



Central Organ of the
Communist Party of Turkey

WORKER'S VOICE

Special 75th Anniversary Issue
October 1995

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

CPT
75th
ANNIVERSARY

Raising the banner of proletarian internationalism is of paramount importance

Speech delivered by Comrade Kasim Zorlu, representative of the Communist Party of Turkey at the commemoration meeting of the 75th Anniversary of foundation of Communist Party of Turkey held at the Marx Memorial Library, London on 10 September 1995

Dear Comrades,

We would first of all like to welcome our guests who honoured us with their presence on the 75th anniversary of the foundation of our Party. We would also like to extend our thanks to the fraternal parties and organisations who kindly sent us their messages of international solidarity from all over the world.

Long live proletarian internationalism.
Long live the unity of world communist movement.

This year we are celebrating our anniversary in the light of very chaotic but promising processes that are developing in the world.

On the one hand, the correctness and the universal character of Marxism has once again been substantiated, unfortunately, through negative developments. History shows us that since the working class movement elaborated its Marxist ideology it has suffered countless setbacks and defeats. However, what is certain is that

the last one has been the most educational. It is educational, because, Marxism is a science and should be treated and studied as a science. It is a methodology. A master key which must be utilised and enriched in analysing the periodical processes of the world. Because Marxism is not a recipe or a dogma but a guide, a torch in the struggle for changing the world for the good of the toiling masses if treated with the zeal and respect that it deserves.

It is educational, because the opportunity that history presented to the world working class movement in 1917, in Russia, despite all the disadvantages of the objective conditions and the untimely arrival of this opportunity, has been successfully seized in planting the seeds of the world socialist system, thanks to the great foresight of Lenin and the inventive determination of the Bolsheviks. This, precisely as Marx pointed out, underlines the dynamism of social phenomenon which can not be predicted by speculation, and can not be dismissed just because it does not fit hand in glove to the theoretical model. Today even the very fact that this enormous gain, which found its concrete form in the Soviet Union and later the World Socialist System, has been folded back sheds light for the future. Generally speaking, the fact that the world communist movement is striving to draw lessons from the Soviet experience is a sure sign of last-

ing victories to come.

On the other hand, the tilting of balance of forces towards imperialism is not producing the 'desired' effect due to the law of unequal development of capitalism and its ever deepening periodical crises. Every advance in the productive forces affected by the new technological developments under the yoke of capitalism brings about more profound and structural problems which can only be permanently solved by the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and a centralised planning of the economy the world over. As competition between the imperialist powers intensifies the very conditions that are necessary for the survival of capitalism are becoming hindrances for its further development. Capitalism further develops the objective prerequisites of socialism with its every desperate move and every solution it finds for each socio-economic problem.

The task of the world communist movement, which temporarily at least has to work under more difficult circumstances, is to wage a determined struggle to turn this blind and painful process to the benefit of the proletarian class. Therefore, today more than ever, raising the banner of proletarian internationalism is of paramount importance.

Long live communism.

APPRAISAL OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

10 September 1995 is the 75th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Turkey.

In commemoration a group of comrades conducted an interview with Comrade Riza Yurukoglu the Secretary General of CPT, covering the situation in the world and in Turkey, and various problems facing the working class and our party.

We publish the interview which brings forth a wide perspective to the communists and to the friends of the CPT.

WORLD

How do you assess the developments in the old Yugoslavia?

The causes of the events in Yugoslavia are very complex. There lies a long history under it. On the one hand, there is the contradiction of Christianity-Islam. On the other hand, there is the struggle of traditional powers of Europe. Through Slavs, England and Russia stand on one corner, through Croatians, Germany and United States stand on the other. Turkey which is a remnant of the Ottomans, stand as always, behind the Bosnians. Severe crimes against humanity were committed and pogroms were conducted, not only against Bosnians, but also against Croatians and against Serbians. The hatred that was suppressed after the last war, has resurfaced. The schemes of imperialism have shaped the appearances of the present events but the problems take their stem form history. It was the same quarrel that had come from centuries passed, constituted the event which initiated the First World War.

The Bosnians had survived through the same predicament even before they became Muslims. Then they were Bogomils (*A heterodox Christian sect - Translator*) and the Catholic Church had tried to eradicate them. When they became Muslim, under the influence of

their historical heterodox traditions, they adopted the Bektashi order (*a popular, heterodox order of Islam - T.*). As a result they began to suffer the consequences of it facing the repression of the official State Islam. We may say that they have not yet escaped the oppression on their conscience.

It is not reflected in the press but Turkey has been very influential on the problem of old Yugoslavia. However it did not use its weight effectively, at least it has not yet used it effectively. Its stance was more important at the beginning of the events. However the anxiety of not to get into a conflict with Europe, and essentially, with the United States, brought Turkey to such a position that it can only speak in generalities. As a result it developed a generally "anti-European" rhetoric but this approach has come to veil the differences between Europeans which is indeed not very subtle: the United States is at the throat of Britain and Britain is at the throat of Germany. When Turkey has adopted this attitude, it lost the opportunity to utilise its importance in full in regards the Bosnia. This attitude, on the other hand, has helped the RP (*Sunni Islamist "Welfare Party" - T.*) which has had a rabid anti-European stance as a focal point of its programme. As a result the Bosnia issue became the banner of the RP.

Since the beginning of the events, it has

become apparent that whenever the United States intended to take a step, Britain did whatever it could do, to halt it. Maybe it is a part of their game but this can be observed in the actual affairs. Under these circumstances, Turkey could have adopted a more active and effective attitude against Britain. It would be more to its interest if, for example, they had said that they would grant the contracts to France. Despite all this Turkey has had a historical presence in the region.

Yugoslavia was a federation. Today a federation is proposed to solve the national problem in Sri Lanka. A federation is proposed in Kashmir. A federation is proposed in Palestine. In Turkey, a federation is proposed for Kurds. What is the positive and negative aspects of a federation as a solution to the national question?

The benefits or harms of a unitary state or a federate state to peoples involved in a national question are directly related to the cultural levels of those peoples, to their aspirations, to the degree of their oppression and to their ambitions. Therefore a discussion on the benefits or harms of "a unitary state or a federation" in isolation of these factors is meaningless. If we can left these factors to aside both forms of state can work. More than one nations, if they are sufficiently large, can co-exist within the boundaries of a

single country in a federation. If they cannot do that **it is due to fact that some powers did not want to let them live like this.** What has happened in Yugoslavia was exactly this. However the causes which lead a federation into collapse, will also work to same effect in a unitary state. The crucial point is not questioning the form of the state. It should be questioning what one of the peoples living within the boundaries of this state want from the other. If one side does not want to give anything to other, the other people will wage a struggle whether the form of the state was unitary or federate. Abstract models cannot solve anything. What counts here is if the model fits in the concrete circumstances.

What can you say about the Chechens?

The Chechens is a nation which has no similarity to the Russians in historical, ethnic or cultural sense. They say that they wish to live independently and that is the bottom line. The Chechen experience should be an example to us in every aspect of our lives, in our social struggle and in our personal and organisational life. If we believe something is true, then we should be the Chechens of it.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN UNION

European Communist Parties place a great importance to the European Union. Many of them adopted a negative attitude on this issue and place this policy into the centre of their strategy. Is it necessary to stand against temporary or partial schemes of the bourgeoisie in order to utilise the contradictions between capitalists of different nations? The left forces of Turkey is generally against entering into this Union. Our attitude on privatisation can be summarised as to struggle against the negative consequences of it on the life of working class, but not to stand against the long term interest of the social progress. Is it possible to draw any parallels with this and with the issue of European Union?

It is true that the European communist parties are vehemently against the European Union. They placed the attitude of standing against the European Union

into the centre of their strategies. In my opinion, this is, in the final analysis, a nationalist policy and it is an attitude in contradiction with the interest of the social progress, with to the main orientation of social progress which is being shaped without asking our consent or will. Plainly said, this is a wrong policy. To stand against the European Union cannot be fitted into the context of utilising the contradictions between capitalist powers for the benefit of the world working class. This is an on going objective process. This process sometimes sharpen the contradictions between the capitalists but these are the contradictions of the capitalist competition. In regards to the competition it is not necessary for the working class to take side of the bourgeoisie of one of the competing countries (and most probably the side of the bourgeoisie of its own country).

The European Union is not related to the sectional or temporary interest of the imperialist powers. The European Union and many other trade associations that are seen across the world today, are the examples of **globalisation of capitalism** in those particular locations. The capitalism is becoming more and more global through thousands of threads. The conversion of country wide enterprises into world wide enterprises, establishing a unified continental or regional market, moving towards a single currency unit are some of these threads. Today the productive forces are enormous. These enormous productive forces cannot be confined into the borders of single countries however large they are. Hence the capitalism is tearing the borders even if this act means giving away something very dear to it. This is such a process. **To stand against this, means to stand against the direction of the social progress.** It also means to stand against the long term interests of the working class. In stead, it would be more appropriate to direct the struggle against the acute and current evils that was brought about by this process.

There is a tendency in Turkey which was against joining into this union. It is incomprehensible. This cannot be classified even as a nationalist attitude. Basically it is a result of a reflex which calls for a reaction to any move of the bourgeoisie. What does happen when one country joins in the Union? Does the imperialists increase their rate of exploitation? Have we not been under

the imperialist exploitation yet, so that we would come under the imperialist exploitation if we join in this union? Nevertheless there are many social gains which would be brought about by this entry.

Our attitude on this issue is similar to our attitude in regards to privatisation. We must fight against all negative consequences of it. Nevertheless we will continue to say that the capitalism would come closer to communism at a rate proportional to the extent it is integrated and unified.

When the Soviet Union has collapsed, many comrades asked "What has happened to the revolutionary centre?" "Where is the revolutionary centre now?". More then four years after this collapse, what can you say about this subject?

Four years in the sense of human history, is not even a second but mere a moment. Yes, the revolutionary centre as we know it, has disappeared. With the dissolution of the socialist countries, the concept of world revolutionary centre has reverted to its context as it used to be in the times before the formation of the Soviet Union. That is, the world revolutionary centre is the country where the working class struggle is most acute and intense. At present world, I do not know a country where the struggle is in such an intensity that it would lead the world working class. In the past, the world revolutionary centre has changed frequently and there were times where there was not any world revolutionary centre. Today it is difficult to cite a world revolutionary centre. Some says China, some talks about Cuba. However the question of to what extent China is a socialist country, is very debatable... Maybe Turkey will be the revolutionary centre. It has all the chances in this respect despite its disadvantages.

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

There cannot be communism in a single country but there might be chances to take over the power in individual countries. In the light of Soviet experience and of the contemporary stage of capitalism, what do you think about building socialism in a single country and about the social revolu-

tion. For example can a revolution in Turkey find the possibility to realise the democratic transformations under present balance of forces in the world?

Here two things should be distinguished. The first is whether there is the chance for a revolution. The second is that, if you assume a revolution was successful, then the crux of the matter would be whether we have drawn correct lessons from the Soviet experience. If we assume these two were given, then, even under the unhelpful balance of forces of today, not only the democratic transformations alone, but also the socialist transformations and creation of a society marching towards socialism are possible. However these two big question marks remain.

What are the chances of a revolution? The objective and subjective conditions of a revolution should be fully grasped and realistically analysed. How do we absorb the Soviet experience? Many in the world scrutinise the experience of the Soviet Union. The more working on it, the more the different conclusions come out of it. I have read a lot of articles and books about the dissolution of the Soviet Union. However I could not find a single analysis which seemed generally correct to us (albeit there might be correct points in each of them). Some says the Soviets did what Marx, Engels and Lenin said and that is the evidence proving the fact that the socialism would not work. However the mistakes committed by the Soviet Union were, from the very beginning, contrary to what Marx and Engels said.

It is very important to learn Marx and Engels well and to draw correct lessons from the Soviet experience. Let us assume that we succeeded in a revolution. Then the important question is what to do afterwards. Russia as a country was the one sixth of the world. If you achieve a revolution in a country such as Turkey, your sphere is so small that your mistakes would not be forgiven.

Can we talk about socialism in a single country as loud as we used to do?

We used to talk about socialism in a single country loudly because we did not know socialism adequately. Today we cannot speak so loudly but it is nothing to do with the lessons drawn by the capitalism or with the stage it reached today.

It comes from the fact of learning Marx and Engels better than yesterday.

We grasped the premise that "there cannot be communism in one country" very easily. "Is it possible to have socialism in one country" is a much debated subject and cannot be squeezed into the limits of this interview. So let me give my opinions in large brush strokes.

Marx and Engels evaluated the socialism as a society where money has disappeared and commodity production and exchange have vanished. Let us put it to a side. No country can sustain a healthy economic life without foreign trade. Let us put this next to the previous point. How can these two premises co-exist? There is no commodity production and commodity exchange within the country but it purchases goods from abroad and sells good to without! This comes to the question of whether it is possible to have socialism in one country. It is possible to march towards socialism, to achieve social transformation in some spheres of social life, to have a proletarian dictatorship in power but how can a socialism in the full sense can be achieved?

This brings us to an important point that Marx and Engels have said: Socialism will be reached through a process which would be experienced by all, or at least majority, of the leading countries almost simultaneously. A great majority since 1915, has said "Marx was wrong on this point". However whatever aspect of the socialist economy was taken into consideration, it reaches to the same conclusion. It is necessary to have sufficient number of advanced countries, sufficient enough to change the system, to pass into socialism simultaneously. Marx did not err.

This does not mean that in single countries revolutions could not take place and could not write socialism onto their banners, could not form proletarian dictatorships and take steps towards socialism. These are all possible. However these, in the historical sense of the term, are operations to gain time; in sports terms to pass the ball around in the mid-field. These individual revolutions **must** be joined by new revolutions until the point of sufficiency indicated by Marx was reached. New revolutions not in the countries such as Ethiopia or Mozambique but in countries where capitalism has developed. If we begin to grasp this, we begun to

understand Marx's genius. Many books wrote in a belittling tone "Marx mentioned a total revolution and erred". This is not so. Marx did not dream on this subject or talk politically. He departed from a scientific, an economic fact. Such a society that within it there is no money and no commodity production, but on its environs co-exist money, commodity production and ever increasing commercial relations. How can these two phenomenon that destroy each other, be together? Only through the way that was pointed out by Marx!

Stalin, in his last book, the "*Problems of Socialist Economy in the USSR*" wrote that the commodity production in Soviets had been limited and under control but existed anyway. He inquired the causes that had led to the ongoing presence of commodity production. His cited two reasons for this and one of them was the necessity of foreign trade (the other reason is not important to us here). Therefore, Stalin, very correctly assessed that the trade with the capitalist world brought about the commodity production.

If I sum it up, revolutions in individual countries can take place and most certainly will take place. At the present stage of history, it seems likely that the world would march forward with revolutions in individual countries. In order not to be beaten back in these revolutions, it is essential to draw lessons from the Soviet experience. It is also very important to learn the theory of Marx and Engels in full. The mistakes of the Soviet revolution stemmed from the fact of leaving the theory of Marx to a side and marching forward with an attitude of "can do". If what Marx had said could be put into practice, a revolution can maintain its power without losing people's support to the workers' power. However to achieve this process would be a very difficult task. Think that all around is surrounded by the enemies and that the "heaven" promised by the socialism could not be brought about even for generations. On the other hand, the revolutionary enthusiasm cannot be maintained as it used to be in the initial stages of revolution and declines gradually. Under these circumstances this task is very difficult. However it cannot be said that it is impossible to achieve. Moreover, a revolution in a single country has no other option. When the whole world is in the capitalist-imperialist system, it is impossible

for a single country to emerge out of it and to say that it formed socialism.

Many aspects of our criticisms of Stalin is in conflict with those left tendencies which try to think positively on the history of the Soviet Union. For example our criticism to the concept of the state of the whole nation. However the main focus should be on the concept of "single world-two separate markets". Can you elaborate?

Staling departed from an incorrect analysis. If your analysis is wrong, your road is blocked maybe five, ten or so many years later. You may not know how late but it will be blocked. When you say there are two world markets, your road is blocked. There was a single world market and the Soviet Union was situated in it. When you refused this fact, you would, intentionally or unintentionally, create an isolationist, introvert, closed to the rest of the world society and state. You would brought about a socialist model in which everything was produced by yourself, a model of "self-sufficient" socialism. This was an illusion, an illusion which could not be achieved but realising this took so long since Russia was such an enormous country. If it was said in Cuba, nobody would believed in it.

Refusal of the proletarian dictatorship and replacing it with the concept of "the state of whole nation" is closely related to this illusion. Many factions in our revolutionary movement associates the blame of refusing the proletarian dictatorship and substituting it with the concept of the state of the whole nation, with Khrushchev. However this change was not brought about by Khrushchev revisionism but by Stalin himself.

IN TURKEY THIRD ROADS ARE TEMPORARY

The first premise of the 9th Congress on Turkey was "Turkey is a country which is not ready for socialism". This continues with "the counter revolution is rapidly developing, the dirty war in Kurdistan causes a profound crisis within the state, and there is an enormous un-channelled dissatisfaction within the society against the impending counter-revolution". On the basis of these it is said "Therefore in a

Turkey which is not ready for socialism, there is a situation which might open the roads to power to the revolutionary forces, due to the conditions prevailing in the country. The uprising in Gazi (district in Istanbul in March 1995 - T.) indicates that the march towards counter-revolution can be reversed." Could you elaborate on this? Take whatever time span you like, say in the last decade, in the last two decades or in the last three decades, Turkey had giant steps in the sphere of industry. The development of every decade is many times greater than the preceding one. However this development is not sufficient to compete with the world capitalism. The consequence of this is what has been done by the imperialist states, could not be done by our capitalism. It cannot distribute crumbs to its own workers and toilers. It cannot bring working population to a balance where they are more or less content with their lot. On the contrary, all these giant steps extended by pressing hard onto the shoulders of the working people of Turkey. As a result, the basic fact that we have often reiterated since 1978, is not changed. Yes, the pace of development is accelerated since 1978, but the dynamics of this development is still the same. Yes, the exports exploded, their share in the economy is increased, but the main source of capital accumulation is still the exploitation of the people within the country. Turkey has reached to stage of becoming imperialist where the need to become imperialist is very severe, but it cannot become imperialist. With this aim in mind they take this step here or do that measure there but today it is still impossible to call Turkey as an imperialist country. On the contrary, it is a country which is under the imperialist exploitation. This situation brings us to one of the main ideas of the *Weak Link* (refers to his book *Turkey-Weak Link of Imperialism* which became the turning point in struggle against opportunism in the Communist Party of Turkey in late seventies - T.): Bourgeois democratic or liberal roads are only temporary in Turkey. Either a revolution or an oppressive regime. All the third roads are temporary. Since that book was written there has been an enormous development in the economy of Turkey but this dichotomy has not disappeared. In many aspects it became more acute.

Under such a dichotomy, by the last couple of years, Turkey is being drifted

toward another cyclical bottleneck again. What did happen in 1960, 1970 and 1980, will take place again, albeit with a delay, in 1997 or in 1998.

When we see the developments in this context, the revolutionary forces seem to be remained behind in respect of organisation, of formation of the cadres of political leadership, of financial resources and of mass support in comparison with the forces of counter-revolution. However there is one more aspect. The revolutionary movement has a giant potential support to which it cannot reach at present, most probably because of its own mistakes. This is a potential but is it possible to realise it? To unlock this impasse, there is only one (and certainly no other) key: **If the Alevi community, Kurdish people and working class form an alliance**, only then this gigantic potential can be converted into an active support. Only then a realistic chance of revolutionary and secular forces to overcome the counter-revolution, can emerge.

Is this possible? Yes it is. Spreading the experience of the Gazi uprising throughout the country is possible. Is it possible to direct these forces to overcome the counter-revolution? Yes, this too is possible **provided that all the tactics are oriented to bring these two large forces to the side of the working class which is the main revolutionary force of the society in Turkey**. What has happened in Gazi uprising was exactly this albeit spontaneously. The Gazi uprising was an event created by the joint struggle of these there great forces. No body can deny this.

Joint struggle of working class, Kurdish nation and Alevi community. This is the basis of our revolution. However I cannot see any guarantee to achieve this if we follow the route that we have been followed to date. We, as the whole revolutionary movement, are still marching accompanied with many of our mistakes.

Then, are you talking about opening of roads to power, within this context?

Yes, this can be achieve only this way and not through any other avenue.

However we cannot talk about a revolutionary situation under present circumstances. What is the difference?

We cannot talk about it, because there is not a revolutionary situation present. However we are facing a phase which is once again pregnant to a revolutionary situation. We read a lot of articles which try to prove otherwise by citing the three criteria set by Lenin and by claiming that all three are there. However these three criteria are not there yet. Those who govern did not come to the point where they could no longer govern as they used to. Those who are governed did not come to a point where they would not accept to be governed as they were used to be. And, there was no extraordinary increase in the mass action, which, in fact, was the consequence of these two preceding factors.

If we are in a phase that is pregnant to a revolutionary situation, then we must openly say this in regards to our organisational forms and our mode of work.

In my opinion, it would be better to say that we are moving towards such a situation. It is prudent to take necessary organisational measures and to make required preparations. However we must state that today there is not a revolutionary situation.

With all I have said to this point, I also meant that a revolutionary situation was nearing by. To say that a clash is approaching; that the counter-revolution seems to be more advantageous in this clash, and that we have a great potential, mean exactly the same thing. If we want to be more precise, we should say a revolutionary situation is nearing by. And getting ready to this eventuality has already been a part and parcel of resolutions of the 9th Congress.

TURKEY IS A WEAK-LINK OF IMPERIALISM

What can we say about the present stage of the state monopoly capitalism in Turkey. How do you assess the development of state monopoly capitalism since 1978?

Let us look at the examples from Europe, for instance examples from Britain. Britain is one of the most advanced examples of the state monopoly capitalism. What did happen? The state began to dispose of the economical

enterprises which were under its control. Did the state monopoly capitalism took a backward step? Did it returned to old capitalism? No, on the contrary yet another step forward was taken. Competitive capitalism, state capitalism, state monopoly capitalism are different moments of the same process. What matter in this process is not whether the state owns factories. What matters is the growth of productive capacity, of productive units. As a result complementing components are changed but the trend is on the rise. In the early stages of the capitalism, when there was not sufficient accumulation of capital, everything is done by the state. When the primitive accumulation of capital was achieved through the state assistance, the state is withdrawn. In parallel, sometime the state came into the economy and sometime it was withdrawn from the economy. Much later, the capitalism used the state in every sphere in such an extent, that it meant a kind of self-denial and converted itself into the state capitalism. By this conversion, it managed to sustain the world capitalism in the years following the Second World War. After this crises has passed, after the monopolies has recovered themselves, this time the monopolies and state got intertwined and became the state monopoly capitalism. The state has always been the watchman of capitalism in this process. Whenever the capitalism is in dire straits, the state comes in and when the crises is over the state moves out of the economy again..

Now however such a point is reached where each capitalist enterprise in itself became almost as large as a state. That is why they said "stand aside, we can do". This also reflects the tendency of the capitalist enterprises to take-over the already amassed capital accumulations, and to use the pillage alongside the well-known exploitation. Nevertheless this indicates a more advanced stage that is reached by the growth of the productive forces.

The situation in Turkey does not indicate such a development in the productive forces. It is a shove forward, partly due to the influence of an attitude which was beginning to spread with Thatcher, and partly due to a wish to take-over the already amassed riches accumulated in the hands of the state. Whatever the reason, if the bourgeoisie of Turkey thought that they could not fill the vacuum left

by the withdrawing state, nobody would dream about promoting privatisation. As the bourgeoisie believes they can do it, then their state began to say "I will step aside and let them to do it".

In other words, the willing one has already come forward.

Of course. In Turkey, the level of socialisation of production in some sectors has developed to an extent that would allow the state to be withdrawn from the that sector of the economy. This is not contrary to the historical aims of the working class. In the final analysis, the greatest enemy of the working class is nothing but the state. The smaller the state, easier to overcome it during the stage of revolution and easier to liquidate it afterwards. The working class cannot be free so long as there is a state.

Can we say that the idea of withering of the state and privatisation-reducing the state are complementary.

Yes there are parallels but one takes place within the capitalist formation, the other under the socialism, under the workers' power. Therefore one of them is an attempt to solves the contradiction from negative aspect, the other will be the final solution of it from the positive aspect.

Koc and Sabanci (two top finance capital groups in Turkey - T.) are joining forces to form a consortium to compete with Japanese, British and Italian companies. Does this also indicate the stage reached?

Despite the fact that this was not an operation geared to internal market, that it was mainly oriented to foreign markets, this is yet another example. This is an attempt to increase their competitiveness in respect to Europe. It also indicates that the targets of Turkish monopolies have also grown.

ONLY REVOLUTIONARY CLASS IS THE WORKING CLASS

Some says "the working class has lots to loose, therefore, the petty-bourgeoisie is more revolutionary. The events in *gecekondus*, (Turkish shanty towns, literally, built-over-night - T.)

the uprising in Gazi, as well as the one in Nurtepe, have proven this". They also say that the recent activism of the civil servants' associations and unions have also proven the same point. What can you say about the revolutionary potential of the working class of Turkey?

The overwhelming majority of what they call as civil servants, are actually public sector workers. This is a problem of defining the working class properly, of setting the delimiting lines correctly. This is a problem of properly replying the question of who a worker is. If you cannot reply this correctly, or do not wish to reply correctly due to this or that factor, you will let yourself be fooled by a ploy of the state: By the employment legislation, a sizeable portion of public sector workers were taken out of the legal worker status and consequently they were denied union rights such as right to collective bargaining and right to strike etc.. If they accept this as the correct definition of the working class, then they also accept what the state has done to its own ends. This has nothing to do with a scientific point of view, and besides of letting themselves be deceived, they also take part in the insults directed to Marx and Engels on this shaky premises! The overwhelming majority of the civil servants is a part of the working class of Turkey.

Not in the sense of refusing the revolutionary potential of other oppressed sections, of putting all the rest of other strata of people into a basket of reactionary mass, but in the scientific sense of the word, **the only revolutionary class of Turkey is the working class.** This is the sense of the word as Marx wrote in the **Communist Manifest.**

Some sections of the working class might be living in better conditions and others in worse conditions. We must understand that these differences in living conditions naturally bring about differences in the consciousness. However the class, the overwhelming majority of this large force, is living under very difficult conditions.

While this artificial separation is forced upon, there is a tendency among some civil servants separating themselves from the workers. They feel themselves superior and belittle workers as if it is a shame to be a worker.

This is also natural because this is the consciousness which has been tried to be instilled in them.

COMMUNIST ATTITUDE ON KURDISH QUESTION

What can be said about the PKK (*Workers Party of Kurdistan, The main Kurdish organisation of Turkey waging a war of independence in Turkey - T.*) losing its position of a representative of the oppressed and exploited Kurdish workers and toilers? Is it possible for the PKK to assume the identity of a nationalist party by ceasing the use of arms under the pressure of "a political solution to the Kurdish question" which is coming both from Western countries and from the liberals of Turkey? What is the attitude of our party in respect to a political solution?

I do not think in the very least, that the reason of existence and the aims of the PKK have changed. It merely tries to adapt to the changing world-wide and regional conjuncture and to develop policies accordingly. They pursue a very "real politic" and they do it in a grand scale.

According to the bourgeois press there is a process where "the PKK is losing its position as the representative of the oppressed and exploited Kurdish workers and toilers". However we know very well what the function of these papers is. If we set this aside, today there is no other organisation capable of speaking on behalf of the Kurdish people. There is no organisation capable of speaking on behalf of the people of Turkey, there is no organisation capable of speaking on behalf of the working class of Turkey, there is no organisation capable of speaking on behalf of Turkish people. However there is an organisation capable of speaking on behalf of the Kurdish people and that is the PKK. This is a phenomenon.

Today if somebody wants to talk about Kurdish question, then there is not much to talk but the PKK. Therefore, when the Kurdish question is to be spoken, the PKK should be recognised as the representative of the Kurdish people. And all the definitions should be made accordingly. It is the PKK who has organised

the struggle of the Kurdish people. By refusing this fact nothing can be achieved.

Can there be a political solution? If we think about it calmly, it is very difficult to foresee what kind of situations might emerge and where these might lead, under the present balance of forces since the great imperialist powers are also in the game. There is a political solution and yet another political solution. At the end there will be a political solution, but what kind of solution it would be?

This brings us the last part of your question that is the attitude of our party in regards to political solution. One thing is very clear: any "solution" which was dictated by the imperialist powers, would not bring any benefits to the Kurdish people, to the Turkish people and to the other peoples of the region. For a political solution which will be beneficial to Turkey and other nations of the region, first and foremost to the Kurdish workers, there is no alternative but to integrate the struggle of the Kurdish people with the workers' dynamic of Turkey.

It was very unlucky for the Kurdish struggle to raise up when the working class movement was backtracking. This reduced its chance of success and speeded up of the back treading of the working class since it led to strengthening of the Turkish nationalism within the working class. This concretely proves the fact that without integrating with the working class, it is impossible to succeed in national democratic sense. Without integrating with the Kurdish struggle, the road of working class to political and social revolution is also blocked. The experience of the last decade is the proof to this truth.

What can we say if they are to be a legal political party as it happened in Ireland?

The development in Ireland is a political solution. It is a political solution through leaving the arms and becoming a political party. However one cannot label this as a sell-out. Without seeing what kind of a political solution it would be, we cannot oppose the concept of political solution, and we are not against it.

BASIS OF SOLUTION IS FREE-WILL

Can a federation be such a political solution?

I say, under the particular circumstance of Turkey, a unitary state is better but this must be asked to the Kurdish people. Let them hold a referendum. If the Kurdish people wishes a federation, then it is a federation.

Comrade, is this not a rather polite way of putting the problem? Today proposing a federation as a solution to the Kurdish question, is reactionary. This is a device oriented to deceive the working class and Kurdish people. Is this correct?

Not correct my comrade. We must look at this problem with a wider perspective. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a federation, the United States of America is a federation. We came to the point which we discussed before: To discuss the form, be it a federation or a unitary state, is meaningless if it is isolated from the concrete circumstance of this solution, from the concrete struggle through which this solution has emerged. If the Turkish and Kurdish peoples agree voluntarily on a "federation" this does not do any harm. However if the attitude of the Kurdish side is "let us get the federation as a first step, we would take the second step later", then it would not work. Similarly if the attitude of the Turkish side is "it is an obligatory concession for us to join into the European Union; let us give it now, we will take it back later", then it would not work. However let us not forget that with this kind of opportunist approach, an unitary state would not work either! **Without the good intentions and free will of the people none of the models would work.** In the final analysis, all depends on how the aspirations and actual demands of people were formed and what they are oriented to .

A federation and an unitary state both are mere forms, models, dresses. Can we ask how good this dress is if it is too loose or too tight for you. You cannot blame the dress. What matters is who is in it. Naturally in essence the working class is for larger, unified states. However a federate state, does not necessarily mean, not to be able to have a large, unified

state. Here is the example of the United States as a federal state...

However it is not a federation on the ethnic basis. Germany is also a federal state but in Turkey it will be an ethnic federation like it used to be in old Yugoslavia.

Yes, but why not? The Soviets were like that as well. The Soviets did not collapse because they were a federate state. We cannot say that a federation leads nowhere. This is not a matter of "principle".

The bottom line is that every nation has the right to self-determination. Without seeing how this right was put into practice in concrete form, and whether this form harms the working class, neither a federation, nor any other form of state, cannot be opposed.

It is also very clear that after at least one dead body was laid to rest by nearly each and every household in Kurdistan of Turkey, nobody will accept the *status quo*. A new solution is a must.

Then a political solution is a must.

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TURKISH CHAUVINISM IS AN IMPORTANT TASK OF THE CPT

The basis of a solution to the national question is free-will. The bourgeoisie cannot win over the Kurdish people. However the unity of the working class with the oppressed people in the struggle, can create this voluntary basis. We recognise the right of Kurdish people to self-determination without any restrictions or remarks. We also wish to do whatever we can in order this right to be used in such a way that enables the Kurdish and Turkish peoples could live together.

When we come to this point, we must touch upon the Turkish nationalism. The youth of present day will be increasingly exposed to the Turkish nationalism in the coming years. As the communists of oppressing nation, it is an obligation for us to fight staunchly against the nationalism of oppressing nation. The nationalism of the oppress-

ing nation is reactionary and chauvinist in its entirety. And the first task of the communist of an oppressing nation is to fight against the great nation chauvinism of its own nation in order to be able to explain itself to the oppressed nation. One of the most important tasks of the Communist Party of Turkey is to struggle against the rising Turkish nationalism.

ALEVI COMMUNITY MUST ORGANISE CONSISTENT TO THE HISTORY AND ESSENCE OF ITS DOCTRINE

Could you assess the recent developments in political mobilisation of the Alevi community, with a view to the possibility of formation a political party based on Alevism? Could you also deal with the speculative attitude adopted by some of the organisations of the left.

Let us first deal with the problem of politicising of Alevi community. What the communists want, is a politicising under the leadership of working class ideology. However when we talk about politicising a community of 25 million people on this basis, we must also know that this could only be achieved very gradually through a long process of struggle. And in the near future there would always a sizeable section of the community who would stand out of such a politicising. Therefore, my main point in the process of politicising of the Alevi community, is a politicising suitable to its essence, which is consistent with the concepts created in the history by its own revolutionary activity. This, of course, is far beyond the concept of "politicising the Alevis" through forming an Alevi party.

Now facing the opposition gathering in the community against their folly, those who tried to orient the increasing political activity of the community towards forming an Alevi party, apologetically say that "we were misunderstood, we wanted to form a progressive, democratic party". If so, why did they shout "the Alevis have right to form a party" just yesterday?

My assessment is that this group would not be able to form an Alevi party. They

are not able to form a democratic, labour leaning party. They are too lightweight for that task. They cannot even be in a dominant position in the Alevi associations.

Can the Communist Party of Turkey be a candidate for this position? We **did not** nominate ourselves to this position. We said at the very beginning that the Alevi community has been a community based on beliefs. We strive for winning over individual communist from the Alevi community. We strive to be a close friend of the Alevi community. Personally I respect the Alevism deeply but this is something to myself.

To win over the Alevis to the side of working class can only be achieved through a long process. This process will be successful only through the intent and actions of its own leaders and through the solidarity of the Communist Party with the Alevis displayed in the common struggle. And we will continue to pursue this aim.

SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IS ALSO RELATED TO THE PARTY

Today there are problems in the trade union movement. A few weeks ago it mustered 240 thousand workers in a demonstration in Ankara but three days later it failed in another action. As a result there is tendency among the trade unionist to seek a different structure and definition to the unions. Can you elaborate?

A trade union is an organisation for the economic struggle of the workers. This basic definition cannot be changed even under the socialism. On the other hand, in accordance to the stage that the country is passing through, the mission of the unions, as the other organisations, can extend or contract. That is why Lenin say that at a later stage of revolution "the unions should be the school of communism". Even under that condition, their character of being the organisations for economic struggle would not change. The unions must adopt new positions according to the situation of the country and stage of the revolutionary struggle.

The most important point is in present day Turkey, there is no political organisation capable leading the working class. There are many small, crumbled, un-influential organisations. Under such circumstances, if somebody wishes to change the definition of the trade unions which says the unions should be the transmission belt of the working class party, this intentionally or unintentionally, means to substitute the role of trade unions with the role of a political party. It means to suggest that the unions must assume the role which should be played by the party. This is nothing to do with the actual needs of today and it is not dictated by the stage of struggle.

If such a necessity really dictates itself, it also causes a party, whichever one is the most suitable to the conditions at that time, to strengthen and to reach to the position where it is able to speak on behalf of the class. We must accept this: In the recent past of Turkey there was not a party that could speak on behalf of the class. There were many organisations but none of them could say without distorting the realities "when I speak a sizeable section of the working class listens me". And no organisation can say it today. There have been so many organisations and all these organisations had many activist and leaders who have really worked day and night for the cause of creating the party of the working class. Some of those efforts seemed correct to us and some not but that is beyond the main issue. Despite all these efforts, the target was not met. Ten, twenty, thirty years have passed but this target did not even come into the range.

The process that has passed since the last revolutionary situation, indicates that the objective need for a strong class party is just emerging in our country. In the coming years, we will witness a process through which one organisation or a few organisations become capable of representing the working class. During the preceding periods, whatever the efforts and sacrifices were, the objective possibility was very weak. On the other hand, revolutionary upheavals lasting two to three years that cut through last forty years, were very brief. When the formation of cadres was under way, when a few organisation has just opened inroads to the working class, the counter-revolution came and none of these organisation could save or spare their cadres and inroads to working class. Consequently

whenever we began again, the formation of cadres and connections began from scratch. Such a complex and luckless process has been experienced. However I believe the coming years will bring the objective need and its subjective solutions together. At the final analysis, forming and running a party might have a subjective aspect as it depends on the energy, determination and capacity to self-sacrifice of its cadres, but its determining aspect is firmly based on the very objective needs of the working class.

THE CPT MUST ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY FALLEN ON ITS SHOULDERS

Despite this humble approach, could you really foresee any other force but the CPT to face up this challenge when the objective needs pressed so hard?

In this respect everything depends on us. If we fulfil the responsibilities fallen to our shoulders, do the things required by the circumstances, no other force can come forward or if it comes forward cannot achieve much. However politics does not allow for vacuum. If we do not do what is required from us, set aside an organisation labelling itself as Marxist-Leninist, even an organisation which claims to be Trotskists, can be the dominant force, albeit temporarily, within the working class. There have been examples of this in the history. Such an organisation can lead that large force by the success of its struggle in that particular time and may maintain this leading position until bringing it to a crush onto the rocks. **Everything depends on us.** If we cannot do, the one capable to do, will definitely emerge. When the process that politicise the working class is accelerated, a political party responding to this will definitely come forth.

UNITY OF COMMUNISTS IS AN URGENT NEED

There is a striving for unity in the left across the world. The same process is felt in Turkey as well. Some of the members of old communist party and many from different left organisations including the Trotskists came together within the United Socialist Party.

During the split within the Communist Party of Turkey, our road went astray with many comrades. Since then fifteen years has passed. Is there a barrier on our side to come together with them? Do they have barriers any barriers? How can we overcome these barriers?

This world-wide tendency of unity stems from a very real need and it will bring about very beneficial consequences. However I cannot accept the United Socialist Party as an example of this positive process. That is a **liberal** party in breach of every criteria of unity in the left. Even though it has a limited left rhetoric, it is in essence a liberal party. What should be understood by the communist from the unity of the left cannot be this charade. Diametrically opposite factions was united within a party; before the meeting of the central organ of the party, all groups assemble their own central committees in different rooms; hold their meetings; then they come to the meeting of the United Party. From such a "unity" something useful to the working class cannot be expected. Such a unity is a temporary cure for the malady of not being able to stand upright on your small faction feet. Even the cure they found to this malady is an anarchist principle: freedom to cliques and factions. Such an organisation is a crystallisation of the objective need of unity at a very wrong and harmful point.

Nevertheless unity is a great need. The revolutionary movement is dispersed in every country. There are large number of cadres but everybody tries to do something different in small shops. In short, facing the world-wide monopolies, we are not even able to form proper national parties when what we need is to reach a world-wide party. What we must do, is to force the process of unity without focusing on the shortcomings of the various outcomes of it. However we must not forget the Marxist principles. We are not seeking a unity for the sake of unity but a unity to enhance the struggle.

If I return to the other part of the question, the different roads separated us from many comrades of the old party. They remained there, we marched on this side. Those who remained there then, cannot be evaluated as an entity today. Out of them, came those charlatans who lead the New Democracy Party; came those who sold their soul to well paid jobs in monopolies; came those

who joined in the United Socialist Party, and came those who maintained the ideal of communism still warm in their hearts. My guess is that the question is directed to the last group..

If today these comrades think with a cool head, if they think by insulating themselves from the heat of old quarrels, they would see that out of the old Communist Party of Turkey **there remained nobody but us** who still defend communism in an organised manner. This proves that we are resolute and steadfast on what we have said. From our point of view there is **nothing** hindering us to work with these comrades. On the contrary, we believe all of them, especially those old comrades who have got a great experience in the struggle, have many things to teach us, many things to contribute to us. Any barrier in respect to them could only be a psychological barrier which might be related to the unhealed wounds of the debates, fights and quarrels of the years passed. Nevertheless, facing the requirements of the class struggle, these type of psychological barriers which is not based on principles or contents, should be overcome.

WE SEARCH FOR THE WAY TO UNITY WITH THE OTHER COMMUNIST FORCES

We must create a united, strong communist party. However the process of creating a communist party strong and unified across the country, cannot be reduced to unifying the comrades who remained alive from the demise of the old Communist Party of Turkey. There are forces who has taken part in the struggle but who were outside of the communist movement proper. These forces have had some ideas we can subscribe to and some ideas we cannot believe in. However we can agree with them on the basic issues which define communism. We are persistently seeking roads to unity with them. We are persistent people. We sought these roads in the past and we will seek them in the future whatever the short term results may be. We will reiterate following facts: In the process of unity nobody can seek for their twin brothers. What is important is to agree upon the criteria which defines communism, which defines being a communist in the concrete conditions of present day Turkey. All the differences apart from these fundamental criteria

should be taken as differences which are not barriers to unity, which are even beneficial to the liveliness of exchange of ideas, which will gradually lose their importance.

What do you think about a legal party?

It is possible to take up this issue in two levels. First of all, a legal party that is understood as a tool to reach masses as easily as the legal framework allows is beneficial today. It will be beneficial tomorrow and it was beneficial yesterday.

Secondly, if we understand the legal party as "the Party", then it is an opportunist absurdity. Never a legal party, especially in a country like Turkey, has a chance to succeed in a revolution. Set aside leading a revolution, it has no chance to defend itself against the political police. The situation of the Turkish bourgeoisie, the situation of the democracy of Turkey are apparent. The historical barbarity of the Turkish state is apparent. Under such conditions if you legalise yourself, the path you can follow is very restricted and what you can achieve is very limited. This means accepting the defeat at the outset. Therefore, we cannot accept the concept of a legal party in the sense of the class party, the communist party. Nevertheless the benefits of a legal party are great. If an illegal party is able to organise such a party, that is very good. However if the debate comes as the "legal party or illegal party", then our response is **ever and ever again an illegal party.**

While we are talking about the communist movement of Turkey, could you assess the Communist Party of Turkey?

There is an erroneous habit in our revolutionary movement: All organisations speak about themselves in praise only. In the demonstrations and meetings they shout slogans praising and glorifying themselves. This tendency does not create the expected impact on the people, and after hundreds of demonstrations the relative strengths of organisations do not change much. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey stopped shouting slogans praising ourselves with a circular sent to the organisations ten years ago. The same directive is still in force. Naturally many young comrades feel restricted by this but we must under-

stand that the easiest thing is to sing the praise of your own organisation. The difficult thing is to achieve that the people massed on the streets that you are marching through, shout for our party and praise our party. In short I will not praise the Communist Party of Turkey.

The communists should always evaluate their mistakes and achievements, shortcomings and successes in a realist and courageous manner. There is nothing more harmful than deceiving ourselves on this matter.

After all these said, I can make a summary evaluation: In the sphere of theoretical analysis, we are on the most advance line of the revolutionary movement of Turkey. If we look at the events of last 25 years, this becomes apparent. We have said many things before anybody and we have said them correctly. When a great majority of Turkish left was saying "Turkey is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country", we said "there is a state-monopoly capitalism in Turkey". We were first to say that Turkey has reached to a stage of becoming imperialist; we were the first to characterise the 1980 *coup de etat* as fascism even on its second day. We were first to state that the fascism of 1980 has disintegrated. (Turkish society is not prominent in its theoretical ability: Some movements still talk about fascism. One of these movements, wrote recently that "a counter-revolution is coming". However according to them fascism has not gone yet. So, how does a counter-revolution come?) We can cite many more examples.

TO TELL THE TRUTHS IS NOT ENOUGH, THE KEY IS THE STRUGGLE

On the other hand, we must see our weaker aspects. We have neglected the importance of unity of the theoretical analysis and the practical struggle. In this an important role was played by the particularities of the process that we have passed through, but at the end of the day, subjectively the mistake lies at our doorstep. We said we must tell the truth and the truth will lead us to strength. It did not! Telling the truth is not enough to strengthening. Telling the truth, may steer the car true and prevent it to fall into a ditch but it does not accelerate the car. That acceleration comes

from the struggle organised around the problems of the day. Plainly put, we neglected this connection.

Merely telling the truth does not lead to strength. The ability to tell the truth provides for the success or failure at the final stages. If telling the truth was sufficient to gaining strength, its opposite, not telling the truth, should lead to losing strength. Let us consider it by taking the bourgeois parties into account as well. Do these bourgeois parties tell the truth? No, on the contrary. However they are gigantic parties. That shows that there is no direct link between telling the truth and gaining strength. We must stress this to our comrades with added emphasis. There is a direct link between daily struggle and gaining strength. The direct link is between active work and gaining strength.

In a society such as Turkey, where two nations exist - if we include the Kurdish people, four nations exist - where there is an abyss between workingmen and exploiter, and where the life of a person on fixed income is as hard as hell, **the key of everything is the struggle.** Those who struggle will gain strength. What is needed is to grasp the problems of the day and to be in the middle of heated struggle.

If I tell in a parenthesis, there are very few movements which are Marxist-Leninist in the true sense of the word. Some label themselves as Marxist-Leninist, but when you discuss with them a little, they say to you "you must transcend Marx". Of course Marx is not a prophet but please show us where we are to transcend him. Can you surpass him in the definition of working class? Can you surpass him on what kind of a society socialism is? Some of the forecast of Marx on some details may have not been realised, but "transcending" Marx is something else. This means the theory of Marx is no longer valid. If they talk about transcending Marx in this sense, what remains from their Marxism-Leninism? With this attitude you cannot be a Marxist-Leninist. I close the parenthesis.

In the present day Turkey, the concept of a strong organisation is relative. There is not a party that is strong within the working class. There is not a party that made inroads into the class. Whatever we may be, we are a party working within the workers. And there is no other party attached to Marx, Engels and Lenin as

faithfully as we are. This brings to us an enormous responsibility. We are obliged to lead our cause to success. If we cannot do it, all can be wasted in the hands of erroneous organisations which are subservient to this or that method of struggle. In reality, many things is looking for us. Will we be able to achieve it or not, will be seen it the life itself. However, even if we cannot do it, those who can do will come out of this thin red line.

PARTISAN COMMUNIST MUST SHAKE THE INERTIA OFF

Our party has seen the turning points of politics in good time but organisationally we could not take the necessary steps as the Marxist-Leninist perspective comes from the centre and as we lack sufficiently trained middle and low level cadres to put these in practice. How can we solve this dilemma?

The party has taken some measures to close this gap. This was adopted before the congress. The resolutions of the congress made them official. Compared to the situation existed seven months ago, present day situation in this respect is very different. In every level we have witnessed a considerable increase in initiative and decision making.

Yes, we have shortcomings in practical, daily politics. We always took the politics as the relation between the classes and between them and the state. However there is yet another dimension of this truth, that is the daily perspective, policies and steps. In order to strengthen our party we must learn those too. To date we have stood away from those. This was a result of the attitude of "let us say the truths, people will come to the truths". They do not come, my comrade! The life reminded this to us once more. If they do not come to it, what should we do? Urgent and steadfast struggle on the problems of the day is required. (And for this we must reach out to the youth). When we begin to make way in this struggle, then we will begin to learn that type of politics as well.

*(Translated from
the Iscinin Sesi (Worker's Voice)
The central organ
of the Communist Party of Turkey
Issue 432, September 1995*

Speeches Delivered At The Commemoration Meeting

Speech delivered by the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Bangladesh at the commemoration meeting of the 75th Anniversary of foundation of Communist Party of Turkey held at the Marx Memorial Library, London on 10 September 1995

Dear Comrades and friends,

I stand here not to make a speech, but to express my emotions and feelings of gratitude due to be able to be amongst you on the occasion of the celebrations of the 75th anniversary of your party.

I take this opportunity on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh to convey revolutionary fraternal greetings to the leadership of the Communist Party of Turkey and to the members of Communist Party of Turkey and the working people of this great land.

Our party considers the activities of the Communist Party of Turkey as great revolutionary examples, because we, from our own experience, know how difficult it is to carry on the communist activities under illegality conditions, where the regime continues, day after day and year after year, to persecute the communists who stand for liberation, for democracy, for social progress, for peace, for the interests of the toiling people. Our party

also had to carry on activities for several decades under the conditions of illegality.

In the discussion today, comments have been made about the recent developments in the world, about the situation that we face after the disintegration of the USSR. I agree with what has been already stated here.

I would like to bring to your attention the fact that capitalism, as has been already discussed by Karl Marx in his writings, is a system which naturally brings about internalisation. However if we look at capitalism today the level of internationalisation and globalisation has now reached to a new qualitative level.

Therefore I say that the response of the communists to this should also be a new level of global solidarity, proletarian internationalism against the reactionary globalisation. We can only counteract this reactionary globalisation with a democratic, progressive globalisation. This is the main point of struggle in the global level.

I would also like to stress two very important points. First of all steadfastness. We must stand firmly on the fundamental principals, on our class basis and on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism. Steadfastness to the ideology, but not to the dogma. Marxism-Leninism is a creative science, a methodology

which teaches us to understand reality in order to be capable of consciously changing it. That is the essence of the Marxism.

So we must stand steadfast with the red banner, in spite of all the difficulties we have confronted in the past. At the same time we must give propagation to the necessity of unity. The crisis of capitalism and imperialism has not ceased rather intensified. That means more and more social and political forces are being compelled, consciously or unconsciously, to attack capitalism. The situation that has objectively arising is a broader coalition that capitalism and imperialism had generated at the global level.

Comrades, these are some of the thoughts and deliberations on this historic occasion on the 75th anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey.

Long Live Communism
Long Live Proletarian Internationalism
Long Live Communist Party of Turkey

* * *

Speech delivered by the Comrade Tish Newland the representative of the Communist Party of Britain who is also the librarian of Marx Memorial Library, at the commemoration meeting of the 75th Anniversary of foundation of Communist Party of Turkey held at

the Marx Memorial Library, London on 10 September 1995

Comrades,

I bring you greetings from the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It is a great pleasure and a happy historic coincidence to bring you 75th anniversary greetings in the year of our 75th anniversary.

The Communist Party of Britain will be holding our National Congress in November and will be discussing our immediate perspective for the defeat of the Tory government and the complex issues including in seeking to replace them with a Labour government committed, at the very least, to meeting the essential needs of working people who have suffered so badly throughout the sixteen years of Tory rule.

We will continue at the same time to make the case, as we have throughout our history, for a socialist approach to the problems of Britain and the world.

To reactionary policies of Thatcherism, particularly the destruction of Trade Union rights brought us to a closer understanding at the extreme difficult circumstances in which your party and people have been struggling for a long time.

The rise of racism in Britain and throughout Europe is a natural development and the inability of capitalism to provide any hope of a decent future for the majority of people in the world and a tragic by-product of the destruction of the socialist system in Eastern Europe.

In these circumstances the need for a Marxist understanding and a socialist perspective is greater than ever before. In view of this it is, I am also very pleased to welcome your meeting here in the Marx Memorial Library of which I am the Librarian.

The Marx Memorial Library was set up on the 50th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx in response to the burning of books by fascists in Nazi Germany in 1933. This building was chosen because of its long history with radical and socialist movements in Britain. This is the building used by the trade unions since 1860s and later on as a base of the working class political organisations

such as Social Democratic Federation. In this building Lenin prepared and printed the issues of *Iskra* which was later smuggled into Russia in 1902-3.

Finally, congratulations on your anniversary. I would like to re-iterate our commitment to developing as close a working relationship as possible in our common struggles. To fight for extended rights of working people, to strengthen their mass organisations and in particular the Trade Unions.

* * *

Speech delivered by the Representative of the Friends of the Communist Party of India in Britain

Members of the presidium, comrades,

I bring greetings to you on the 75th anniversary of the Turkish Communist Party. I would like to make it quite clear that we, the Friends of Communist Party of India, are accepted as a friendly group to the party back home. However our party in India does not allow us to have membership in this country, which I believe is very correct. They would like us to join the communist party that exists in Britain.

I feel very honoured to be here with you to celebrate this day. We are celebrating 75th anniversary at a time when the imperialist system and the reactionary forces are becoming more and more aggressive since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist system. So unprecedented attacks has been unleashed not only in Britain but to all around the world onto the working class. My organisation believes that the unity of the left is paramount today to counter these very aggressive attacks launched by the imperialist forces.

I have been living in Britain for nearly 28 years. Here successive Tory governments have taken the rights away from the working class. There have been a massive attack to the trade union movement, another massive attack on the public sector. Today, very important institutions, institutions like national health service and education are the targets of this Tory government. And we have to fight, we have to defeat them and we have to elect a new government, a labour government.

However it must be a labour government which stand by the very fundamental rights of the working class that was the party's foundation stones and not a labour government which stands for the ideas that we are getting from Tony Blair and his colleagues.

Equally important is that we, as minorities in this country, are coming under consistent, organised attacks by the fascists and racists. There are number of incidents where people have been killed, their houses have been burned. That is why, being in this country, we have to be in unity and in joint struggle with our British comrades against racism and fascism.

In India, under the policy of so-called liberalisation of the government, multi-nationals are flooding into India. They are creating and bringing new dangers to our country. They are telling our government now to curtail the rights of the trade union movement in India. However the left parties and the trade union movement are fighting together against this.

Yet the biggest threat at the moment facing the people of India today is religious fundamentalism. I come from Punjab. In the last twelve years, we have lost more than three hundred leading communists who have been murdered by the fundamentalists in Punjab. However I am very, very proud to say that they did not manage to brake their spirit. Although they lost their lives, and due to their lives lost, today Punjab is still standing in India.

This fight is not over yet. Last week one of the leading comrades from a different party in Punjab was assassinated. These attacks are not organised within India but also from abroad. Those sitting in Britain, sitting in America are organising these threats. Their main objective is to divide India into pieces like Africa.

That is a very important unity that communist are fighting to maintain. The communists strive for not only to preserve the unity of India but also to create the unity of all working class .

Threats comes not only from the fundamentalists, but also from the main reactionary party in India the VJP (*Janata Party - T*), which used to have two seats in the parliament ten, fifteen years ago. Suddenly they came to have eighty eight

seats. Today they have one hundred and nineteen.

The main threat to India today is from that party which is conducting talks to form the government in India.

That its, if they were allowed by the left. I am very proud to say to you that all the main left parties, the two main parties, the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India/Marxist are getting together and working in joint action against them.

These joint actions are also bringing them closer together. The Communist Party of India is holding their next congress in Delhi, first time in the capital city. The main theme of this will be to unite all the left in India. This is essential to defeat the government which is carrying out the liberalisation and other right wing policies and at the same time to defeat the fundamentalist forces such as the VJP.

I salute the Communist Party of Turkey for its consistent struggle for the rights of the working class in Turkey despite all repression. I salute you.

Long live Proletarian Internationalism!
Long live Marxism-Leninism!
Long live international solidarity of the working class!

* * *

Speech delivered by the Comrade Mihran, the representative of the Rah-e Kargar (Worker's Path - The Revolutionary Workers Organisation of Iran)

I would like to greet my comrades from the Communist Party of Turkey on the 75th anniversary of their birthday.

Today I must convey to you three points. The first one of them is the lessons we have drawn from the downfall of the Soviet Union and the socialist states in Eastern Europe. The second line is the lessons we can draw from the fall of revolution in Iran. This brings us to the third point which reflects the preceding two in itself, that is the new common programme for the left.

In regards the downfall of the Soviet Union, the first lesson is that the ideological state can no longer be seen as a

viable socialist state. This, of course does not mean that the party should have no ideology and the state should not be a socialist power. An important aspect of this first lesson is that it could have been learned years ago, if the communists had paid attention to what Marx and Engels had written on the experience of the Paris Commune. These works in their translations have been available to the communists over 50 years now.

Today in Iran we are proposing to our working class not a repetition of the state we used to had in the Soviet Union but a state based on the tenets of the Paris Commune as a socialist and viable workers state. We are convinced that without democracy, socialism means nothing. The democracy is in practice when the state allows the masses struggle freely and participate in the construction of socialism.

The second lesson is a result of taking an account of what working class and communists had suffered in the hands of the fundamentalism in Iran. The lesson we learned from the fall of Shah and then the fall of revolutionaries in the hands of the Islamic fundamentalists, is that the revolutionary forces could not succeed in a revolutionary situation without a clear cut programme and a precise understanding of what has to be done.

Today the masses are again on the street. They are burning Koran and Humeyni's pictures and calling for the overthrow of the regime. The conditions are right at the present time. What is the left doing at this stage? What is their programme to face this political situation?

The communists and revolutionaries in Iran cannot organise themselves on that fringe points of their programmes. The programme has to be broad and should base on the needs of the workers throughout the country. For this reason, we called for a united workers front and invited many parties and organisations. As a result, ten organisations have been working on a common platform through three meetings held within the last year.

Now they came up with a programme for this united workers front for socialism. This does not mean that these organisations have dissolved their own programmes or their organisational structures. However now we all have a com-

mon programme and this will have a great effect in Iran in the near future.

Long live communism!
Long live internationalism!

* * *

Speech delivered by Comrade Len Aldis, the Chairman of the Association of Solidarity with Vietnam Socialist Republic

Comrades, Thank you very much for the invitation. Let me first apologise for my late arrival. You will of course understand the reason why I was delayed. I was at the event at the Vietnamese Embassy, celebrating the 50th anniversary of their independence.

Can I also thank the CPT for their support for the Communist Party of Britain's event when we not only celebrated the 50th anniversary of Vietnam's independence but also the 75th foundation of our communist party. So we link the three today. The 50th anniversary of independence of Vietnam and both our parties 75th. However I must also add that this year is also the 65th anniversary of the foundation of the Vietnamese Communist Party.

So they are 10 years ahead of us, although they started 10 years later. So we have a good target to aim for. And that is achieving socialism in our own respective countries. And this, after all, is the essence of any communist party.

The statement of President of Vietnam issued on 2 September in Hanoi says that without the international support and solidarity of the people outside Vietnam, it would have been far more harder for Vietnam to achieve this victory over the imperialist and to achieve its independence. Vietnam still needs assistance because of the economic embargo which was only being lifted.

Each party has a cause, its own tradition, its own history, and its own road of how it is going towards achieving socialism. It is very important that comrades in other countries throughout the world to understand the difficulties and problems that has got to be overcome in order to achieve socialism in each of our countries. Vietnam has done it but after a most terrible bitter battle. I hope no other country has to go through that terrible long struggle to

achieve the essence of freedom and democracy.

Comrades, I congratulate you all on the work you are doing both here and in your country. I wish you all success.

And come the day that socialist government does exist in Turkey, I hope to visit Turkey once again. Thank you very much.

* * *

Speech delivered by Jane Turner, General Secretary of Society for Co-operation in Russian Soviet Studies

Last year I was honoured to address your annual meeting in the company of Alexei Prigarin, Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In July this year his re-organised CPSU held its Congress and drew up a strategy for contesting the elections to the Russian parliament in December this year.

His party now has 1.3 million members in 14 out of the 15 former Republics of the Soviet Union (about 10% of the membership of the former CPSU dissolved in 1991). In Uzbekistan and the Baltic states their party is illegal but they still have members operating there illegally as they did before 1917.

The party includes Zyuganov's Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the Russian Workers Party, Trudovaya Rossia (Workers' Russia) and many small socialist and communist parties.

It has agreed a joint electoral programme with some of the parties but Trudovaya Rossia and other groups, who demand an immediate return of the USSR and to socialist policies, have formed another electoral group called Communists-Worker's Russia. Even Western media correspondents believe that the Communist bloc will have great success in the coming elections.

This work of our comrades in the former USSR is a tribute to their strength of principles, their desire for unity against the common enemy, imperialism, and their conviction that capitalism can

never solve any problems, whether economic, social or ethnic.

When I became General Secretary of the SCR in 1985 Gorbachev had just become the General Secretary of the CPSU. Everyone felt that the work of the SCR would expand and strengthen in the new climate of openness and redevelopment.

In fact, the opposite gradually emerged. First the rapid moves to reconstruction without careful strategy and socialist objectives became a collapse of all existing institutions and a rise of demagoguery, at which Yeltsin and his US-backed supporters were superb.

Secondly, the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist recognition in foreign affairs that imperialism was an enemy at the time waiting to take advantage of any sign of weakness to recapture its post-Soviet and post-WWII loss of Eastern territories led to one debacle after another in Eastern Europe, and finally, the break-up of the Soviet Union itself.

Under the guise of human rights and self-determination imperialism had encouraged ethnic and nationalist unrest in the Soviet Union during the Cold War. However justified the grounds for such activities may have been, the objective of imperialism was not freedom for subject peoples but the destruction of the mightiest barrier to free-market exploitation and United States military hegemony in the world - the USSR.

First Armenia, backed by the Armenian international community and the Baltic States, demanded the restoration of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia and started a bloody war with Azerbaijan; then Georgia declared its independence from Russia and fought with the South Ossetians and Abkhazians who wished to remain in the Russia.

Then the Baltic States, a part of the Russian Empire for 300 years except for a brief inter-First and Second World War period, started a campaign for their independence backed by the West. Encouraged by Yeltsin, who promised them eternal friendly relations when he became President of Russia, they gained their independence in 1991 and immediately reverted to a brutal smashing of their own left and communists. They then turned on their Russian population, and their former friend, Yeltsin, was

forced to threaten them with the cutting off of gas and oil supplies to gain some cessation of their attacks on the ethnic Russians.

After this, every state of the former USSR became independent but dependent largely on Russia for fuel and trade. We all know the consequences of this in world affairs as well as the impoverishment of the populations, the emigration of non-ethnic populations, the huge rise in inflation, disease, conflict and massive financial corruption.

The only victor in all this so-called burst of freedom and democracy is imperialism which is now clearly responsible for so much of the misery and conflict there, particularly in the Caucasus and Caspian Sea, which is one of the richest oil-bearing regions in the world.

Turkey, once the front-line of US spy-base and NATO anti-Soviet military activity, has now become the client state of the oil companies in their desire to break Russia's monopoly of the Caspian Sea oil pipe-lines. The Chechen war was brought about by this struggle between the Russian, Azerbaijan, Kazakh and Anglo-American oil companies' interests. The latter want the pipelines to run through Turkey to the Aegean sea, but Russia and Armenia are blocking this. The US companies would prefer a route through Iran to the Gulf but this is difficult because Russian foreign policy is moving toward friendship with Iran.

So nationalism, self-determination and ethnicity have become the battleground created by oil-imperialism. As communists, we have always supported, as did the USSR, the rights of minorities to their culture, language and history and all nation-states must respect these rights.

But our fight has always been to bring about the national liberation of the peoples from imperialist oppression and exploitation and the victory of the working class and peasants in establishing a socialist society based on equality of opportunity and the rights of the majority to a decent life.

Comrades, in this task we have the support of the people of Europe, the former Soviet Union, the Middle and Far East. The future is ours!

Messages Sent To The Commemoration Meeting

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Gus Hall, Chairman of the National Committee, Communist Party of the USA, to the commemoration meeting of the 75th Anniversary of foundation of Communist Party of Turkey held at the Marx Memorial Library, London on 10 September 1995

Dear Comrades,

We regret our inability to attend the celebration meeting in honour of the 75th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey at the Marx Memorial library.

We send you our warmest revolutionary greetings. We salute the Communists of Turkey who have endured the most difficult conditions and remained loyal to the interests of the working masses of Turkey, international solidarity and the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

As we traverse the arduous road of restoring world Communist unity, let us unite our efforts to rid the world of all nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction and join hands in a common struggle against the 'New World Order' of the U.S. transnationals and world imperialism.

We wish you good health and success in all your efforts to build the Communist Party of Turkey, the indispensable guide of the Turkish people

on the road to socialism.

With warmest greetings in solidarity.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Alexei Prigarin, First Secretary of the Russian Communist Party - CPSU

Dear Comrades,

I congratulate you on a memorable day in the history of your Party.

We believe, in the complicated struggle that is going on today, you will always feel our solidarity.

The irony of fate is that we must solve many analogical problems - but just like you - we believe we shall all achieve the final victory.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Yrjö Hakanen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey, the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of Finland sends warm and fraternal greetings to your meeting and to all members of your party.

We follow your work and struggle with great interest and wish you all success.

In present situation, it is necessary to strengthen the anti-imperialist and socialist forces, to develop our co-operation and joint action for peace, democracy, solidarity and socialist perspectives.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Betty Frydensbjerg Carlsson, Chairwoman of the Communist Party of Denmark

Dear Comrades,

We thank you very much for the invitation to attend the celebration meeting for the 75th anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey. Alas, however, due to the financial situation of our party, we are not able to participate in the celebrations.

Nevertheless we wish to greet you on this important occasion, and we assure you that we share your wish and efforts for a strong and united communist movement to fight back the current violent attacks of capitalism and imperialism on the peace and on the welfare

of the working people all over the world.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Rolf Hagel, President of the Communist Workers Party of Sweden

Dear comrades,

We extend to you our comradely solidarity salutes on your 75th anniversary of the founding of your party.

We are united with you not only in this special day, but also in your struggle for peace, social progress, democracy and socialism in your struggle for the political and social rights of your people.

The communists of the world advance their struggle under very difficult conditions. We know that your party is struggling under the complex conditions of dictatorship and oppression. We are confident that you will overcome all these difficulties.

We stand shoulder to shoulder with you in solidarity and wish you to every success in advancing our common communist ideals.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Pedro P. Baguisa, General Secretary of the Philippine Communist Party (PKP)

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for inviting us to attend the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey. We regret that we can not attend the celebration. Hoping that our PKP comrades (Comrades Bill and Celia Pomeroy) who are staying there in London, could attend it on our behalf.

It is distinct pleasure and privilege to greet your 9th Congress, taking place in a difficult period of transition. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe, is the growing global dominance of the world imperialist system enhanced by the process of globalisation of production and marketing accompanied with the free movement of

capital, labour and technology. To perpetuate its dominance and existence, the imperialist circle is becoming more aggressive as you have clearly described in your letter to us. Such growth and expansion of the domination of the imperialists, on the other hand, could not cover up the inner corrosion and debilitating contradictions that signify the inevitable fall of imperialism. We believe that the only alternate system to this decaying system is socialism.

More then ever, the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement together with the workers of the world is an imperative. On our part, we are doing our utmost to pursue this unity and to comply with the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The PKP salutes the valiant Communists of Turkey and we wish you all the success in your celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrades Celia M. Pomeroy and William Pomeroy for the Philippine Communist Party (PKP)

Dear Comrades,

In behalf of the Philippine Communist Party we extend the heartiest of comradely greetings to the Communist Party of Turkey on its 75th anniversary.

We salute our Turkish comrades for their long, heroic record of struggle under extremely difficult conditions of illegality and harsh repression. It is that determined, steadfast, fighting spirit that has deeply rooted your party in the Turkish working class, stirring it to fight for the attainable bright goals of social emancipation and socialism.

Our own party in the Philippines celebrated its 66th anniversary this year, and brother parties around the world have been marking many decades of existence and of struggle against imperialism, exploitation and the corrupt degeneracy of a decaying capitalist society. Such occasions as this anniversary celebration of your party and strong refutations of the current imperialist propaganda that socialism is dead and that the Communist movement has withered away.

It is a fact that has had to be faced by all Communists that in the recent period socialism a system and a number of Communist Parties have suffered great setbacks and losses. Some fainthearted people have quit the movement or have abandoned their principles because the way of struggle ahead looks longer and more difficult. At the same time other parties have scored great successes and gains with undiminished organising activity, or have revived after experiencing setback. This is the way it has been in many stages of the history of modern class struggle, a history of great victories and tragic defeats, which together mould the real revolutionary. That history never moves forward smoothly, a truth that dedicated Communist recognise and are prepared for. It is what has enable the Communist Party of Turkey to celebrate a 75th anniversary.

Because of what has happened in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, imperialism, especially American imperialism, has been emboldened to make aggressive drives for global control, to reshape the world to suit the exploitation needs of it transnational companies. It is occurring in the Middle East, in the former socialist countries, in the Pacific Rim region and elsewhere. Our struggle in the Philippines is primarily against encroachments and domination of the transnationals. The savage US directed bombing at present in Bosnia is an example of the imperialist new world order and how it is being achieved.

The imperialist miscalculation is that they fail to recognise that people's movements and Communist leadership of them grow and become strong precisely because of imperialist aggression and the resistance it creates. A reinvigorated international Communist movement is the most logical, necessary and inevitable form that this will take today. Our party strongly desires that international Communist solidarity, and the practical steps to bring it about. We know that this is also the desire of the Turkish Communists. Our greeting to you, is therefore, a pledge of that unity.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party of the Philippines, we wish to convey warmest greetings of revolutionary solidarity to the Communist Party of Turkey on the occasion of its 75th anniversary.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we salute your Party for upholding Marxism-Leninism and persevering in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism in the concrete conditions of Turkey.

We congratulate you for your ideological, political and organisational achievements. We wish that you will continue to march forward and win greater victories.

The international communist movement can take advantage of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and resurge amidst the new world disorder so long as the proletarian revolutionary parties learn lessons from the setbacks caused by imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

We are desirous of strengthening the relations of our parties and of co-operating in the process of revitalising the international communist movement.

Long live the revolutionary proletariat and people of Turkey!

Long live Proletarian Internationalism!

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade James Stewart, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Ireland sends warmest greetings and congratulations to the Communist Party of Turkey on the occasion of your 75th Anniversary.

We Irish Communists congratulate your entire membership on the courageous struggle which your Party has carried out since its foundation in the interests of the working people of your country and your strong international record in the struggle for peace, national liberation and socialism in the world.

We wish you success in the future and assure you of our international support based on the principles of Marxism/ Leninism.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Dr. Yacoub Zayadine, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Jordan

Dear Comrades,

We regret delay in answering your invitation to the celebrations of the 75th anniversary of your party. We are aware of the glorious struggle of your party during those 75 years. The lessons which we have drawn and are drawing from your experience make us more than ever sure that the 'scientific realisation of the historical responsibilities placed on the shoulders to the world communist movement to day will undoubtedly pave the way for the greatest opportunity for victory', as said in your message.

We the communist parties in the Middle East, need more than ever firm co-operation and solidarity in the face of all the intrigues engendered by U.S. imperialists and their stooges. Thank you for your invitation though insurmountable difficulties prevented us from attending.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Amrit Kumar Bohara, Acting Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist & Leninist)

Dear Comrades,

It is a matter of our pleasure that we received an invitation for the participation on 75th anniversary of Communist Party of Turkey to be held on the 10th of September 1995 at Marx Memorial library, Clerkenwell Green, London. We would like to extend greetings for the grand success of the 75th anniversary. For your kind information, we are not able to send delegation to the function due to the recent political development at home.

We would like to take this opportunity to wish that the fraternal relations between two parties will be strengthened more in the days to come.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by The Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Syrian

Communist Party extends to you its congratulations on the 75th Anniversary of your party, and sends its own greetings and the greetings of the Syrian Communists and their friends.

We express our apology for not sending a delegate from our party to join you in that dear festival of yours, as you know that we were preoccupied with the preparations for our 8th Party Congress and the ceremony commemorating the fortieth day of Comrade Khaled Bagdash's departure.

We do agree with you that, today more than ever, the question of consolidating and promoting the international solidarity between the communist parties in the world is attaining a great importance, particularly under the current conditions where world imperialism, the American in particular, seeks to benefit itself from the changes in the world balance of forces, in an attempt to impose its thorough domination over the world.

We believe, however - as emphasised by the 8th Congress of our party, convened late last month - that the front of the struggle against imperialism is increasingly widening to include all the strugglers who defend the continuity of humanity on earth.

Once again, we congratulate you on the event, wishing you every success in your struggle.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Miguel Figueroa, the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee and the membership of the Communist Party of Canada, we are very pleased to express our solidarity and best wishes to the Communist Party of Turkey - its leadership and members - on the occasion of your party's 75th anniversary.

While conditions differ in our respective countries, we are both struggling for social advance in the same global environment, in conditions of a world increasingly dominated by international finance capital - the common enemy of all humanity. Everywhere, imperialism is imposing its economic policies with a

vengeance: free trade, privatisation, government "down-sizing", mass cutbacks and even wholesale elimination of public health care, education, and other programs and services for the people.

But this offensive, stemming from the new world balance of forces, is also helping to unite the working class and democratic forces, and in particular the revolutionary forces, on a new international basis. In its own way, the actions of imperialism are helping to clear away ideological confusion and disorientation, and to reaffirm the validity of scientific socialism.

We are aware that your party has reached similar conclusions from your analysis of the contemporary situation, and we have every confidence that your party continue to struggle for democracy and for socialism from a principled positions, based on the theory and practise of scientific socialism.

Once again, please accept our congratulations on this important milestone in the history of your party and the whole working class of Turkey, and our best wishes for your continuing struggle. Our two parties have always maintained comradely relations for many years, and we hope that our relations will continue and expand in the future.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by M. Farooqi, Member of the National Executive of the Communist Party of India

Dear Comrades,

It is a great pleasure to have received your invitation for the 75th anniversary celebration of your party to be held on September 10, 1995.

On behalf of the National Council of The Communist Party of India, and on my own behalf, please accept warm fraternal greetings for the leadership and all the members of your Party.

The Communist Party of India has always highly appraised the contribution made by your Party in the struggle of working class and various sections of the toiling people of your country.

In recent years our international movement has faced serious difficulties, fol-

lowing the disintegration of the Soviet union. The U.S. imperialism and its allies in the Western world are taking full advantage of this situation and the U.S. imperialism is behaving like a world bully, trying to dictate to people everywhere.

However, we consider this to be a temporary phase in world politics. But it calls for a new kind of unity of all communist, Left, democratic and anti-imperialist forces the world over. We firmly believe that capitalism cannot be the alternative to socialism.

On this historic occasion, the 75th anniversary of your Party, we wish you many achievements in your struggle for social justice, democracy and peace.

With warm fraternal greetings.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Abdurrahman Benamneur, Representative of the National Secretariat of the Party of Avant-Garde of Democratic Socialists of Morocco

Dear comrades,

We have received the invitation to take part in the meeting you are organising on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of your Party.

Please excuse us for not being able to attend because of our circumstances. However we warmly thank you for invitation. In the future we hope to advance the fraternal relations between our parties in the common struggle for democracy, equality, liberty of the peoples and peace in the world.

We take this opportunity to express our active solidarity.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Manzurul Ahsan Khan, In charge of the International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh

Dear Comrades,

Our party firmly believes that in spite of

the recent crisis in the socialist world, Marxism as a living science and ideology, is still valid and it is proving its vitality by everyday events.

Our party also considers that proletarian internationalism, close international relationship between the Communist Parties, is of paramount importance at the present juncture of human history. History demands a highly dynamic and creative and illuminating role from international Communist movement.

The General Secretary of the Communist party of Bangladesh, Comrade Mujahidul Islam Selim will make a short visit to UK and we hope he will be able to attend your celebrations. We hope this visit will further improve our bilateral relationship.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Giancarlo Lannutti, on behalf of the International Department of Party of Refounded Communist of Italy

Dear comrades,

Thank you very much for your invitation to the celebration meeting for the 75th anniversary of your Party.

Unfortunately, we are not able to send a representation to the meeting due to organisation problems.

We send you our most fraternal wishes of anti-imperialist solidarity.

* * *

Comrade Mercedes Alvarez Arias, officer in charge of International Relations of the Communist Party of Catalunya

Dear Comrades,

Unfortunately, due to the political situation in our country, we are unable to send a delegation to attend the celebration of your party's 75th anniversary.

Please accept the warmest regards and solidarity I extend to you on behalf of the members and the leadership of our Party, the party of Communists of Catalunya. We know that at such a historical moment, it is fundamental to

stretch our arms to fraternal parties in order to combat the imperialist forces, and we work very hard for that.

We hope that fraternal relationship between our parties will be maintained and improved in the future. We wish you the greatest success in your struggle.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Vasilis Costi, on behalf of Comrade Chris Stylianou, Secretary of AKEL branch in the U.K.

Dear Comrades,

Unfortunately it is too late for me to attend to your celebration meeting. Please accept our sincere apologies.

We send our greetings on the occasion of the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey.

We look forward to meeting you in the near future.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Ken Gill, Chair of Cuba Solidarity and past president of the British Trade Union Conference (TUC)

Dear Comrades,

Greetings on your 75th Birthday. You meet at a time when capitalism is demonstrating daily its inability to provide peace, stability, work and decent standards for the people of the world.

It is a giant contradiction that while science and technology provide the means to solve the problems of poverty, sickness and inequality, capitalism ensures that even higher productivity adds to human misery.

While the collapse of the USSR is an historical tragedy, it is important to remember that every fundamental change in society is accompanied by failures and setbacks before that change is firmly established.

Our job as communists in every country is to continue our struggle for socialism,

confident that there is a better way than the bloody road of capitalism.

May the Communist Party of Turkey continue its struggle for socialism and its role in the international working class solidarity.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Charlane Mitchell, National Co-Chair, of the Committees of Correspondence of the United States of America

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of the Committees of Correspondence, we express our fraternal greetings on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Communist Party of Turkey.

We who try to advance the struggle for democracy and socialism in our country are very aware of the role played by our ruling class in promulgating the neo-liberalism which seeks to undermine the cause of justice, peace and freedom the world over.

We are also well aware that the "leaders" of our country who speak loudly about human rights in other countries are the same people who permit the greatest repression in the United States and elsewhere in the world.

We realise that the world is in a new and very difficult period. Much of our energies go toward needed analysis. But we know that greater attention must be given to alleviating the plight of the working people of all nationalities and colours.

We see in the fight for defending and advancing democracy as part of the longer struggle toward a socialist future.

In the spirit of internationalism we wish you all the best in your celebration and in your struggle that lie ahead.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Comrade Ken Douglas, President of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions

Dear Comrades,

Unfortunately due to my being out of

New Zealand we have only received your advice of your celebration 75th anniversary of your Party and I regret very much that we were not able to forward a greeting you for that occasion.

As your message indicates, we in New Zealand share your optimism regarding the future. The objective base for socialism is consolidating. The internationalisation and globalisation process creates new opportunities that can be realised and developed if we have the collective capability to learn for all experiences and to not impose on reality subjective desires.

We will be more than pleased to receive any documents and in particular conclusions from your Conference and would be very pleased to forward to you our journal etc. If you kindly send us an appropriate forwarding address.

I am confident that the work of your Party is contributing positively not only to the Turkish working class, but to our collective task of building peace, socialism and equality for a worldwide civil society.

* * *

Message of solidarity sent by Dave Yeomans & Yevgeny Pashentsev of the Russian Progressive Review

With fraternal greetings to comrades and friends who today celebrate the 75th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Turkey.

It has been our privilege to work with many of the London based Turkish comrades. Your dedication to proletarian internationalism - not simply in words but in deeds - has been an inspiration to us.

The sabotage of the Soviet Union by forces both within and outside the Soviet State, has paved the way for aggressive reaction and imperialism, today more visible than ever before.

Let us continue our struggle to achieve a life more worthy of man - for all the people of our planet.

Workers of all lands unite!