strengthened the possibility of regional revolution among the revolution in single countries.



Two developments become clear in the reflection of the deepening internalization of the Capital and social production on the social and political dimensions: firstly, the necessity of international and regional revolutionary conditions where the single country revolution could directly make it a spare-force and international mainstay; and increase of the victorious single country revolutions' international influence. Secondly, the birth of an international mass movement against the imperialist globalisation, and the appearance of dynamics, opportunities and conditions for developing an international and regional solidarity, support and united resistance or fight in terms of the revolutionary movement of working class and labouring masses.

Today, the proletariat is much more possessed of political and social conditions to lead the peoples anti-imperialist struggle and to make it part of the process of a world revolution by turning it into an anti-imperialist wave.

Comparing with the past, the anti-imperialist struggle and anti-capitalist struggle today much more combined with each other. Therefore, it is a task to form unity, front, platform and regional orga-

nisations as the need of both the communist and the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle. Most importantly, it is the task of the day, not of the future.

The imperialist capitalist and some of the regional power's tendency to achieve economic development through regional and international blocs walk along with the regional wars, political reaction and national enmities. The NAFTA founded by USA have brought poverty to the Mexican people and attached them to the USA's political and military crimes against the Latin American peoples. It, however, has also been proven by the coups in Venezuela and Haiti, the Plan Colombia and the aggression on Cuba.

For the French and German imperialism, EU is the unity of creating dependency and forming economic, politic and, gradually, military hegemony. It is the unity of monopolies. Its policies towards the Balkans and Caucasus are the direct reflection of its competition with the USA. The regional and local political developments in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucasus, the new power relations and balances are being carried out on the contrary to the wills of the peoples in the regions and even on the contrary to the regional States, in exception of some of the countries which we could name them as regional power. This is what GMEP means in the Middle East.

The Kurdish and Palestine question, the occupation of Iraq are the Middle East's main problems which also carry international dimension. The real solution to the

Kurdish and Palestine questions can only come through the creation of the peoples' brotherhood and freedom in the Middle East, the creation of new relations and balances of power in the region, and the formation of democratic or labourer governments. The solution foresees the repulse of the imperialist aggression and occupants, and the overthrow or regression of the collaborator Arab, Turk and Persian regimes.



and diplomatic war and rivalry between the NATO, USA, EU and Russia. Imperialist powers are trying to establish hegemony on every part of the region sometimes by military interference and threats, by taking side with one of the countries, and sometimes by playing the role of referee.

The reason for why Iran, Syria and Lebanon have been targeted by the USA is, on one side, the allegation of these countries support to the Iraqi quagmire, where the USA has sank into, but on the other side, these countries opposition to the redesigning of the Middle East.

There is no doubt that there are examples of anti-imperialist struggle and resistances in these regions which are open to imperialist aggression, occupation and interference. Peoples' will is getting bigger and becomes the source of great morality. The examples of resistances in Iraq and Palestine are the greatest signs that imperialism could be taken out by the peoples' regional united struggle.

The interference of the imperialist and regional colonial powers in the Balkans and Caucasus has dragged people and nations of the region to the more dissolution and conflicts. The Balkans turned into an arena of political, military



The historical and political tasks, the victory of revolution make obligatory the international action and unity of the revolutionary proletariat, peoples and the communist vanguards. There is a need for the centres of



regional anti-imperialist struggle not only for the victory of revolution in single countries or on regional level, but also to stop the imperialist aggression, war and occupation.

Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo are under occupation. Iran, Cuba, North Korea, Sudan, Syria and some of the Latin American countries are under the threat of occupation. The progressive, anti-imperialist, revolutionary and communist parties and forces are under siege to be attacked with the pretext of "terrorism". All refusals with actions, uprisings and struggles are being stamped with "terrorism".

All these imperialist aggression, occupation and threats are the reflections of the imperialist quarrels and policies for hegemony. These are the political aspects of the monopoly Capital's movement to turn itself to account. That is to say that they are the consequences of the capitalism's law of unequal and

unbalanced development, the law of tendency of falling profit rate, the anarchy in production and the law of rivalry. What is happening in the world and the mentioned region is the level and consequences of these laws on rivalry in the spheres of economy, politic and military.

For example; the USA's total number of soldiers in overseas, except Iraq and Afghanistan, is about 250 thousand, it has got military forces in 120 countries and about 1000 military bases and establishments. In the world, the investment on military is about 1 trillion dollar a year, and 500 billion dollars of this amount belongs to the USA. The EU imperialist are trying to overcome their military weakness on the world hegemony with recovering their late militarism and armament. It constructs the EU army, and considers attracting the military force of Turkey which exports militarism in its relations with the EU. The imperialist forces have created or are trying to create great national, religious

enmities, distrusts and prejudices among the nations and peoples in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucasus.

One of the results achieved by our Party MLCP at the 3rd Congress is as follows: "As a form of fraternity of the peoples, regional federations have gained a special importance (...) in order to prevent imperialists and local bourgeoisie from driving peoples to chauvinist conflicts. This is much more needed for regions such as Middle East, the Balkans, and the Caucasus, where imperialist aggression and wars are densest. Our party is for the revolutionary federation of all peoples in our region." (3rd Congress, Political Report)

The peoples' brotherhood cannot be realised in the region, where peoples suffer the strangles, massacres and enmities, by the bloody Capital, because it is the causer of the situation. It can only be realised through a democratic and socialist will, power and struggle. The struggle for a Federative Unity is a special form of it, and at the same time, it would play the role of a bridge from today by realising the proletariat and peoples vanguards' international action and unity, and would erect stones of the peoples' brotherhood and equality.

C) The regional coordination for anti-imperialist struggle will bring the centralisation of the forces and the struggle of regional international actions.

The conditions, political forces, dynamics and opportunities of developing an international and regional anti-imperial-



ist struggle are growing every passing day. The ground and potential of it is much stronger in the regions where the internal conflicts of the imperialist powers and the contradictions between the imperialists and the oppressed nation and peoples are sharpened. There are different organisations and platforms of anti-imperialist struggle or resistance in the world and in the regions. But, unfortunately, there is either no or very weak coordination or organic connections among these forces or platforms which would reflect in the political will and actions.

Therefore, as it is in the world, the organised anti-imperialist struggle is also in dispersed, apathy, ineffective and spontaneous position on the regional level. Interfering in the situation on regional level lays on, at first, the progressive, anti-imperialist, revolutionary and communist party, group and platforms of these regions. Only can they be the vanguards of changing the situation, can bring to open the anti-imperialist potential and strength, and mobilise millions for the interests of the proletariat and peoples.

The regional anti-imperialist coordination for struggle will serve the following functions:

a) We, as the vanguards of the working class and the oppressed peo-

ples, must develop a will with our politics and actions on the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, keeping Cyprus, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina under occupation and on the face of the problems of the new countries and peoples who could be the target of unbridled imperialist aggression and war in the future. As a force, which could be taken serious in the region, we can create pressure and play the hindrance role.

As a result of strong street demonstrations, anti-imperialist resistance and struggle in Greece, the President of the USA, Bill Clinton ended his visit incomplete. The Foreign Secretary General of the USA cancelled his trip to join the World Olympics. In Turkey, the NATO was driven into a corner in Istanbul through an effective struggle against the NATO Summit in June 2004. The States officials had begun to discuss upon whether to participate in the summit or not.

The Palestine and Iraqi peoples, who did not see the support that they expected in the Middle East, are continuing to be the sample and source of morality



with their honourable struggle and resistance to all the oppressed peoples of the world. Neither GMEP nor its threats against Iran, Syria and Cuba could save the US imperialism,

considered as the only invincible will. The biggest and strongest will in the world is the peoples' will.

Merging with the destructive consequences of the neo-liberal policies and attacks, the anger and awakening against the imperialist aggression and occupation causes massive demonstrations on local, regional and international levels. On 15 February 2003, 20 million anti-war people took the streets in the world and shouted their anger and demands. The peoples' struggle grows against the concrete organisations of imperialism such as IMF, WB, NATO and G-B. Most of the surveys prove that the people of the countries in the region are expressing their angers on the USA and other imperialists.

b) Until today, in terms of anti-imperialist struggle, we sow many searches, initiatives and formations of the progressive, anti-imperialist platforms and the revolutionary and communist forces. All these are valuable, but not enough. Because they could not succeed becoming centres of resistance and struggle that grows and produces itself within the political struggle and action. These for-



and stable coordination in the regions is also necessary for giving an end to such circumstances.

c) The other reality is the need for an international coordination among various dynamics and tendencies, different anti-imperialist platforms and centres formed in the world upon the wave of mass movement. And, doubtlessly, the regional anti-imperialist platform or coordination, which would mobilise the masses through its politics and actions, will also make concrete contributions to the formation of the international coordination.

mations were weak on the spheres of activity, continuity and organisation. They were contended with statements, leaflets and conferences, and almost could not go beyond recoding the developments. For example, tens of conferences has been organised upon supporting the resistance in Iraq and the Middle East. But, unfortunately, none of them resulted in creation of a fighter organisation, action and concrete political practice. They were both unable to create an organisation, develop independent political campaign and action, and make an influence on the Social Forums and Anti-War platforms. Undoubtedly, if this situation would not be considered as the implementation of an historical and political task than we will not only create avoidance, diversion and political passivity; but it would objectively mean to block, to restrain and to pull these initiatives and orientations of the anti-imperialist dynamics, opportunities and forces into the system. That is to say that it will cause degeneration and decay. So, the creation of a concrete

It is possible to develop international solidarity, support and common struggle by dealing with the action and unity of the anti-imperialist struggle on international and regional levels in concrete, practice and in consideration of the necessity of an organisation which would interfere in the political developments. It, however, cannot be developed just in words, abstract and general man-



ner. And it can only achieve response with concrete relations, tools and methods of struggle. For example, regional anti-imperialist seminars, conferences, platforms, co-ordinations, unities and etc with the perspective of enlightening and getting organised; formation of an institution or coordination which would lead the political struggle on regional level; adoption of its infrastructure and workers, all these must be considered together with an office work.

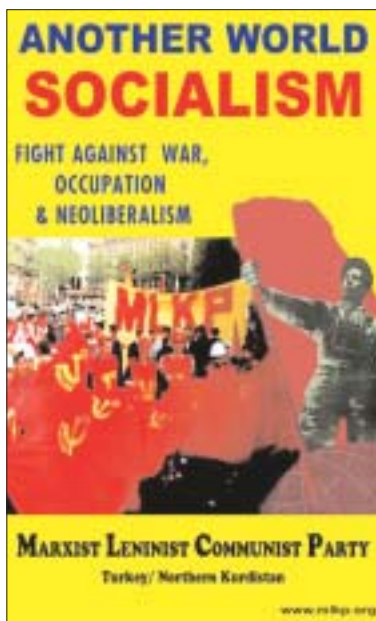
d) The office and management must be able to serve, at first, the social and political matters of the region that it is working for, the needs of the class movement, and the problems, needs and calls of the anti-imperialist struggle. It must play the role of a regional anti-imperialist centre.

The unity, which would be flexible at the beginning, can be carried further levels by the programme of the anti-imperialist struggle and formation of a law in the process. We must also add the tasks of organising press releases, leaflets, political campaigns, developing the common will and action with various platforms and active participation in and influencing the existing anti-imperialist platforms and unities.

e) The regional anti-imperialist coordination for struggle must combine the anti-imperialist struggle with the fight against capitalism. It is being pointed out by the imperialist capitalism's level of development, economic and social integration, and the desire and demands

of the international mass movement. Comparing with the past, today, the anti-imperialist struggle and the fight against capitalism is much more combined with each other.

The reaction and struggle of the millions of workers, labourers and the oppressed against the imperialist aggression and war is also the indirect expression of their class interests and demands in the face of neo-liberal attacks.



This is the thing what is being pointed out by "another world", the demand of the oppressed masses who suffer from the consequences of the imperialist globalisation attacks. The mentioned platform must, at least, state that it is open to the struggle for social liberation.

f) The imperialist capitalism has dragged peoples to a great illusion through regional blocs or projects and plans. Their propogandas on "creating contemporary international conditions", "achiev-

ing economic development by regional international blocs" are being influential.

The regional unities formed in various areas of the world are also organising the economic and politic relations of the most developed bourgeoisies of the countries in the region and pursuing their interests. The Unity of Latin American Countries, MERCOSUR, G-8, Arab League, Islam Development Conference and etc are that kind of unities. BDT and The Shanghais Five play the role of regional domination tools of the Russia and China.

In every country, the fearful intellectuals, bourgeois and petty bourgeois reformist parties are being able to put masses into expectations under the pretext of work, freedom and welfare. The peoples are living the consequences of their expectations caused by such as the accession of some of the Balkan countries to the EU, the occupation of Iraq and GMEP to bring freedom to the Kurds. But their (peoples) vanguards are face to face with a task to foil these expectations and illusions.

The Balkan people, Kurds and Latin American people are seeing the protectorate colonialism through their own experiences. They see that GMEP brought war, occupation and rape to Iraq and the Middle East. The Balkan peoples see that the membership to the EU will bring nothing than economic and social destruction to the new colonial or dependent countries.

g) The foremost imperialist countries are trying to take political and military

positions in various countries of the Balkans and Caucasus by exploiting the peoples' dissatisfaction and reaction, and organising reactionary uprisings and demonstrations under different slogans and with the power of the imperialist media. They even organise this through false elections, and the coordination will bear a political task on it.

h) The coordination must show a principle stance against the chauvinism and social chauvinism when fighting the imperialist aggression, war and occupation, and should bring to open the common will and struggle of the peoples and revolutionary movement. ■

USA's Greater Middle East Project

Imperialism and Political Islam*

Starting from the end of the Cold War, two developments in political Islamic movements have captured attention. Firstly, in Lebanon and Palestine, Islamic organisations have developed war against the USA backed Israeli war tool. Secondly, after the 1991 Gulf War, Al-Qaida has carried out military activities against USA that turned some Islamic countries, which are governed by the puppets, into their military bases. And now, the political Islamic groups are among the main forces of armed resistance in the USA occupied Iraq.



able group of Islamic organisations is going ahead in a radical way in relation to their activities against the USA. Especially in Iraq, radical Islamists are among the main movements of armed resistance against the

US occupation. (Iraqi Communist Party, "Resistance in Iraq", in: Teoride Dogrultu –Direction in Theory-, vol. 16, p. 42).

All these put forward as an urgent task for the world's working class movement, revolutionary and communist movement to analyse political Islamic movements and develop political strategies.

In the Past, the Islamic Reactionary was Towed to the Western Imperialism

Facing the increased domination of USA and imperialist hegemony in Muslim countries, almost all nationalist movements have chosen the line of compromising and collaboration. While a majority of Islamic movements had decided to compromise/-collaborate with the USA under the popular name of "moderate Islamist", a consider-

Although there existed some movements with Islamic ideology against imperialist occupations in the beginning of 20th century, these remained limited and temporary in

* Translation of an article taken from the journal Teoride Dogrultu (Direction in Theory), number 18, September/October 2004

the whole. Having played limited anti-imperialist role, the ones that were able to establish continuity either took part in the counterrevolutionary front, or compromised and collaborated with imperialism. For example, Serekat Islam in Indonesia was an anti-colonialist organisation in alliance with communists in the beginning of 20th century, but later on, transformed into a counterrevolutionary pact, and during 1960s became the criminal partner of the US imperialism and the fascist dictatorship of Suharto in carrying out bloody massacres against communists and the people. Having backed by Sheikhs, those political Islamic movements which existed as a result of Arab, Kurdish, Turkish and other Muslim peoples' nationalism in the beginning of the century against imperialism or Russian Tsarist regime and Ottoman Empire, later got into reconciliation and collaboration line with imperialism. Examples of these are Vahabis and Hashimis who struggled against Ottoman Empire, but collaborated with the leader of rival imperialist camp, the British imperialism during the 1st World War.

In India, during the struggle against colonialism in the beginning of the century there were anti-imperialist and communist Muslim clerics. (Bolshevik revolution had a great influence in India. During the first years of the revolution Maulana Obaid-ullah Sindhi went to Soviet Union to see Lenin. In 1924, there was another Muslim apostle, Maulana Hasrat Mohane who later became secretary general of India Communist Party.) But after 1948, political Islamic movements played a role in the foundation of Pakistan in a pro-British line and represented the imperialist collaborative reactionary.

Apart from these, traditional Islamic institutions and political movements, the Islamic

movements those who directly appeared as the political organisations, in general, were in collaboration or reconciliation with imperialism in the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

As Samir Amin states, today's political Islamic movements existed with encouragement of British imperialism:

"Modern Political Islam was created by orientalists who serve British colonialism in India, and developed by Mawdudi in Pakistan" (Political Islam).

After the 2nd World War, Islamic movements were developed and used by the USA—who took the leadership of the imperialist world, as a tool for the Green Zone Strategy against socialist countries and peoples during the Cold War. The USA also used political Islamic movements against Arabic bourgeois nationalism in the Middle East that play an important role for its (USA's) hegemonic goals. Taking into consideration the difference in the circumstances, the USA used political Islam against Arab nationalism in the Middle East, and against the bourgeois democrat Sukarno (and certainly the communists) in Indonesia, similar to what the British did in India. Moreover, overthrowing Butto government with a military coup in Pakistan, the USA used political Islam at different levels, as an alliance to the fascist coup and as a civil fire-power.

During the whole period of the Cold War the USA, as the leader of imperialist world, used political Islam as a fire-power and water breaker in the Middle East and other Muslim countries against working class, labourer peoples' movement, communist and revolutionary movements. The reflection of this against the Soviet Union was the Green Zone Strategy.

In Arabic countries, in the Muslim countries of the USSR, in Turkey, in Afghanistan and in the Muslim countries of South Asia, the main forces that provide financial and organisational aid to all forms of political Islamic movements were the USA's regional puppet Saudi autocracy and the Arab-American oil monopolies. CIA and Saudi intelligence organisation with Pakistani intelligence organisation organised and developed Islamic reactionaries during the Cold War. They developed traditional Islamic sects and parties, and directly founded or supported Muslim Brothers and today's Islamic movements. The political Islam in Turkey and Northern Kurdistan also acted as a pro-USA fire-power and water breaker.

The USA pursued the same political strategy against social imperialist Soviet Union, which restored capitalism and competed against the USA for political and military hegemony with ups and downs in the world.

During this period, alongside pro-USA reactionary political Islamic movements, a minority of political Islamic leaders and organisations played an anti-imperialist role. Two examples of these are the People's Mujahidin in Iran and Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines, although the latter ideologically has a kind of Islamic colour, it does not fundamentally demonstrate a political Islamic line.

The typical examples of the subject are Hezbollah, organised in Southern Lebanon, and Hamas of Palestine. These effectively existed in the 1980s and struggled against the USA-backed Zionist Israeli occupation and played an anti USA role in the region. These organisations objectively demonstrate a limited anti-imperialist progressive characteristic.



Consequently, although they are ideologically anti-communist and religiously fundamentalist, they do not take aggressive attitude towards secular patriot revolutionary forces which are influenced by socialism.

Crossroad at the New International Conditions

In 1998, some of the pan-Islamist organisations, headed by Al-Qaida, have decided to act against USA forces in order to take hands off the USA from the Muslim countries. However, in the past, it is known that these organisations even did not take any action against the USA's occupation during the Golf War in 1991. Even, the US imperialism, through the Pakistan reactionaries, founded the Taliban government, which allowed these organisations to settle down in Afghanistan.

The pan-Islamic organisations, headed by Al-Qaida, in line with their so called ideology, claimed that the USA forces should be

withdrawn from the Muslim countries, especially from the 'holly lands', and following this they announced Jihad against USA. Certainly, the pan-Islamic organisation's reaction, their announcement of Jihad against the USA, shows that they became a force against the US imperialists and began to fight against the world superpower and are about striking the superpower.

After the announcement of Jihad, the mentioned pan-Islamic organisations evidently have carried out radical armed actions against the USA forces putting in the first place the army targets of USA in Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. The 11 September 2001 attack on twin towers and Pentagon have become the turning point. Accompanied with its unlimited aggression strategy for the world hegemony, the USA imperialists -who formerly contended with attacks such as the bombing of medicine factory in Sudan, had tried to deter these organisations from actions against it and bring them to reconciliation- announced these pan-Islamist organisations as its main targets after the September 11.

The USA's policy change from Green Zone to Moderate Islam, the transformation of Al-Qaida and the follower organisations from USA collaboration to opposition are related, firstly, to new international conditions determined by the collapse of Soviet Union and the retreat of the world revolutionary

The USA's policy change from Green Zone to Moderate Islam, the transformation of Al-Qaida and the follower organisations from USA collaboration to opposition are related, firstly, to new international conditions determined by the collapse of Soviet Union and the retreat of the world revolutionary movement to the bottom entering the 1990s. The USA was no more in need of radical Islamic reactionary.

movement to the bottom entering the 1990s. The USA was no more in need of radical Islamic reactionary. Secondly, some parts of the Islamic reactionary, acting in accordance with their ideological wordings, were demanding withdrawal of USA troops from "holy lands". In these conditions, whilst the majority of political Islam chose to collaborate with the USA's world hegemony and marched towards "moderate Islam",

small group of them were becoming the opposition.

This break up sharpened following the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. For instance, whilst the Islam Revolution Counsel of Iraq (the organisation led by El Hakim) -which was close to Iran mullahs and opposing the USA- with the incitement of Iranian Mullahs, has taken part in the puppet regime of USA after the victory of the USA invasion, the Islamic organisations associated with Sellefis have become the main force that raising armed resistance against the USA occupation. Again, while the Islamic reactionaries in Turkey, despite their anti-imperialist arguments, are contended with organising actions against the Alawi, intellectuals and attacking pubs, as can be seen from the bombings of British Consulate and HSBC there have some organisations appeared targeting the USA and British interests.¹

Today, it is inevitable for political Islam to face a sharp crossroad in the region, where the majority of the peoples are of Muslim belief, due to the USA's strategy to keep imperialist world hegemony in its hands and strengthen it against the rivals and peoples, focusing on the energy resources of the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Central Asia, and increasing its military invasion in the region. Moreover, the political Islam would inevitably give birth to an anti-USA Islamic movement contrary to the USA collaborator Islamic reactionary. Practically, the formation of the anti-USA Islamic movements has been accomplished either through the transformation of the radical Islamic movements whose previous role ended, or through the impact of some organisations such as Al-Qaida. The direction of developments has led to anti-USA political Islamic movements despite their pan-Islamic reactionary ideology. As the resistance against the occupation of Iraq has proved, these movements are improving their strengths and relations with masses by attracting the anger of oppressed sections of the peoples from Muslim belief at the USA-British imperialist aggression. It seems that, in today's conditions, where the uprising of revolutionary wave in the world is facing difficulties and the revolutionary-communist movement is weak particularly in the Muslim countries, these movements will influence an important part of the people from Muslim belief. Through the process, the anti-USA line will split up due to the reaction to the functional liquidation, and the latter will be clearer.

Thus, whilst the majority of the Islamic movements will decide to be pro-USA (at the level of full collaboration with the USA), as seen in the example of the Turkish party AKP, some of them will decide to be anti-USA. This is evident right now.

Today, the objective conditions for the majority of the political Islam to take place in the pro-USA and imperialist collaboration with more determinacy are much more increased. The countries such as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia, and Malaysia are the new colonial countries whose capitalist development and integration with imperialism is in advanced level. And in these countries, not only the



section, which are in the line of bourgeois secular, but also the Islamic sections are in the same process. The reason why the Islamic bourgeois sections are going towards the USA collaboration is not only because they were ideologically-politically pro-USA in the past but they have also grown as economically. Their economical growth and integration with capitalism is also forcing them to drop anchor to the line of "moderate Islam". In Turkey, the typical and remarkable example of this is the Ulker's, as a capital group with Islamic colours, financial support to the NATO's Istanbul summit.

In the Islamic capital groups and the political representatives, the changes in the position of those players, such as Mahatir Mohammed, from collaborating with the USA and imperialism in the past to demagogic opposition today is related to the destructive conditions led by economical crisis. In order to prevent social explosion under the conditions of crisis, a wing of the Islamic bourgeois – the Prime Minister Mahatir Mohammed- prevented an uprising similar to the one in Indonesia and diverted the anger, which could have led to a social explosion, by punishing his economy minister and his supporters pointing them out as scapegoats. Or, the USA's current statements, which threaten the Saudi Kingdom with regime change, are not because of this USA puppet regime's conflict with imperialism but they happen because of the USA's anger at the regime that relies on the Muslim religious law being a soft bed for the development of the radical Islamic movements.

In addition to the reality that all political Islamic groups stand for capitalism, the majority of them also defend the neo-liberal economy politics. Therefore, there is nothing to be surprised about the fact that the majority of the Islamic groups are either pro-USA or the collaborator of imperialists.

As a consequence of several reasons, today, the majority of the political Islamic movements are more stable in collaboration with the USA. In Turkey AKP's loyalty to the USA, the USA's supporting attitude towards FIS in Algeria, allowing the Shiite Islamic leaders such as Sistani and Al Hakim to take part in the puppet regime in Iraq are living examples of this. Again, Washington did not refrain in bringing together the political Islamic movements and bourgeois secular parties in the imperialism collaborator regime after the over-

throw of the pro-USA Sukharto clique by popular uprising in Indonesia. The USA is trying to stabilise the Islamic regime in Sudan in the borders drawn by her. In Iran, while one wing of the mullah regime collaborates with the EU imperialists and gives syndication to reconcile with the USA, the Hatemi wing decides on "moderate Islam".

Islamic Movements Giving Blow to the USA and Imperialism

Today, likewise Hamas of Palestine and Hezbollah of Lebanon, in Iraq or other countries where people in Muslim belief live, although the pan-Islamist movements, which target the USA and other imperialists, are ideologically reactionary and defending to go backward, they politically play limited anti-imperialist role.

In this sense, the attitude of being together in actions with these organisations in support of Palestinian people against the imperialist occupation and Zionism and the practice of objectively fighting together against the imperialist targets is not incorrect. The proletarian and labourer people's movement, communist and revolutionary movement must not avoid from this. Initially this is true for the Iraqi and Palestinian revolutionary movements. But when taking into consideration the changes in the circumstances it is also necessary for people in the region and our country, revolutionary and communist movement's struggle.

Today, the politics of "being against the two reactionaries" represented by some Trotskyite movements, such as the Communist Workers Party of Iraq, in reality, stem from being an intellectual movement out of touch with practice and doctrinarism. Furthermore, it is used as a cover for their avoidance from armed struggle against the US occupation. Today in Iraq,

there is no other way than armed resistance to augment the struggle and mobilize the peoples against the imperialist US occupation. All the other types of struggle are dependent on this. Just as, proven by Ba'ath Nationalist and Radical Islamist Movements have overturned the straightforward military victory of USA to a Pyrrhic victory by their brave military actions. They have augmented the hope of struggle beginning with Iraqi Sunni people, Shiite Arab people and all other people in the



Or also in Turkey, the reformists and opportunists, who are following the line of being "against the both...", have shown whom they have towed to by protesting the radical Islamist attacks against the targets belong to British imperialism, by considering their first duty as "being very much against the violence" and by taking part in the protest demonstrations organised against the bombing of Synagogue, which we think was a wrong target, together with the pro-TUSIAD (Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association) people, the representatives of the fascist regime, AKP and all other reactionaries. The pragmatic TKP (Communist Party of Turkey), who - under the name of benefiting from the situation- supported the February 28 interven-

tion which was a bitter reckoning between the Generals and the political Islam, is emphasising that under no circumstances an alliance with political Islam against the imperialism should be formed when drawing the perspective of "struggle against imperialism" during their conference in 2003.

"It is out of question for Communists to ally or collaborate with religious movement in struggle against imperialism:

region by showing that the USA can be defeated. And the leader of revisionist CPI, Hamit Majit, who is against the "the two reactionary" lines, has ended up taking part in the puppet regime of USA.

(...) Anti-imperialist struggle, in general, integrates as a whole with socialist struggle. A group, which we have to be against in the socialist struggle with no concession, cannot be an ally in any kind in anti-imperialist struggle. This principle is a basis for the analysis of how far the religious movements are, in reality, anti-imperialist."

Undoubtedly, this is talked not only for Turkey and Northern Kurdistan but also for the region.

Being not able to take any great practical responsibilities in the anti-imperialist struggle is understandable weakness of TKP which avoids from the political leadership of a serious social movement in practice and tries to gain force by only chattering as propaganda group. But, in a time and a region where the USA occupation is a reality, stating that the socialists must not ally with any political Islamist currencies against imperialism is a true version of avoidance from anti-imperialist struggle. And grounding this on the reason that there should not be reconciliation in the socialist struggle is logically nonsense. Are bourgeoisie secular Kemalist the ones that can be loaned in the socialist struggle with whom you do not reject alliance against imperialism but reject alliance with Islamic reactionary who fight imperialism? In the

past, the revisionist TIP (Workers Party of Turkey) was, in words, defending socialist revolution in order to reject anti-imperialist democratic revolution, but in practice, they were in every kind of alliance with Ecevit's CHP (Republican People's Party). This was a trick used to undercover their parliamentary line and avoidance from daily revolutionary struggle. The mystery of incoherence of braggart TKP, the follower of TIP, stem from using the same reserves.

Self-Confidence at Independent Revolutionary Line

Having had the mission of leadership of proletarians the communist movement will target the USA and imperialist collaborator political Islam as the main enemies of revolution and struggle in the occupied countries, in our country with some differences, in the region and other countries where people in Muslim belief live. On the other hand, the communist movement will not avoid acting in temporary united-actions advancing the struggle with Islamic movements that objectively target not the people but the USA and other imperialists and are somewhat anti-imperialist.

The pan-Islamic ideology is historically expresses the long for going backward and it is reactionary. This is the ideology of pre-capitalist ruling classes, and is currently used by bourgeoisie to manipulate peoples in order to maintain capitalist hegemony. This is also relevant for the pan-Islamic parties. But, it is the fact that because of the USA's new international aggressive strategy and the weakness of revolutionary alternative, Muslim peoples incline religious and nationalist traditional ideologies. Therefore, it leads some bourgeois and petty bourgeois class originated movements to show reaction against the USA and imperialism, and moreover to struggle

TURKEY:
82 % against the war



against occupations. Consequently, in conjunction, anti-imperialist pan-Islamic and nationalist movements develop.

The communists primarily aim to organise proletariat, labourer and oppressed masses in the circles of the communist proletariat and revolutionary anti-imperialism, though they see the temporary and conditional unity in action possible with such movements. They also carry out the hegemony struggle against pan-Islamic movements that are likely to end the anti-imperialist struggle with counterrevolution. Although pan-Islamic movements temporarily join anti-imperialist struggle, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois characteristic of them may always lead them to collaborate with imperialism. Their inner characteristics and the reconciling manoeuvres of imperialism —as seen in the case of Muqtada Al-Sadr— cause these movements to lead the struggle into a counterrevolutionary end. Hamas and Islamic Jihad have several times stated that they are open to reconciliation if they are offered a share in the government through a reformist bourgeois solution in Palestine. Taliban, which do not possess an anti-imperialist characteristic, is being pulled through a reconciling line via a spiritual leader who has a

significant influence among the Islamic movements in Pakistan. These kinds of manoeuvres have the potential to realise their aim though it might not be imminent and easy. The assurance of turning the Muslim peoples' struggle against imperialist occupations into anti-imperialist revolution and leading to social revolution is dependant on the communists and revolutionary vanguard's victory in the hegemonic struggle by the way of successful revolutionary leadership in the struggle against the USA's occupation and imperialism. This is true despite today the Islamic movements are carrying out armed resistances in Iraq and Afghanistan, and even in Palestine. Today, the anti-imperialist Islamic movements' armed resistance against the USA's and Israel's military occupations is indeed, in short-term, in favour of revolution. In this essence, the communist vanguards would not refrain in taking advantage of the opportunity. But, in long-term, they need to gain the hegemony of the struggle to lead the revolution to victory because of the same movements' potential of reconciling with the imperialism. The communists' practice of developing the revolution assures getting hegemony, the struggle for gaining hegemony develops the revolution and the accumulation of revolutionary forces.

Moreover, pan-Islamic movements are strategically not anti-imperialist revolutionary, and the objective in company and unity in action should never gain a strategic form. This was suffi-

ciently proved with the example of Iran revolution as it turned into a bloody Islamic counterrevolutionary end.

Furthermore, another factor to be taken into account by communist and revolutionary leadership is that the Islamic movements that play a limited progressive political role do not have a long lasting democratic characteristic when the communists organise workers and labourers independently. This makes the hegemony struggle a must and puts the task of victory in front of the vanguard.

In addition, although these movements, which have a limited anti-imperialist manner against the USA occupation, may not lead to any nationalist confrontation among the Muslim peoples because of the Muslim partisanship, but they are likely to develop reactionary massacres –due to ideological being- against certain sects such as Alawi, Durzi, Nusayri, etc. Similarly they develop the same enmity against non-Muslim peoples of the region and the world. In just the same way, they do not refrain in targeting civil people in their activities. This proves that they cannot unite peoples from different beliefs even in Iraq and people in the world against imperialism, but push peoples into reactionary strangles.



As a conclusion, these factors give the communist leadership the duty to turn the anti-imperialist struggle into revolution in occupied countries where national liberation has come forefront, to get in

temporary alliances with those political Islamic movements which play limited progressive role, but carry out the strategic hegemony struggle for the final victory of the revolution. (A similar form of the same strategy is also valid for the nationalist movements that struggle against occupation.) Just in the beginning of the century, Lenin and Comintern, for the struggle of colonial Muslim people, formalised this duty as follows:

“(…) in underdeveloped countries, it is required for the struggle against the apostles, influencing other reactionary factors and factors of the Middle Ages.

(…) My liberation movement against European and American imperialism is related to the fight against pan-Islamism which is in effort to unite its forces by increasing the power of khans, feudal landowners, mullahs, etc” (Vladimir I. Lenin, Draft of Thesis on the National Question and Colonies Question, June-July 1920).

Among the Islamic movements, no movement has existed seeking an ideological alternative and liberation to imperialist capitalist system. The possibility of the existence of such a prior movement –similar to the Christian liberation theology- certainly cannot be rejected. But, putting the past examples of people religion such as Karamati, Alawi, Bedrettinism, El God, in

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the near past there isn’t such a movement apart from a limited number of religious leaders.²

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being re-invented by the Venezuelan internationalist revolutionary I. Ramirez (known as Jackal), who fought for Palestinian people’s revolutionary struggle, under the name of “revolutionary Islam”. Having inspired by these theories and, in essence, because of the hopelessness of working class and peoples’ revolution, some groups are falling into the same fallacy giving the “revolutionary role”, “revolutionary destructivity” and the role of opening the way of the wave of world revolution to the Islamic movements. In the near past, some revolutionary groups such as Peoples and Freedom Front (HOC) have become the trivet of headscarf struggle under the name of gaining the support from Islamic believing labourers. Having different dimensions and contents, all these are playing a role in exaggerating the Islamic movements’ anti-imperialist role and consequently weakening the hegemony struggle. From the other side, some reformist parties such as ODP (Freedom and Democracy Party) and EMEP (Labour Party), who lost their hopes

for revolutionising of the worker and labourer masses, are, on one hand, coming together with fascist, liberal and imperialist reactionary in protesting against radical Islamists for synagogue incident, and on the other hand, organising meetings together with reactionary Welfare Party (SP) and pro-USA murderer Agar's party under the name of supporting Palestinian people, and towing to them. With some differences the same mistake is being made by the revolutionary wing of Iraq Communist Party (IKP) against Ba'ath nationalists and Islamists struggling against the occupation. While Hamid Mejit clique reconciled and collaborated with the USA, the Kadre wing took a revolutionary path and decided for an armed resistance, but cheered Saddam by considering his fight with the USA as a "correct attitude". The same group is trying to correlate the existence of the creator (God) with Marxism, and grounding this on the exaggeration of Salafi group's anti-imperialism that especially surprised USA through sacrificing actions.

However, the working class and peoples' revolutionary belief and self-confidence in developing anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle by insisting on vanguard will and coherent revolutionary politics is a principal. Insisting on this is the main criterion of revolutionary in today's circumstances in which it is vital to come together with masses at a revolutionary line. The Marxist Leninist Communists will highly value their belief and self-confidence in making masses revolutionary, proceed in an antagonist path with the enemies of peoples and socialism, and alongside, value the same principle against the temporary colleagues. ■

1 Hezbollah, which functioned as the contra force, has also clashed with the police forces of the State. But their role is completely different from the organisations those who attacked the USA-British imperialists' targets. Hezbollah of which leader was killed by the State in order to be liquidated because its role ended. It later organised such actions as a reaction. Such actions of them were simultaneous reactions, and they do not have a programme and actions that target the imperialism and fascism.

2 Mahmoud Taha from Sudan was the only Islamic intellectual who was emphasising the element of freedom in his view of Islam. When he was sentenced to death by the authorities of Khartoum because of his thoughts, his execution was not protested even by a single "radical" or "moderate" Islamic group. Also he was not defended by any intellectual, who were naming themselves with the "Islamic Renaissance" or suggesting dialog with that kind of movements. The incident was not even published as news in the western media. (S. Amin, from the article on Political Islam)