

LONG LIVE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST RESISTANCE OF THE PEOPLES, ARMED AND UNARMED

Behiç Aşçı:

Hello again... Welcome.

Maybe it will be necessary to remind about the things we already know. Maybe we will complement each other on the subject of the things we do not know.

Especially since 1980s until today intensive hostility towards socialism seized the world, Europe, America and all continents.

The states that claim they are being governed in socialism, those that say socialism have entered in the queue to abandon even the revisionism. This queue has become pretty long. The queue of organisations that treats socialism with hostility, that gave up on the struggle, has become rather long. However, it does not change the historical facts. In fact, people have learnt by paying the price of their experience. We are trying to grow the anti-imperialist unity in order not to repeat the anguish that the people experienced and we will grow it because it is the necessity of the people.

Some say that the imperialism has changed... They make even such phrases, they also make phrases like democratic imperialism. This is a very big lie, a very big sophistry. Neither did the imperialism change, nor can it

be democratic. Everything is very very clear. The world's reality is so obvious to us. We want to remind about a few things regarding imperialism, especially the concrete numbers.

To tell the truth, to discuss some things might seem abstract to people. However, concrete numbers clearly explain everything. A statistic has been published in Turkey about a month ago: the wealth of the 8 richest people in the world is equal to the wealth of the world's poorest 3 billion 600 million people.

This is the reality of the world that we have been talking about. We want to remind you about some things concerning imperialism, particularly concrete figures.

It is said that some things may seem abstract to people if you mention them. But concrete statistics explain everything clearly. In Turkey, one month earlier, statistics were published according to which the fortune of the eight wealthiest people in the world is equal to that of the poorest three billion, six hundred million.

Now, can we talk of conditions being democratic, freedom or independence when eight are equal to 3 billion, 600 million? No, never...

Remember, Karl Marx defined it

this way – what did he say? Capitalism is made from blood, sweat and tears. The fortune of those eight people is derived from blood, sweat and tears. Our blood, our sweat, our tears.

Let us continue with our statistics.

In my view we must not forget that the fortune of the eight wealthiest equals that of the three billion, 600 million poorest.

Again, according to research, it would need 30 billion dollars to eliminate hunger in the world. That is, by spending 30 billion dollars we could remove hunger from the world and nobody would be left hungry. In my view we should not forget this, for this is the basis of our struggle. It will be enough to spend 30 billion dollars to eliminate hunger in the world.

Bill Gates' personal fortune is 90 billion dollars, so one-third of this would eliminate hunger in the world. And there is the famous American capitalist brand the Rockefeller family... This family has 20 trillion dollars under its control. That is, 667 times what would be needed to eliminate hunger... Just one family, the Rockefellers...

Another family in America, the Rothschilds, control 15 trillion dollars. A single American family with 500 times what would be needed to eliminate hunger.

America spends 684 billion dollars in a year on weapons... I will give two more statistics and then finish.

For example, in the world, two hun-

dred billion dollars is spent on cosmetics. America spends 400 billion dollars on narcotics.

The cost of one nuclear submarine is 8 billion dollars and America possesses 212 of them, while Russia has 131. The latest aircraft carrier that America launched cost 14 billion dollars. That is, with the cost of two aircraft carriers would eliminate hunger in the world.

This is the tableau that the reason for our war and struggle. This tableau is the basis for our struggle. I want to finish with some examples from France. On the African continent France still receives colonial tax from 14 countries, according to another source 17 countries. Whether from 14 or 17 countries, each year 85% of their income goes to France as colonial tax. This money is reckoned at 500 billion dollars yearly. To give an idea of it we can make a comparison. Turkey's annual budget is 200 billion dollars. So every year, Africa pays 2.5 times the budget of Turkey as tax to France. The African states paying this colonial tax can, if they need to, borrow from France 20% of the money they give it.

So, friends, this is imperialism, the tableau of imperialism. Money is taken from you and you can borrow the money back with interest. And in such a tableau there is no democracy, no rights and freedoms, no independence. There is nothing. Imperialism has not changed, the imperialism Lenin defined a hundred years ago sheds blood

in the same way and continues its horrors today, and it has to. Because there is an unremitting war going on, and everything is very clear and indeed naked. On the one hand, imperialism and its collaborators, on the other the resisting peoples. And the peoples have no other road or indeed solution other than resisting. Neither the surrender accords they call peace agreements, nor the efforts to search for democracy within imperialism are a solution for the peoples, nor can they be. History offers dozens of examples of this and will continue to offer such examples.

Indeed, on our geography in particular, imperialism has begun to shed yet more blood. The US Secretary of State in person made a statement that “we will change the governments of 22 countries in the world”, according to him... Imperialism thinks it has a right to change the governments of countries so that it can exploit them more easily. And did we not recently see a photograph illustrating on a napkin how Iraq was to be divided up three ways? Yes, for them our lives are something they draw on a napkin, as simple as that... But it cannot be like that for the peoples.

The peoples are masters of their own land... In Turkey and in the world at large. And for this reason we have no alternative but to resist. We are aware that the price is certainly a high one. It is imperialism that has taught us this. But in my opinion it is necessary

that we do not forget a saying of Engels here. Engels said, messieurs the bourgeoisie, you fired first... Historically the first to shed blood and use arms are the exploiters and the colonialists. And again, historically the only class that has the right to weapons and is capable of abolishing armament is the oppressed peoples. I do not know about the world at large, but in Turkey they attack the revolutionaries a good deal. They say you are enemies of peace, you do not want peace, you like weapons very much... This is a gigantic falsehood. In Turkey and the world, it is only the revolutionaries who really want peace. Revolutionaries know that it is not possible to establish true peace without eliminating imperialism. And revolutionaries will use weapons until imperialism is eliminated on earth. And it is the revolutionaries who will destroy their weapons once imperialism is finished throughout the world.

Yes, as we mentioned, the Middle East is a total lake of blood... Imperialism cultivated Al Qaeda, Nusra, IS, terrorists who are spilling the blood of the peoples in the Middle East, and our blood, like water flowing into gutters. They will continue to spill it. And they forget this and call it a civil war. Collected from all over the world, terrorists from 70 states jumped on Syria... Not Syrians but they call this a civil war. Lies and demagogy reared their head. In these conditions we struggle for the truth and continue to do so.

Are we losing? No, we never lose.

We are certain we will not lose. If we know that the sun will rise, that the sun will set, we know also that socialism and revolution will win. It is not what we know, it is history... We only do not know what day, when we will make the revolution, when we will establish socialism. But we do know socialism will be established and revolution will be carried out.

How do we do it? The friends and indeed history have taught us one method alone, and that is to resist. Resist in what you can, how is not important... Remember the poems of Nazim Hikmet. Nazim Hikmet describes the resistance of the Soviet peoples in the 2nd Imperialist War. The Soviet peoples used snowballs against German tanks. Yes, we will use snowballs on tanks. If those are our weapons, we will fight with them...

The alternative imperialism forces on us is this – live on your knees, or if you stand up for your honour we will ensure it means death. We too have a preference... Revolutionaries prefer to remain standing and die with honour. We will continue to do this.

Again, the struggle against imperialism has taught us a very valuable lesson... We have made it concrete in our own lives... Without being revolutionary you cannot be internationalist. If it is necessary to list the elements of being revolutionary, perhaps the first would be the necessity of being internationalist. We will continue to march along Che's road. Wherever in the

world one of the people feels the sting of a slap on the cheek, we will continue to feel its pain ourselves. And we will be internationalist when we go to bed, internationalist when we get up. Because imperialism itself taught us the need for that. NATO is proof of that... It was NATO that said the 21st century would be the century of popular uprisings. And NATO organises accordingly, builds up its fighting strength, increases its aggressiveness. What can we do against this? What we will do is very simple... We will step up the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle. Will we struggle with a poem? Yes, we will struggle against imperialism using a poem... Will we struggle using a picture? Yes, we will use a picture. A photograph or a weapon...

Whoever wants to wage a struggle, let them decide for themselves... Those who struggle make that decision for themselves...

But we will never forget this, that imperialism is a paper tiger. On earth the peoples produce and create everything and the only real force is the people.

I think it is important... I think that it is when the people are unorganised and unarmed that they are afraid of imperialism's power. The whole point is when we come to the realisation that we have power ourselves. And I think that it is only in this way that the development of symposiums, organisations and institutions, and the organisation of them, that we become



aware of our own power.

For those who struggle, this is a well-intentioned wish... They say to those who struggle, the revolutionaries and socialists, may your work go well, we wish you success... I or we think it necessary to turn this around. Say to imperialism, may its work go well for it has a difficult job. Because we are waging the struggle in truth. Because we are struggling using the truth. Imperialism has to wage a struggle using lies. It has to lie. I think that it is the biggest and most difficult thing in the world to lie, but it persists in its lie.

Because the truth is the sun and one way or another the sun will rise. Even if it only shows through a crack, its light will shine. The sun absolutely will rise. Let us say, we wish success to everyone who increase imperialism's fear. We thank all of you for participating and coming. And we are certain that the end result of all the labour expended here will be an entire world celebrating its liberation from

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imperialism, and we understand this very well. We wish you all well and we wish you success...

Halk Cephesi - People's Front

We thank Behic Abi for participating here. Now we as the Halk Cephesi have an article devoted to the subject of imperialism, a rather

long article. Together we will read it with Lerzan Abla... In particular let us read it from the beginning as we think discussion might take shape within this framework. That is, from the point of view of all friends speaking here, we will tell of the history of imperialism and its massacres up to the present. For this reason it will be a little lengthy but I believe it will be beneficial.

Moreover, before starting we want to commemorate Eyup Bas. The reason we gave Eyup Bas's name in particular to the Symposium is because of the work he put into it. Years before this Symposium began he put a considerable amount of work into it, at the end of the work his illness grew more serious and as a result of this illness he was martyred. The people of Armutlu know him very well, so for this reason they have sent flowers here... We also thank the people of Armutlu for giving us space here...

PRIVATE PROPERTY IS THE REASON FOR EVERYTHING NEGATIVE IMPERIALISM IS THE REASON FOR ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE PEOPLES THE CHIEF ENEMY OF THE PEOPLES IS AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

At the start of the 1990s, the imperialists announced that the class war was at an end, capitalism had won certain victory, imperialism had changed and was no longer the old aggressive imperialism, democracy and human rights had been brought to the world.

However, it has been revealed that imperialism is again the same, exploitative and aggressive imperialism, that developments are not as has been claimed, that the rhetoric of imperialism changing consists of lies and deceit. The rhetoric of imperialism and the conquest of capitalism was in fact a major attempt to intimidate the peoples of the world, Marxist-Leninist organisations and organisations that fought for national liberation, and was also imperialism's declaration of its own sovereignty. The imperialists, at the very beginning of the 1990s, first attempted to attack Iraq and endeavour to consolidate their own claims to sovereignty. In this period, American imperialism had already emerged from the first and second imperialist wars with the greatest gains and the least damage. Therefore, at the beginning of the attack on Iraq, American imperial-

ism was also at the head of the imperialist camp.

American imperialism used all sorts of sophisticated technological weapons to attack Iraq, threatening both the peoples of the world and any in the imperialist camp who might develop conflicts of interest. The American Empire was essentially defined during this period. This definition has two important meanings. The first expresses the mastery of America over the imperialist camp; the second is that American imperialism is responsible for the exploitation of the peoples of the world, poverty, hunger, occupation and massacres.

The basis of the attacks by American imperialism against the peoples lies in its leadership of the imperialist camp, and the interests of the American monopolies are at the root of what it does and these imperialist monopolies are essentially occupying the throne of the empire. Because wars are primarily class struggles, and at the core of class struggles lies the interests of classes. Today, the United States, which has only 6% of the world's population, has 50% of the world's total in-

come. That is, 50% of all the world's income flows to America, to the American monopolies. According to reports published by the economic magazine Forbes, the wealth of Bill Gates, head of the list of only the 400 richest American entrepreneurs, at \$ 86 billion is greater than the GDP in 2016 of more than 140 countries such as Costa Rica, El Salvador, Bolivia, and Uruguay.

Colonialism has brought hunger, poverty, blood, and tears to the people, no matter what form of crisis it has been in since its history. Imperialism, whichever countries it goes to, has transmitted all the riches of those countries to its own country. Today, the great majority of the wealth is poured into the coffers of American monopolies. While the wealth of the richest 400 American monopolies 400 is around \$ 1.5 trillion, according to the United Nations, the amount of investment required to fundamentally solve the world's hunger problem is \$ 50 billion. That is, even half of the wealth of a single American monopoly can surely find a solution to hunger in the world.

That heads America's greatest crimes against the peoples of the world. The power that a handful of American monopolies have in the world economy is derived from this brutal exploitation and plunder.

Lenin's produces a definition of imperialism as the "highest stage of monopoly capitalism". This definition implies another very important reality

of imperialism besides it being the last stage of capitalist society. This is the economic, political and cultural sovereignty of the monopolies in the world. This dominance is almost a decisive factor in virtually every area, from thought to clothing, from the books that are read to what we eat, from TV programmes and entertainment to the policies of government, and even the ties of intellectuals to the people, revolution on the left and armed struggle – almost all factors are affected to a decisive degree by it.

All of this means the plunder of lands by imperialist aggression under the domination of the monopolies. While this looting and pillage continues at the economic, political and cultural level, those who do not recognise the sovereignty of imperialism, those who fight against it, organisations, countries and peoples who do not accept the rule of imperialism are declared to be terrorists, massacred and occupied, many tonnes of bombs are dropped on them to intimidate them.

Imperialism continues to plunder by all means at its disposal.

Imperialist looting and plunder is why 70 per cent of the world's population of seven billion is living below the poverty line, 1.2 billion people live below the hunger threshold, and every 5 seconds a child dies of starvation and hunger-related illnesses. More than 17,000 children die every day, 25,000 people starve. Every year, 18 million people die directly from hunger, and

70 million die from causes related to it. According to United Nations (UN) data, only \$ 50 billion is needed to lift this hunger completely! Not even the annual profit of one of the world monopolies! The amount needed to completely remove hunger from the earth is 50 billion dollars, while the military expenditure of American imperialism alone for 2015 was 596 billion dollars.

Balzac said that "behind every major fortune there is a crime".

Marx says, "The capital consists of blood, sweat and tears!" The spilled blood is the blood of the peoples of the world, the sweat the sweat of the peoples of the earth, the tears are the tears of the peoples of the earth. The crime underlying this exploitation and brutality is the crime of the imperialist monopolies.

If the capital is profitable, the blood is fed; Profits are equal and today the greatest capital is gathered in the hands of American monopolies, the head of the world's flowing blood is American imperialism. These are the most basic evidence that the discourses of imperialism have changed are lies and deceit. Imperialism has not changed, nor is imperialism exploitative and repressive. According to the report of the British "charity" Oxfam; In 2016, 70 million people, equivalent to 1 percent of the world's population, have more servings than the rest 99 percent of the world - about 7 billion of the world's population. One rich one percent, the other 99 percent hungry and poor peo-

ple. Or equal to 70 million 6 billion 930 million people.

If capital is to be profitable, it must be fed with blood; Profits are equal to blood and today the greatest capital is gathered in the hands of American monopolies, and American imperialism also spills the most blood. This is the most basic evidence that the discourses claiming imperialism has changed are lies and deceit. Imperialism has not changed, nor has imperialism lost its exploitative and repressive character. According to the report of the British "charity" Oxfam; In 2016, 70 million people, equivalent to 1 percent of the world's population, have more servings than the other 99 percent of the world - about 7 billion of the world's population. A rich one percent, the other 99 percent hungry and poor people. Or 70 million equals 6 billion, 930 million people.

The wealthiest eight monopolies in the world own more wealth than half the world, that is equal to the income of 3.6 billion of the world's poorest people! This means that one wealthy person equals 450 million poor. In the neo-colonial countries, every day one billion 200 million people go to bed hungry, eight monopolies received half the world's income. In South Asia in in four people struggle with hunger, in Africa one in three.

According to UNICEF's statement for 2016, the number of children facing starvation is 1,400,000 in Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan and Yemen, an

increase of about 200 percent in 2016 compared to 2014.

According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation's March 2017 statement, 30 million people are in danger of famine because of wars in the Middle East and North Africa. Famine is death, and 30 million people are struggling with it right now.

This is the truth that does not change, the fortunes of the imperialist monopolies versus the hunger and poverty of the world's peoples. It is exploitation and tyranny. The source of exploitation is private property. Marx defined private property as the root of all evil.

Why?

Because: division into classes emerged in society with private ownership. As societies divide into classes, there is conflict between classes and conflicts that depend on these interests. In classical societies, primitive communal society, people's problems and interests were shared. The resources for living and the distribution of these resources were in common. There was a balance in social life. It has been private property that removed this balance and class stratification emerged from it.

Before private property, man was living as a social being, and each man's own interests were independent and not separate from the community he was in. At the same time as each person earned a living for himself or herself, he was involved in the struggle for

survival in the local community. This situation has changed with private ownership, and the interests of those who possess it now have become their own private interests, breaking away from the interests of society. This is the beginning of the exploitation of human labour.

Once society divided into classes of rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, history continued as a struggle for the interests of these classes, and imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, continued to the empire of today's American monopolies.

This is the unchanged reality of the imperialist and capitalist World, and American imperialism, which sits on the throne of empire is in the first degree responsible for exploitation and the results of exploitation.

The Role Of Military Aggression In American Imperialism

And this is also why the anger of the peoples against imperialism and the picture of hunger and poverty created by the exploitation of the imperialist monopolies is growing. To keep this anger within bounds, and to maintain the sovereignty of imperialism, the imperialists are on the one hand conducting their ideological and psychological warfare, while on the other they engage in attacks, occupations and massacres, conspiracies and coups.

This is why hundreds of billions of

dollars have been set aside for military expenditure. Missiles, warplanes, brand-new military vehicles, weapons, bombs... Everything so that the monopolies can remain sovereign and continue their exploitation and plunder

Since 2016, 900 billion dollars have gone into military expenditure on a world scale, and 596 billion of this is by America. As soon as the new US President Trump took Office, it was declared that 6 trillion dollars had been poured into the Middle East so far and this could have rebuilt the USA twice over. The reason why American imperialism pours 6 trillion dollars into the Middle East is a matter of consolidating world domination. The US is trying to impose its sovereignty both on the imperialist camp and on the peoples of the world, and attacks the people who resist them by declaring them to be "terrorists"

It builds intelligence organisations, builds contra-guerrilla organisations, sets up juntas in various parts of the world, arms and supports fascist killers, violently overturns governments if they are not seen as serving its interests or are outside its chain of exploitation and establishes its own governments in their place. It increases its resort to arms and aggression day by day.

According to a report by the American National Intelligence Strategy Programme for 2009, more than 200,000 agents were working for 16 different US intelligence organisations

and since that year their annual budget total 75 billion dollars.

In 2016 US military expenditure was 596 billion dollars, over half the world's total military expenditure.

- There are American soldiers in 157 of the world's countries.

There are no American military assets in 45 countries.

There are American troops and bases in 63 countries.

Since September 11th, there have been 13 new American bases established in 7 countries.

-We have to add 7 new bases in the Rojava (Kurdish) region of Syria.

According to a report of the US Department of Defense, there are 702 US military presence sites in 130 countries. It also has 6,000 bases within the US.

By numbers, US military industry has 845,441 buildings belonging to the Defense Department.

The budget of the 25 countries with the highest military spending equals the military expenditure budget of the United States.

In the US budget, the second-ranked education budget is \$ 45 billion, while the defence budget is \$ 596 billion.

The reason for so much military expenditure under the name of defence is aggression against the peoples of the world. The reason for aggression is to secure the exploitation by the imperialist monopolies. Statistics show that American imperialism is the dominant

force for aggression against the peoples of the world. Because the principal imperialist power that exploits the interests of the peoples of the world is America, American monopolies. THE CHIEF ENEMY OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES IS AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. America has also shown this is its leadership of aggression against the peoples.

Between 1946 and 1975, American imperialism resorted to military aggression a total of 215 times in order to protect the interests of its monopolies. During this period, the use of nuclear weapons has been threatened 19 times.

Today, only US imperialism has 10,000 nuclear weapons in its hands, according to official figures, and even these weapons alone are enough to destroy the world many times over.

So why?

The reason for this gigantic military spending is to compel the domination by American imperialism, to make the exploitation by American monopolies infinite. Today, American imperialism is responsible for all the evil, massacres, exploitation and hunger in the world, national humiliation, backwardness. For this reason neither independence nor democracy nor a human way of life can be established without a struggle against American imperialism.

Between December 1998 and September 1999 the USA and Britain rained 8,000 tonnes of bombs on Iraq.

As a result of UN sanctions and embargoes, by 1999, a total of 1.5 million people, including 300 children, were murdered. Today, children are being killed with chemical weapons in Syria. The US, which has increased its aggression against Syria with its lies, slaughtered 300,000 children with embargo in Iraq. Imperialism is a liar, two-faced. They are trying to hide their crimes with lies, psychological warfare methods, to show themselves as human rights defenders. Yet today 25 thousand people die every five seconds in the world, 17 of them children, starving to death every day, the American monopolies are exploiting the exploitation. History is full of crimes committed by American imperialism against the peoples of the world.

American Military Aggression In The World

- It invaded Mexico in 1898, and entered Cuba the same year.

- In 1921 it occupied Nicaragua. Sandino, the leader of the anti-imperialist resistance, and 300 people were massacred. It started a cycle of terror that lasted for more than 40 years. It organised sabotage and assassinations.

In 1945, it bombarded Japan's Hiroshima and Nagasaki cities and brutally murdered 250,000 people.

- Between 1950 and 1953, hundreds of thousands of patriotic Koreans were slaughtered.

- In 1954, it killed thousands of Guatemalans.

- In 1955, it carried out numerous CIA operations in Indonesia, Laos and Cambodia.

- 1950-59: 60,000 people were killed in Cuba by US-backed Batista troops.

- In 1961 it organised the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

- In 1965 it dropped its paratroopers on the Dominican Republic and massacred 10,000 Dominicans.

- In 1973, 30,000 people were killed by the CIA's coup d'état in Chile.

When it was expelled from Vietnam in 1975, it left behind 2 million dead and millions of disabled people. 638,000 tonnes of bombs were dropped by the USA on the people of Vietnam, that is, half of the total bombs that were dropped on Europe and Africa during World War II. It is said that there are about five bombs dropped per person.

- In Cambodia and Laos between 1970-75, the USA massacred one million people.

- It attacked Lebanon in 1983. Thousands of Lebanese were massacred in the operation, in which 14,000 marines took part.

- Again in 1983 it made a second attack on Lebanon. The warships of the US 6th Fleet rained bombs on Lebanon for days.

- In 1986, it exhibited an example of international banditry and bombed Libya, killing about a thousand civilians. It applied the embargo to the country as well as a sea blockade.

- In 1989 it sent troops to Panama and slaughtered 5,000 Panamanians.

- In 1991, Iraq invaded Kuwait and imperialist forces turned on it, dropping bombs on the Iraqi people. US planes made 12,000 sorties attacking the Iraqi people during this first Gulf War.

- In Somalia, using the situation in the country, other imperialist forces followed suit and occupied it.

- The embargo against Iran and the threat of attack have been continuing for years.

- 1999 When Serbia refused to withdraw from Kosovo, heavy NATO air strikes were organised.

- 2001 NATO troops were sent to Macedonia.

- "Fight Against Terror" - It invaded Afghanistan in 2001 with lies, the occupation is still ongoing.

- In 2003, the air, land and naval forces pre-bombed Iraq and then invaded it. American imperialism, which later withdrew its troops from Iraq spent 1 trillion dollars on attacking and invading Iraq from 2003 onwards. When America made a statement that "our losses were worthy of democracy to Iraq," the table left behind was like this;

-1,300,000 Iraqis were slaughtered.

-30,000 Iraqis were raped.

Five million Iraqis were emigrated.

-2 million Iraqi homeless, 4 million children were orphaned.

-3,000 academicians and intellectuals were killed.

- There is no war, massacre, human rights violation of the United States that has not been inflicted on Latin America. The torturers who escaped from Nicaragua supported the anti-people organisations and attacked the Nicaraguan people.

- In many Latin American countries, it organised, trained, financed, armed and attacked the people under the name of the National Guard. Lastly, the United States has killed hundreds of thousands of Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan, sexually assaulted many women and systematically tortured tens of thousands of Muslims in prison.

- launched an offensive against the peoples in the Middle East and North Africa under the name "Arab Spring". Condoleezza Rice, US Secretary of State, announced that they would engage in regime change in 20 countries in these regions. Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Yemen, Syria were among the leading countries. This aggression in Syria still continues.

It is seen that American imperialism has not left any part of the world or even the country of the World untouched, especially in the last 60 years. In Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Sierra, Leone, Zaire, In Congo, Cuba, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Latin America, Turkey, Greece... Millions of people were killed.

Neo-Colonialism Is An 130

Internal Matter For Imperialism

The riches of the imperialist monopolies are the poverty and hunger of the peoples. This situation has brought about the fury of the peoples of course, along with the growing injustice there are growing calls for justice from class and national liberation movements around the world.

Together with this, the crisis of capitalism crisis has forced capitalists to go to world war twice to overcome their crises. As the imperialist wars could not solve the capitalists' crises, a sixth of the world in the first war and a third of the world in the second war joined the socialist camp, putting an end to the imperialist yoke.

This deepened the crisis of the imperialists. The imperialists who lost their markets with the national and class liberation wars that could not find a solution to their crises through war, on the contrary, had to go through changes in the forms of exploitation and the relations between them.

This integration between the imperialist nations naturally brought about new developments in economic, social and political relations. The most important and major ones of these new developments emerged during the third crisis period with the militarisation of the imperialist economies that have been put into practice with the "cold war strategy" developed by the USA and neo-colonialism.

With neo-colonialism, the open oc-

cupation of the periods of the first and second crises of imperialism were replaced by secret occupation, and imperialism has become an internal phenomenon after being an external phenomenon.

Imperialism has become an internal phenomenon in the neo-colonial countries, without targeting imperialism cannot be won, liberation cannot be achieved, people's hunger and poverty cannot be abolished.

The first reason for all the evils in the world is private property, the source of all the problems of the people of the world today, from health to poverty, from occupations to massacres, from unemployment to infant deaths, is imperialist exploitation. The gendarmerie and master of this exploitation is American imperialism, which sustains its military presence in 156 countries of the world and confiscates 50% of all world revenues.

All this is the truth that American imperialism is the chief enemy of the peoples of the world. American imperialism is the enemy of the peoples with its monopoly corporations, embargoes, economic military sanctions, with its military presence all over the World like the tentacles of an octopus, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Balkans, Latin America, taking 50% of the world income. For this reason, without fighting against imperialism, without fighting against the chief enemy American imperialism, independence cannot be won, freedom and democracy can-

not be achieved.

Every revolutionary organisation, organisation, country, institution and person that wages a national liberation struggle, regardless of which country of the world it is today, has to target imperialism and the American empire.

It is impossible to be patriotic and revolutionary without resisting imperialism and fighting against imperialism.

Today we continue to fight against imperialism and its collaborators from the World and from Turkey, to fight, to pay the price. We continue to raise the armed struggle in the World and in Turkey at a time when those who give up fighting against imperialism, bury their weapons under the ground, and leave the hopes of the people at the mercy of the imperialist monsters.

And we make a call to the whole world. The only way is the armed warfare of the people against imperialism, resistance. For every patriot, the first duty of every socialist, is to resist and fight by using all kinds of ways and methods against the chief enemy America and its collaborators.

**DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM
DOWN WITH THE CHIEF
ENEMY AMERICA
LONG LIVE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST
RESISTANCE OF THE
PEOPLES, ARMED AND UN-
ARMED
LONG LIVE INDEPENDENCE,
DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM**



1. DAY 1. SESSION

IMPERIALISM'S CRISIS OF RULE AND RISING FASCISM

Semiha Eyilik:

Hello, friends... In this session we will deal with the crisis of imperialism's rule. First of all our friend from Greece will speak now.

Konstantina Kartsioti (Greece):

Hello comrades... I bring greetings to you from Greece's Organisation of Communists And Anarchists. At the international and regional level, this Anti-Imperialist Symposium is bringing about a very vital process and I bring it my warmest thanks and greetings.

We send our solidarity to the resisting Turkish and Kurdish peoples confronting the fascist regime imposed by the bourgeoisie through Erdogan. This imperialist and fascist crisis is a very vital proposition for the global revolu-

tionary movement. We need to make a proper theoretical analysis. Because without revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary movement. So we must prepare ourselves for the struggle as workers and organise the anti-imperialist struggle in such a way as to lead to the overthrow of capitalism.

Today imperialism is experiencing one of the biggest crises in its history. This is a crisis based on capitalist contradictions that are continually sharpening. These contradictions have their basis in the inequality between consumption and production and as a result it opens the way to instability in capitalism, both fixed and changing. The free competition established in the first years of the capitalist system has been completely liquidated, now there is rivalry between monopolies. This is naturally founded on the inability to

create order in capitalist production.

The financial crisis which started in 2008 was the result of the wrong work of the global oligarchy and financial oligarchy. The global system could not overcome the crisis it had created for itself. The capitalist crisis that started in the USA later came to Europe, in the European Union it affected Greece in every way, and Greece became a prime subject of the disputes among imperialist forces.

Because if the crisis could not be overcome by the concentration of production and the devaluation of labour power through the financial mechanisms which are making the people more and more impoverished, it would be the beginning of a general war. The imbalance between the accumulation of capital on one side and the influence of the productive forces on the other, and the impact that capital has on the colonies and its spheres of influence, would lead to this war. Therefore, the international geopolitical environment is beginning to manifest itself in increasingly sharp imperialist aggression at the political, political and military level. The chief imperialist power, the USA, is quite willing to mobilise all its means to protect its interests.

Trump has created a cabinet of reactionaries, far right militarists and Wall Street millionaires and billionaires which is designed to serve the interests of American capitalism and is threatening North Korea and reacting against China in a financial and geo-

political sense. The military presence in the South China Sea is an announcement of a deepening trade war.

So we are in the midst of a gradually escalating crisis. Bilateral commercial and financial crises between the USA and Germany are reflected in a war to be China's best trading partner... Trump accuses Germany over its hegemony inside the European Union, after the Second World War America was helpful in reconstructing Europe, while the imperialist and capitalist contradictions inside the European Union lead to Germany and allies seeking to show themselves as the most powerful imperialist countries. Looking at international events, with this crisis on top of it, it would not be wrong to say it is practice for a war.

European Atlantic imperialism is increasingly strengthening its contradictions with Russia, a major nuclear power. 26 years after the collapse of socialism in Russia, Russia is trying to increase its geopolitical and financial strength again. NATO, the United States and the EU continue without hesitation to add or occupy the Crimea for themselves. They armed the Ukrainian fascists... They try to encircle Russia. We are once again faced with the greatest imperialist concentration to emerge in Eastern Europe since the Cold War. At the same time, the Balkans are becoming politically destabilised. The contradiction with Russia is transforming into regional conflicts. And classes are being re-

shaped.

The competition to exploit natural gas in Antarctica has significantly increased. And once again the USA has intervened militarily in Syria with 59 Tomahawk missiles. They dropped what was said to be the mother of all bombs, the largest bomb in the world in Afghanistan. America and the European imperialist countries do not hesitate at all to destroy and slaughter the peoples. For this reason, as was shown with IS, they are making unholy alliances among themselves. It is necessary for us to say that we are much closer to a nuclear genocide than we estimated previously. 60 years after it was established it is undergoing some lively transformations and the competition among imperialist forces is threatening its stability, and in this way many clashes are beginning.

Some countries that are members of the European Union, such as Germany, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, are in a major confrontation with the countries that form the basis of the EU. The constituent countries are increasingly seeking a larger share of the EU. As one of the clear indicators of economic competitiveness, Brexit has emerged as an option to break Britain out of the European Union and make its presence more prominent in global markets. The union of capitalist countries in Europe can be nothing but reactionary. The market struggle between the imperialists themselves will continue here as well as every-

where else.

The reaction in the capitalist countries is going to be further increased with this economic competition. The terrorist attacks that IS has carried out are the pretext for establishing a new order to suppress democratic rights. We see the states increasingly militarised against the working people and against the revolutionary movements. Moreover, xenophobia, racism, anti-communism have grown. Trump, Le Pen and in the Netherlands, Hungary, Austria, Italy and Greece, we see that extreme right-wing movements such as Golden Dawn are growing. Because when imperialism enters crisis, the fascists, the most reactionary of these oppressive powers, will assume the role of supporter and guardian of the bourgeoisie...

One of the areas where this crisis has manifested itself in a far more violent form is the social genocide imposed on the public by the removal of the most shameless laws in Greece.

One of the areas where this crisis has manifested itself in a far more violent form is the social genocide imposed on the people by the imposition of the most shameless laws in Greece.

In terms of the global division of labour, Greece is at the centre of capitalist development and increasingly dependent on Euro-Atlantic imperialism. It is the third wave of the money that the European Union and the United States have spent on NATO Greece. With this terrible memorandum they

have issued, the terrible law has begun to cut pensions. Unemployment has climbed. Working hours have been made flexible. Thousands have become homeless. Health and social insurance have gradually been abolished and the riches of the country have been removed.

Neoliberal programmes have begun to drive poor people to suicide, as the wealth has begun to be brutally redistributed in this way, Greece entered into financial crime and this financial crisis is now being attempting resolution in such a way as to fit the interests of the oligarchy. When the global crisis arose, large banks in Germany, France, Benelux and Austria were supported, while small banks in Greece were left to sink. And the only way to save them is privatisation or purchase by big banks. The European Union has restructured its IMF debts, and this new debt colonisation is increasingly widening among the countries that are at the centre of the European Union and those on the edge of the European Union.

Comrades, when we evaluate this massive capitalist crisis, we perceive that we live in a world of imperialist aggression. On every continent, in every country, everywhere, imperialism's crude economic violence escalates. As imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, to strengthen the interests of the monopolies yet further entails gradual fascistisation.

As comrades, anarchists and com-

munists, we have to be aware of our duties as Marx says. History repeats itself as a tragedy the first time and as a farce the second. Comrades, imperialism is not invincible. It is undergoing economic and political crises. Comrades only know that in the 100th anniversary of the October Revolution only the organised working class can win this struggle.

It is possible to turn retreats into social revolution, thanks to the constant contradictions of the class struggle and self-criticism, whatever form they take. This is not only possible, but also inevitable. In Greece, one of the weakest links of the imperialist chain - armed revolt may be the only way to overthrow this brutal system. And the path of oppressed proletarians may only be opened in this way.

Comrades, every people should engage in anti-fascist, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle in their own country. In order to guarantee the freedom of peace, independence, bread and work... However, we can crush the imperialists and their puppets, the fascists.

But only in this way do we create a society without exploitation.

We can create an anarcho-communist society without classes.

As long as our comrades are with us, we will win as long as we have weapons.

It will continue until victory...

HAKLIYIZ KAZANACAGIZ!
(WE ARE RIGHT, WE WILL WIN!)

Semiha Eyilik:

As imperialism experiences its crisis of rule, there is a sight in Turkey, Nuriye is here. KHK is a result of imperialism and on the 44th day of a hunger strike our friend has come from Yuksel Avenue (Ankara, scene of protest) to this Symposium. The struggle against fascism has picked up speed recently as resistance...

Many definitions have been made of imperialism, it was discussed at great length in an earlier session. But again we will briefly touch on imperialism in the form of some headings.

What is imperialism?

Lenin defined imperialism as decaying capitalism. Immediately today, the world's most serious problem is imperialism. It is the main contradiction of the peoples. Lenin has identified 5 basic characteristics of imperialism. Knowing these 5 basic characteristics, we can better understand imperialism and fight better.

1st feature: the emergence of monopolies in the production and concentration of capital is based on profit, the capitalist system has to constantly increase profits to survive. This means that the exploitation of labour is multiplying exponentially. It makes it easier for the people to be exploited, and the oppression of the people to increase.

2. The new roles of banks and the financial oligarchy: The chief architect of the imperialist economy, the chief architect of exploitation, creates a fi-

nancial oligarchy that controls the financial capital by intertwining banking and industrial capital. While America is the first power to hold the world financial capital, there are the Sabancis, Kocs, TUSIAD, MUSIAD and so on at the head of the financial oligarchy of the collaborator with imperialism in our country. These forces control the country's economy.

3. Capital exports: The bourgeoisie does this by lending first. Second, it does so by investing directly in underdeveloped capitalist countries or colonies. So they exploit cheap labour and raw materials.

4. Sharing of the world market by monopolies: monopolies do not only share the markets in their own countries. Other world countries share their profits by creating international cartels to increase their profits in the markets. For example, the European Union is such a union of European imperialists against the American and Japanese imperialists.

5. The imperialist countries divide up the world's land: Imperialism is not enough to share the markets, but wants to exploit the raw material resources of other countries.

In other words, the five features of imperialism actually show how bad it is. If we do not know these features, we cannot recognise it. If we do not know its colonial characteristics, we become collaborators with imperialism using phrases like whether imperialism has changed, the world has changed,

has the definition of revolution not changed and so on. For that reason, it is necessary to know these definitions well and analyse imperialism correctly. Imperialism is a constant crisis of capitalism. And it is in search of a constant market to overcome the crisis. For this reason, the neo-colonial countries are governed by fascism.

The First Imperialist War came to overcome the crisis of capitalism in order to reshape the world's lands, and imperialism lost one-sixth of the world market, the Soviet Union was born. There was also the Second Imperialist War. As a result of this war, imperialism lost one-third of the world market. The reason imperialism is so aggressive in today's world, is that it acts like it is in a village in which nobody can defend themselves.

It sees itself as the proprietor of the world and attacks the peoples all over the world. In the history of the world, the oppressed never bowed down. World history is full of glorious examples of this. Imperialism is today the chief enemy of all peoples. From the Middle East to Latin America and all peoples in Africa. Imperialism today aims at full dominion of the world.

Even if the markets lost in the First and Second Imperialist Wars were taken back with the collapse of the socialist bloc, this is not enough for imperialism. They took a hit at the hands of the people. So they have created a neo-colonial system as they fear to engage in open occupation. Imperialism

does not only export capital to the places it is going now. It is also exporting its culture and morality. It causes erosion of the brain. It seeks to control the definition of morality of the people and change everything as regards the understanding of freedom. Today, in our neighbourhoods in Turkey, degeneration in the poorer regions, the drug and drug-related deaths – the cause of them is imperialism. In order for them not to think why the poor are exploited, imperialism first drugs their minds and then exploits them.

First, imperialism is occupying minds today. Since imperialism has suffered great losses due to the reaction of the people against open occupation regimes, it has taken lessons and is now continuing with neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism is a product of imperialism's fear of the people. In other words, we are living in a period of colonialism where they make governments of these countries into their collaborators. In this sense, Turkey is a neo-colony of imperialism. Since the powers of the neo-colonial countries are not independent, they cannot make any decisions themselves. For that reason, imperialism is responsible for all the attacks and exploitation in Turkey today.

When imperialism is not properly defined, the point of view is adopted that when there are massacres in Kurdistan we should pin our hopes on the European imperialists. However, the responsibility for the massacres in the

East and in Kurdistan lies directly with imperialism. Erdogan and the AKP are the most collaborationist rulers in power. Do not look at the election rallies and chants of "Eyy Europe, Eyy America", imperialists will not react to any kind of bullying in Turkey unless it affects their interests.

It has not been without the knowledge of the imperialists that the Kurdistan, Sur, Sirnak, Idil and many other provinces have been drowned in blood after the elections on June 7, 2015 - the policy of attacking the peoples is the policy of imperialism. The policy of destruction and assimilation of the Kurdish people is not a policy independent of the imperialists.

Our 11 comrades murdered in Dersim by the oligarchy of Turkey is also a result of the policy of the imperialists. Our 11 comrades who were murdered in Dersim are in the mountains because imperialism knows that the road of revolution passes through armed struggle in the neo-colonial countries. The massacres are also meant to protect imperialism. Neo-colonial countries cannot have independent politics. For this reason, the struggle of the peoples in the neo-colonial countries has to be conducted with the people. Today, the greatest struggle against imperialism in our country is the struggle that our uncle, Kemal Gun, waged over 57 days to get back the remains of his children. Think of a father whose son was murdered by the policies of imperialism. The father of

a revolutionary killed by those who will not harm even an inch of the monopolies, resisting for the right to bury his child. This is the struggle against imperialism... It is not for hope to be placed in imperialism to get back the bodies of those on the territory of Kurdistan who have been bombarded for days. Imperialism has not been an ointment for the wounds of any people. These wounds have been opened by imperialism. For that reason, the struggle against imperialism is essential, and this struggle must be an armed struggle. The important thing is not the size of the weapon. If it is a stone, resist with it, it is the struggle that is important. This war will not end until imperialism is defeated, until the peoples win. In order to live a human life, our older brother Kemal, who is on a hunger strike for the right to bury his children, salutes all those who are struggling in the KEC (Public Sector Workers' Front). Especially Nuriye Gulmen and Semih Ozakca, who make up some of the thousands of workers fired by the KHK (institution brought in with the state of emergency in Turkey).

The situation of trade unions today is not different from that of neo-colonial countries. Because in neo-colonial countries their situation is one of serving imperialism. For that reason the class struggle is on the back foot. I want to finish at this point, thank you very much.



1. DAY 2. SESSION

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE PRISON POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

Mehmet Guvel:

Hello, friends and comrades... Welcome, all of you, to our Symposium... First of all, all the fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters of TAYAD and the Free Prisoners in the prisons greet you and send their love.

Everyone knows how TAYAD was set up but for our friends from foreign countries, so they know: it is Society For Aid And Solidarity With Families Of Prisoners And Convicts. TAYAD has been an official foundation for 30 years and we are in the 31st, but TAYAD started functioning not in those years but just after the military junta of 1980, in the struggle of fami-

lies.

In the 1980 days, all the revolutionary democratic progressive people were taken into custody, tortured, and even the families did not know where they were taken. Maybe until that time, there were families who did not even go to the grocery store. Then they started to follow their children, in front of military offices, in front of martial law offices, in front of anti-terror offices and always looking for their sons and daughters.

We have a slogan, a basic slogan, that makes us so beautiful; we first took possession of our children and then of our beliefs. So we went out to

the streets to support our children as a parent and sister first. We did not have the right political consciousness. Later we learned about their struggles, together with our children. We learned why they were fighting, why we were fighting, and we started walking in the path of our children. And dozens of times our association was closed, new associations were opened... Even now, our association is sealed up. They came out, we broke the seal, and we hung a banner on the door. The banner said "The power of the AKP is not enough for TAYAD." But they came again and tried to close it down, but our activities never stopped. Because TAYAD is not an apartment house or an office... TAYAD also exists on the street, there are there too in the squares, everywhere... And they will never interrupt the struggle of TAYAD.

I am one who has struggled in TAYAD for nearly 30 years. And almost all of the people who struggled in TAYAD know prisons... In 30 years, I spent 17 in prisons... These 17 years in the struggle for democracy have passed in prisons but they never intimidated us because we take this strength from our leaders, our comrades and our people. And they cannot stop us in that direction at all. To stop our struggle, the state has also entered into various practices. We frustrate every practice... In 1980 years, up to 1984, uniforms were imposed in prisons. Our leading comrades, including Dursun Karatas, launched a Death Fast against

this, and four of our comrades were martyred in this resistance. There is a saying among us, "Comrades, surpass us..." Their words have instructed us and all our organised people acted according to this instruction. We have created new traditions in every act, every resistance and created innovations.

When fighting and being martyred our comrades have written the name of hope with their blood on the walls. In various forms they continued a tradition of not surrendering when surrounded. Indeed our leader Mahir Cayan in Kizildere said, "We came here to die but not to turn back". And these words were applied on occasions like July 12 and April 17 in various houses when ours did not surrender, they said we die but we do not surrender.

As time passed, the state tried various policies. They absolutely wanted to disorganise us. They put their heads together with imperialism about how to do this. However, by isolating them, they said that we could destroy both the inside and outside organisations by tearing them apart, and they put F-Type prisons on the agenda for this reason. They spent a lot of money and built F-Type prisons with imperialist support. By throwing them into the cells, we would isolate them, disorganise them and end the organisation inside and outside... They would make us unorganised as they thought, making us more individualist and likelier to

surrender. But Free Prisoners never surrendered. In F-Type resistance, they tore down isolation and destroyed it.

We have communes in our F-Types inside, representatives... They were surprised that we got them to accept this. For example, they come from the ministry, they come from the human rights commission, it goes into the individual cells. Our representative is calling... No one is obliged to answer, they accept the agency. In other words, against every sanction they attempt, we are absolutely against them and the revolutionary prisoners win. Here I was in Bayrampasa Prison where there were the most martyrs on December 19 (2000), six women were burned alive, and this brutal attack in Bayrampasa Prison was such a savage assault... The people were massacred, six women burnt alive. Many people suffocated by gas canisters. They were aiming with bullets, so that even the iron stalls we built as bullet barricades could be pierced, to reach the inmates and martyr them. On December 19, we constantly resisted by taking strength from our slogans. In such a way that they could not breathe with the gas canisters they fired into our dormitories. This time we opened the doors and went into the ventilation area to dance the halay. At first they were surprised and did not do anything. However, after a time, they started to shoot, and we gave martyrs there. There was a great resistance against that brutal attack. And it was a complete attack.

Yes, we went to the F-Types but we were never defeated, and we have always maintained our association and our co-operation, and we are still struggling with our people. At present TAYAD does not officially exist but we are continuing the activities of TAYAD, and we will continue them.

Diarmoud Mac Dubglais (Ireland)

Listening to the friends from TAYAD, I have noticed that we have the same problems with regard to political prisoners in Ireland with Irish prisoners. They attacked us, we went on hunger strike, at the start the British state refused to recognise us, they refuse to recognise our organising and command structure. But one by one our prisoners said they would not say anything, go and talk to our leaders, our representatives. We said that and the British state was forced to accept our command structure. I need to tell you the background, which is that for 800 years Ireland has been partially or wholly under occupation. During all those years there were those who took up arms against British occupation, and resisted it. In Ireland the number of attacks increase or decrease depending on the number of Republicans in jail. But there have always been Republicans struggling against Britain. There are two different types of political prisoner. Some prisoners were jailed for social reasons, tax or related to their homes. While there are others jailed for taking up arms against the

British occupation. I have had the opportunity to march alongside some of them.

The issue of Irish POWs is close to my heart, I have seen friends lose years from their lives because of the occupation of part of our country. These men and women would never have seen the inside of a prison had it not been for the principled stand they have taken against the occupation and oppression of the people of Ireland.

While speaking here before I was often asked if I would highlight some POWs over others and I have always said that each POW is deserving of equal highlighting. This year though I will highlight some individuals and state why.

I will start with John Paul Wootton and Brendan McConville; or The Craigavon Two as they have become known. Simply put these two men were framed in the rush to convict someone for the killing of a member of Britain's paramilitary police. From arrest through the initial case and then appeal, there were numerous occasions of state intimidation, planting of evidence and the manufacture or coaching of the main witness. The involvement of dark elements of the British state got so bad that the UN had to be lobbied in order to protect defence lawyers. These lawyers were well aware of British state involvement in the murders of other lawyers in occupied Ireland. At the appeal the crown prosecution actually admitted that they

did not prove beyond doubt that these men were guilty.... Yet they remain in jail. This case is reminiscent of the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four and the Maguire family miscarriages of justice. The British state will rather people remain in jail than to admit their justice system is flawed in the Occupied Six Counties.

I have with me a leaflet which gives more detail on this whole case for anyone who wishes for a fuller version of this case.

Next I mention Tony Taylor who has been held for over a year while never even seeing a court. The British state have deemed him a danger to the so-called peace process and incarcerated him without trial. This man is effectively being held hostage in order to send a message to others of the lengths the state will go in order to maintain its grip on the Occupied Six Counties.

Lastly I mention my friend and comrade Gabriel Mackel, a CIRA POW who is nearing the end of his sentence. Gabriel is now locked up almost 24 hours a day. He is denied safe visits with his wife and children as the jail administration is trying to criminalise him by saying he must take any visits alongside criminals and loyalists, where everyone knows Republican POWs are in danger of attack.

This situation arose due to internal tensions amongst POWs and the jail administration saw it as an opportunity to isolate Gabriel as a form of punishment for the stand he has taken against

the punitive and corrupt system within the jail over his years there. Again I have a simple leaflet here with an address if anyone wishes to write to Gabriel.

Comrades, all the POW comrades are fighting for decent treatment within the jail, they are seeking the right to education and a safe environment. I ask that people acquaint themselves with their situation and if possible write a letter to them to show support for their stance against the occupation and against imperialism itself.

As for the social questions I referred to earlier, there is a struggle going on in the 26 counties in Ireland. A lot of prisoners are jailed for social reasons, not simply for the armed struggle... Nine people went to court in Dublin last week and were accused of attempting to kidnap a government minister. In reality they blocked the road the minister was on. It was a sit-down protest but they were accused of attempting a kidnap, and this is the charge against these nine people.

It is necessary to protest against all of that, there are new protests like there are in Europe, they are bringing in border taxes and there are protests about that. People in Europe have carried out such protests, they are doing it in Ireland too, there are solidarity messages to prisoners in Ireland and please also join the solidarity with them... Thank you very much.

Mehmet Guvel:

Hello again, friends, while I was in

Bayrampasa Prison in '96, which I entered in '95, in '96 they opened the Eskisehir coffin prison. And against this a Death Fast came on the agenda and was in a Death Fast team. Of those who were with me in the Death Fast caravan 12 of our friends were martyred, while others became ill and received treatment. What is called Wernicke-Korsakoff, an illness affecting the brain, was caught and so we forget a lot of things... When walking we lose our balance... For this reason I cannot describe the 1996 Death Fast in which I personally took part...

At that time Eskisehir Prison was opened and was referred to as a coffin prison, it was the beginning of the cell-type prison. They were going to start the cell-type prisons and we started to die in order to prevent friends being brought next to us and family members being tortured when coming to visit us, and this Death Fast was victorious. 12 comrades in the caravan of martyrs... Of course, one of the important activities of TAYAD is challenging isolation. We have had a wide variety of actions, of which one of them is at Abdi Ipekci Park in Ankara – where there is a sculpture of a hand - we like to sit down in front of this hand and explain the action to people. And we went there to get public opinion to oppose prison isolation, and for three years we held a sit-down protest there. We have been detained many times in this sit-down, even imprisoned once, and we were in Ankara Sincan Prison for 8

months but the place was never left vacant while we were detained. Our friends, our comrades occupied it in our place. And we ended this action by our own will with an action on the thousandth day.

And while I was telling you about the first time TAYAD was founded, I have to say that I have overlooked something very important. TAYAD was in newly established. TAYAD was formed then, when the mothers and fathers came out onto the streets... Then, under the most severe conditions of the '80s junta, in Taksim, in front of the Taksim Monument, our parents put a wreath to oppose the torture and the arrests. And our mothers were arrested there, and they stayed in prisons for a while. So I consider them important but excuse me, because of various illnesses I overlooked them but I find it beneficial to mention them.

**Sofia Penteridou
(Greece)**

Hello, comrades, I am from Thessaloniki, a city in the north of Greece. I work with two different political groups. I am speaking in the name of the first group here – a political foundation. A political foundation that collects donations for political prisoners, and seeks to create funds. The second is an anti-fascist foundation. It has the name “Kominik”. First of all I would like to thank the members of TAYAD. For sharing their experiences with us. I also thank the guest from Ireland for sharing his experiences with us.

I want to start like this. I want to start on September 11, because a war against terrorism started. The US has launched the war against so-called terrorism, you know about it. For us this war was a war against us. The massacres were a cover for this aggression they had initiated to conceal the military aggressions that they had carried out. You know that immigrants are the main source of production for Europe. A new age of slavery is actually the world we live in and the wars appropriate for this are being carried out. For this reason, I would like to talk about the concepts that they use today, especially terrorism.

We know that the state is against us, the state is working against us as our enemy. And it labels people who do not work on its behalf as terrorists. In the past fifteen years you have also noticed that the revolutionary struggle in Greece, the struggle of the oppressed people, the armed struggle of oppressed people is called terrorism. There are even some villages in Greece, the peasants of the oppressed people, even these are terrorist villages. In international companies, they carry out their own special wars on the oppressed from village to village and the villages who oppose them start to be designated as terrorist villages.

The revolutionary people of Greece are being arrested for the crime of terrorism. Revolutionary armed organisations are called criminal organisations. For political prisoners, they also apply

a special case, a special regime. It is a treaty based on anti-terror laws imported from Europe and America. We have special political prisoners, whom we call prisoners of war. There are forty political prisoners in this situation. There are three revolutionary organisations in Greece, some of whom are held in prison as political prisoners. The first is November 17. The November 17 organisation has a history of 30 years of action.

The second is the Organisation of Revolutionary Struggle and the third is the Conspiracy Of Cells Of Fire. Two of these three organisations are anarchist-communist organisations. The third is a nihilist-anarchist organisation. There are also individual anarchists in Greece... They are kept in prison because of bank robbery or accusations of bank robbery. We also have some comrades who have been kept in prison for the last few years. In the past five years, there was a way for political prisoners to use as their main method of struggle the hunger strike.

Costas Sakas is the first political prisoner to use it. In June 2013, this was the first hunger strike declared by our new generation of people. We have a law in Greece. It says, they cannot hold a prisoner for more than 18 months without being brought before a judge. So they can hold you for a certain amount of time in jail before the trial begins. If you are a political prisoner, anarchist, they are trying to extend the 18-month limit. They are

applying an additional penalty. This additional punishment keeps people in prison in this way. That's why the hunger strike in Greece has just begun. As a movement of solidarity, we started to organise the direction of propaganda, starting from scratch, organising from scratch.

The first hunger strike lasted 13 days. Political prisoners were taken to the hospital. Some political prisoners can go to hospital in Greece. In the first hunger strike, the reaction we received from people in general, the reaction from the radical movement was quite good. After this action, Nekas Nomaros started a very long hunger strike. He is a political prisoner held because of a bank robbery. The 2008 season - you know that 2008 revolt - the 2008 revolution spokesperson - you know Alexis was a child killed by the police at a young age - that was the name, and a revolutionary from that generation started a hunger strike. He wanted to continue his studies at university as he was a university student at the time. We started the organisation at this point, and a lot of people supported it, and the people from the unions started to support it themselves. Within the anarchist struggle we have not faced such support from different segments of society. Because we are always seen as terrorists in the eyes of ordinary people. The movement of solidarity began to create pressure gradually. We can say that we have won this second hunger strike when it started to

create really strong pressure. I would also like to take a closer look at what it means to win hunger strikes later because it is a complicated matter. Another hunger strike took place in Greece. There was a law especially against the Anti-Terror Law. This is a law named “Kukulo Nomos” (Greek: “Hood Law”). A law about hiding your face. So it's a law prohibiting wearing a face mask. This hunger strike began after the Syriza government came to power. This hunger strike lasted for two months. We can say forty days. But two months is more accurate because I will go into detail. All the political prisoners participated in this hunger strike, they made a total hunger strike, and political prisoners in the same period mentioned that the third political organisation, Conspiracy Of Cells Of Fire, also decided to declare a hunger strike for another reason. The reason for this was that the wife and mother of one of these members were arrested on charges of helping him. So they do not just arrest the person, they also arrest their relatives for helping them. This was a big story in Greece.

In the prison in Greece, they accused some people who knew them of helping these people escape in prison. What happened at the end of this hunger strike, this hunger strike has also resulted in a win. Now I want to address hunger strikes in a broader sense. In the previous years, we have identified a common strategy for solidarity with regard to hunger strikes.

What are we doing? In the first days we conduct propaganda work. In these early days we are going to go out and talk about how the political prisoners talk about the political prisoners. Why are these people imprisoned, we tell them that they are nothing like commandos or terrorists. We say that these people are the ones who struggle for freedom. We are not terrorists as you are being told. This propaganda effort lasts two weeks.

In doing so, we attach great importance to bringing political prisoners over the same days to overlap with the hunger strike. So it is important for us to synchronise dates with them. Then we perform intervention actions. These are more symbolic activities. On the third day, when we start taking prisoners to the hospital, we often try to do support actions with our sabotage actions. Sometimes we carry out armed actions. We use such a calendar. Because we are trying to increase the resistance, as the repression is increased, along the hunger strike. In this case, this is how we struggle...

Now what I mean to win is what I mean about winning or losing a hunger strike. We need to adopt a common strategy. The state usually does this: OK, we give you something, let's deal with it. Then stop and accept the breaks, then stop. I say this both for political prisoners and for social prisoners... When they give up something, it is things they can easily give. Nikos Romonos was such a hunger strike.

When Nikos Romonos was on a hunger strike he said, of course, we give him the right to be a student at university, but they did not give him the right. Therefore, he had to continue his struggle. So there is a situation where they do not keep their promises. Control of life is another matter when you enter prison. They get put in isolation for a month. There were G-Type prisons, these prisons are special prisons of the government. These are prisons similar to the F-Type prisons here. Actions were also taken against these. But in this way, the construction of the prisons broke down after the huge hunger strike in the country, but they still refrain from saying that we will continue to do so. There is another special case for prisoners. There is continuing torture in prisons. This torture takes place in the form of guards interfering with my comrades, assaulting them. But sometimes it is the use of certain medicines to force the prisoners in prison to talk. We faced such a situation for members of the November 17 Organisation. They took Sabak Siroj to the hospital and injected some medication in an attempt to force a statement out of him. They are trying to make sure that a person is "solved", but he has not been solved. This is why we say that political prisoners are a special situation in Greece. There are special courts for political prisoners. When the November 17 Organisation was first prosecuted, for example they revealed the identities of the people in solidarity

with them, or they placed special operations police officers in the courts. And they use methods such as preventing the recording of cases. In a recent process we are talking about, they tried to apply this to prisoners from revolutionary organisations, like the November 17, we call this the holiday method. In other words, for ten days in a year, there is the practice of letting people out, and then they go back to prison. It is a right won after the 1990s when much blood was shed in Greek prisons. It started two months ago when our comrades started a struggle. The state for the first time since the military junta said to him and to a member of the Revolutionary Struggle Organisation, that they wanted them to sign a petition that said they regret the actions they took in the past and their political ideology. Of course they did not sign. Of course they never signed such a thing. They also tried to get such a repentance petition from them in return for ten days' release, but they also said that no, we will not sign such a document to get out for ten days. The signing of this repentance document in Greece is actually a practice from the junta period. At that time, they attempted to get political prisoners to sign it, and they never signed such a document. Interestingly, they still use the same method. To keep a man in prison for 15 years and 20 years means trying to crush the whole radical movement. But here we are, so we continue to defy them. I want to say something

about the movement of solidarity. We have a small association like TAYAD. The association of friends and family of political prisoners. TAYAD may be a long story, maybe not a long history. There are other associations and other organisations within the movement of solidarity. They are interested in raising awareness about political prisoners in everyday life. These are the institutions that are organising to make neighbourhood propaganda, to work in the neighbourhoods, to raise awareness in the universities about the struggle of political prisoners, and often to make propaganda for the armed struggle, to say the least.

For us the solidarity movement has to continue to voice the struggle of political prisoners. It is an obligation for us to focus on the political prisoners, to focus on resistance, to fight against imperialism and against capitalism, to try to do everything we can against the oppressors. That is to say, to stand side by side with the obligation of the solidarity movement, to make people conscious of the armed struggle, to make people aware about the situation of political prisoners and prisoners in general. Because everything that happens in prisons is closely related to society. The conditions of prisons are closely related to society. For us, the basic issue in the solidarity movement is to keep resistance standing on its feet. To support the actions of political prisoners. I want to say thank you so much.

Mehmet Guvel:

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Friends, I want to tell you a very short episode, it will be very short. Because it's a very important part. Yes, from December 19, 2000, there was an unprecedented seven-year Death Fast resistance in the world, and there were many policies of the state in order to break this resistance in various forms. The people in the prisons continued to die. And they take those people to hospital and then releasing them, saying this was to end the Death Fast inside the prison. But when they came out they were coming to Armutlu and continuing their Death Fast resistance there. There are two Armutlu martyrs in our family, who were not released prisoners, Senay Hanoglu and Gulsum Donmez who died for their sons. This lasted for seven years and we had 122 comrades, 122 brothers and sisters, who became immortal. This action was an unprecedented action in the world. The aim of this action was to remove prison isolation and it actually was. It came about But the transfer finally came to a deadly outbreak in our lawyer, Behic Asci, who just spoke before, and after Mr Behic Asci started the Death Fast, mobilisation increased outside the prisons. Both the bar associations and the various professional associations began removing a brick in the wall of isolation. And with a new law, prisoners can meet and meet for ten hours a week, there were a number of gains, they said that they would extend them further in the future. Of course, of course, the promises in pris-

ons may not always be fulfilled. From time to time they do nto give rights. From time to time, we can get them back again, and under fascism the struggle for rights in prisons will not end. Thank you.

Feridun Osmanagaoglu:

And I want to tell you about the Free Prisoners. The Free Prisoners have followed a certain historical process. With the arrival of September 12 (the 1980 coup), the fight for democracy was abolished. Revolutionaries, proletarians, patriots, trade unionists, intellectuals were all put through prison torture and jailed. After being put in prison, two lines appeared. One line was a barricade against sanctions. The second was a revisionist line advocating surrender with the arrival of September 12. In the prisons, from 1980 to 1983, up until the Death Fast, rather than paying a price they preferred surrender, saying the prisons are not the centre of resistance. Our line was that wherever the revolutionaries are, there is the struggle. They did not pay the price, but escaped from the struggle and expressed themselves according to that line. But as I said, a revolutionary has to act in the space where he or she is. Everything must be carried out for the sake of protecting political identity. Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) people struggled in prisons to maintain the line of political identity. While the opportunists brought their false statements onto the agenda, saying prisons were not cen-

tral places in the struggle.

While outside scarcely a leaf stirred, the prisons became a focus of opposition. Because of the possibilities the Free Prisoners created, our friends and we are here today, we will never surrender and we will continue our struggle...

We sent four friends to the stars in the 1984 Death Fast, we buried four of our friends. We are here because of this sacrifice by our friends, this line of struggle. Mehmet Abi covered the important points at length so I will just briefly sum it up. In 2000, the bourgeoisie said at the time of the Death Fast, yes, there is torture in this country, but we can do nothing about it...

The Death Fast won us a number of rights, first the right to converse, then the right to visits, books and publications. Today with July 15, for our political prisoners they have started to sow terror. But we and our Free Prisoners had predicted such a scenario and we have never given up our identity and will not. And the struggle will go on with every form of resistance.

Today, our friends who were Free Prisoners have brought resistance to torture and isolation onto the agenda in every prison in Turkey where they are. The roll calls would be made at the top, when we went into the exercise area, we would not go back in except on our own volition, beyond that every morning we pounded on the doors and slogans were shouted three times a day. At this time, many of our friends were

being forced back to their cells from above and some were hospitalised with eye and head injuries.

I will tell you about the latest repression we have been experiencing. I will not repeat what Mehmet Abi touched on. We were gathered in the cemevi in Kirac to organise a meal to commemorate martyred guerrillas, while preparing our dessert during our gathering, there was suddenly a raid by the teams of the Esenyurt Police Directorate in Kirac, and political branch policemen. We were dragged along the ground and flung into police vehicles. As if this was not enough, both elderly and children had gas sprayed at them. And we always say that, we do not get into the car of our own free will. Why are you resisting us, they say, we did not come here at our own request nor did you bring vehicles that suit us.

We were faced with all kinds of kicks, slaps, swear words and other inappropriate words. We were brought to a police station. We were kicked and also slapped as though it was a basketball court and we were the balls, and we were dragged around and verbally abused. And as if this was not enough, they fired plastic pellets at us from distances of three to five metres. When we went to the hospitals, we were kicked and punched on the way to hospital and then kicked and punched on the way back.

From there we came to Silivri Prison, I said in my defence statement that we came to eat helva here, but unfortunately

we ate helva to learn the difference between what is bitter and what is sweet. Is it necessary to get permission from someone to engage in worship? There is no such concept... Yes, before September 12 there was the Alevi-Sunni debate, Kahramanmaras, Sivas were again placed on the agenda. But as soon as we came to Silivri Prison, the same torture started there. As if this was not enough, exile policies were on the agenda. When driving someone into exile, ten guards would kick one of them and drag that person to the vehicle. Mothers, fathers, siblings who live in Istanbul are exiled to Van. So the purpose is to stop parents or siblings from showing solidarity with their children or brothers and sisters. But we say: we are TAYAD, TAYAD people from the day it was founded have never abandoned their children, nor will they. This is known to both friends and enemies...

I will finish with a poem I wrote.

To live for tomorrow

with the taste of a folk song

Leading our lives

is not called death

Day comes when I

looking at the light

Resistance folk songs

say let us dance the halay together

Now I call on our friend Nuriye to speak.

Nuriye Gulmen:

Hi, I embrace you with the enthusiasm and warmth of public workers, all of them on Yuksel Avenue and elsewhere in Turkey. I am Nuriye Gulmen,



a public sector worker who was fired while working as a research assistant at Selcuk University. It is not surprising to see a public sector worker thrown out of work in Turkey. Nowadays, this is the case - it is now very common, and it has become very much a matter of concern day to day for the public sector workers.

How did this come about? I want to tell our foreign guests a little about it. We were deprived of our work by decision of the court. I mean more than a hundred thousand public sector workers. More than a hundred thousand public sector workers fired by KHK, I will explain later how they were fired from the public sector service. How did this happen... We need to go back to July so that we can understand. It happened with the July 15 (2016) coup attempt and the declaration of the state

of emergency. Shortly after July 15, the state of emergency was declared and it gave power to KHK. KHK decisions have the force of law. So the state of emergency government says there is currently an extraordinary regime, and some very speedy arrangements must be made to bring the country back to normal, to rule it...

They cannot make swift amendments by law, because this is a very long procedure, but they shorten it, speed it up, simplify it, and get out of the bottleneck. So they extend the length of detention, and many disciplinary enquiries are started with regard to the security forces. They are put into effect and applied as soon as they are published in the official gazette and become law. Twenty-five KHK decrees have been published since the state of emergency was proclaimed. Interest-

ingly, on 11 occasions there were provisions about firing public sector workers. We encountered this first on September 1. There was a clause in the decree issued on September 1 saying that "those people who are connected to terrorist organisations and who are considered to be related to them are to be removed from work". I am speaking in general. The Feto (name for presumed Gulen supporters)/ PDY ie. The Gulenist structure or other terrorist organisations, anyone of them, associated with them, who is employed. Thousands of peoples' names are on these lists and you know now that if you see your name on the list, you are no longer a public employee. You will not go to work after that, you have lost all of your personal rights, it started on September 1, and up to now there have been provisions in 11 decree laws such as these that regulate the termination of public servants' jobs. I was dismissed from my job by the verdict of the law issued on January 6. An investigation was initiated about me before I was fired. An investigation was opened on September 30, which I suspect was associated with the Gulenist structure. Being fired is a different procedure than removing you; it means that an investigation of you will start and during the execution of this inquiry you will not go to work or you will not work and your school will not be your business whatever your business is, because you may put the security of the investigation in danger. You

will not go to work when your inquiry is finished, or you will return to work, or whatever punishment you receive will be fulfilled. But in the meantime you continue to draw two thirds of your salary. So after I was fired by the KHK in relation to the state of emergency, and then I wanted to start a sit-down on a street in Kizilay, the most central part of Ankara, in Yuksel Avenue. Then I was alone. The story of the public workers we began to tell you when we first greeted you here. On November 9, the resistance started as I announced I wanted to work.

On 9th November, I was fired and I was taken into custody after going out into the square with a sign saying I wanted to work. Apart from throwing us out of work, the state of emergency has allowed various arrangements to be put in place. For example, protest bans... With the state of emergency as an excuse, governors are taking decisions to ban protests. This practice still continues today.

Ankara also had a ban on protest actions on force at that date. The police arrested people using this as an excuse. For 17 days in a row they have arrested people. Today our action is still going on. My action with the slogan "I want to work" involves me and five public sector workers in Ankara's Yuksel Avenue today on the 164th day of our action. There are actions going on besides our one in Malatya, Bodrum, Duzce, Istanbul and Didim.

There are another three "I want my

job back” actions going on in Ankara besides ours. Nearly 30 public sector workers are carrying out actions, out of the more than 100,000 public sector workers who have been fired, the exact number is unknown. Their actions are under the slogan that you cannot throw us out of work like this, we want our work back. There is a hunger strike in Ankara that is different from all the other resistance acts in various provinces. Today is our 44th day on hunger strike. There is a hunger strike sustained by six people in Yuksel Avenue, and two people including me on hunger strike for 44 days.

Semih Ozakca was a class teacher, working in Mardin Mazidagi. He was also removed from work by the KHK. Immediately after he joined us and today we are on a hunger strike with him for 44 days. I would like to give brief information on the firing of public sector workers in general, after the state of emergency announcement and the ongoing resistance.

I would also like to briefly say something about the hunger strike. 120 days before the hunger strike, we were taken into custody 24 times in that square, we were collecting signatures demanding that we return to work. We had the opportunity to reach thousands of people. We went to the neighbourhoods, we knocked on doors and got signatures, we informed people by handing out leaflets. Various panels were organised and we spoke at them. In Turkey and from the world various

media institutions came. We tried to make our voices heard through media outlets. We have handed over the signatures we collected to various institutions. We were unfairly thrown out of work and this is not a correct practice, we said we want our jobs back.

But none of this has met a response from those we addressed. The only response was the cops in 120 days, coming and detaining us extremely arbitrarily and using torture. The state's hands practised nothing but detention and torture. Hunger striking is radical for us, but not a form of resistance we do not know. We already know the history of the hunger strikes in Turkey before, we know that Death Fasts have been tried many times in prison and were also an action to get rights by those outside prison. We already had the idea of a hunger strike in our minds. If we do not get a result, we think we should do it on a date that is relevant to the process. As a matter of fact, at the end of the third month this date arrived for us. We had not started our hunger strike yet after announcing it when we were detained for five days after arrest by the political police. We were released and free for three days and then we were arrested by political branch police again for two days. Thus, when we were detained the first time by the political branch, we declared that we had started an indefinite hunger strike.

It was two days before the date that we would normally begin. We knew it

because we knew that this detention was aimed at preventing the hunger strike. We knew it was intended to break the resistance, to intimidate us. As soon as we were taken into custody, we declared that we were on a hunger strike for an indefinite period, and so we started a hunger strike. We said before we started that they were afraid of hunger, because they are afraid that we will win because we will win with our hunger, we will surely defeat you with our hunger. We are living with such prodigious enthusiasm even before the hunger strike began they were afraid of it. This enthusiasm worked on them even before the hunger strike. As a matter of fact, the attack showed its effectiveness. They were very frightened of the hunger strike. And so we were met with another arrest operation. We were conditionally released from the first detention into judicial control. In the second, we were released directly by the prosecutor's office. And this time we continued our hunger strike in our field of action outside. Today we are on the 44th day. On hunger strike we always say: our hunger strike is a challenge, a method of resistance that will show how determined we are and how determined we are to return to work. But at the same time, there is an aspect of the hunger strike directed at the people and not just those we had been addressing. It is like in a book - hunger is like a call, and when some calls out, it continues until it is echoed. This call grows and this call continues

to grow louder and louder until it moves the people all around and they join in. Eventually the hunger strike turns to theatre, either tragic or farcical. But the end of this play has not been written yet. The end of the play is determined by all those people who participate in this hunger strike and the end is written by them.

I expressed it in my own words, but that hunger strike says something... Yes, it is a clarion call, a call to the world, to the peoples, to the peoples of the world, against the whole world... This is the end of the play that we will write together. We are determined. We will take this action to the end. We want our jobs back so much, we want to achieve our goals so much that we invest our bodies in hunger. You will also have something to say and we will all come together to say it. We do not just mean Nuriye Gulmen and Semih Ozakca who are on hunger strike today... Saying we will win means we will win. When we really win, when we return to work, all the public sector workers who lost their jobs today will have won. In all ways, the victims of the state of emergency and the peoples who are in fact opposed to fascism in our country will all have won, all the peoples of the world will have won. I want to end by emphasizing that our hunger strike is such a clarion call to you all. Thank you all for listening.

First, the imperialists and their head, America, brought in hordes of murderers from many parts of the world to destroy the governments of the states in the Middle East. Second, they brought them along to destroy patriotic states, armies, historical monuments and historic cities. Their aim is to destroy people's social point of view, destroying the past and destroying day-to-day lives and consciousness of history. The third tries to make this geography a rubbish bin for their own commercial companies. Could the Anti-Imperialist Front carry out an internationalist action in the secular and so-called secular countries against the massacres and deaths imperialists have been responsible for in Syria and the Middle East?

I wish the Symposium to be a success and convey to my esteemed comrades my thanks. Lastly, I wish to say that we are and are willing to be in solidarity with two comrades Nuriye Gulmen, Semih Ozakca, all the Free Prisoners who have been subjected to repression and torture in the prisons of the fascist AKP, and who have resisted imperialism in all ways. Thank you.

**Mohammed Safa
(Lebanon)**

Comrades, friends

I greet you for persisting in the Symposiums you have organised in the name of the immortal revolutionary Eyup Bas. Moreover I greet all organisations taking part in it and all revolutionaries.

You are carrying out your Symposium in your country under some of the

most severe repression it has experienced, and on the threshold of a third world war. Using the pretext of the July 15 coup attempt, they have jailed people from various sections and beliefs. The aim of the imprisonment is not to prevent a coup, it is to impose a repressive regime that destroys personal and public rights and freedoms.

And in our region, on the Arab geography, there is an ongoing American Project. It aims to divide the region on religious and sectarian grounds into small countries. The imperialists, especially America, have resorted to massacres in Iraq and Syria for the sake of this Project, while claiming to be defending rights against those they see as tyrants.

Murderous America staged an attack on Syria on April 7. In Egypt, there was a bomb attack on a Coptic church on April 9, and whatever the names these murderers who fight in these countries use, it has been shown who supports them and collaborates with them. The goal is to tear down the Arab countries and their states, Libya, Lebanon, Iraq and Syria. Moreover in this same period in Europe and foreign countries, fascist, right-wing and racist attacks are on the increase and there is a serious rollback of human rights.

Saudi Arabia and its allies are attacking Yemen. So far the attacks have led to about 32,000 martyrs and wounded. And 19 million people experience hunger and the risk of death. The whole world stays silent, including the United Nations

which have wiped Saudi Arabia's name off the list of shame. In Bahrein, the government seeks to intimidate the peaceful opposition in particular and those who seek their rights, throwing Sheikh Ali Salman, the symbol of the opposition, into jail.

And under this heading I want to refer to the Palestinian cause, one of the most important causes. Today there are 7,000 prisoners in the jails of Zionist Israel. Nobody stirs a finger to release these prisoners.

Illegality also continues in European countries. The Lebanese prisoner Georges Ibrahim Abdullah is not released even though this is a violation of international law.

As has been seen all the countries of the world are going through a very difficult and dangerous historical period when it comes to human rights. Because of its internal crises, imperialism tries to overcome them by unleashing war on the peoples in our area using its collaborationist killers. It carries out lying attacks under the cover of struggling against its own collaborationist killers. Just as in Turkey the coup was used as a pretext to throw our comrades struggling for freedom and democracy into jail, the same is being done elsewhere; revolutionaries, the press and opposition are subjected to repression and efforts made to eliminate them.

Finally I wish to salute you again and say this: Our struggle and voice against imperialism and authoritarian

regimes must be raised. In Turkey, in Europe and in the Arab countries, our struggle for the release of prisoners jailed for demanding rights and freedoms must be continued.

Nurhan Yılmaz

The history of imperialism is the history of massacres, occupation, plunder and exploitation. This history is full of countless examples of crime against the peoples. Imperialism's presence in the Middle East means plunder, exploitation and attacks. Imperialism has been in the Middle East for a century. For a century it has exploited and plundered the Middle East and killed its peoples.

The natural resources of the Middle East have always been coveted and thus the Middle East has been the target of imperialist attacks throughout the century. In terms of imperialism, the Middle East is not an ordinary market. Its geopolitical and strategic position is the result of its rich oil deposits on the one hand.

In his writings, Stalin notes that fuel, that is energy, is the basic source of imperialist aggressiveness and wars. As imperialism's crisis grows in the energy field it directs itself towards the Middle Eastern countries. Clearly, to continue its own existence and slow down its decline it must resort to policies of colonialism and occupation. Geographically, the Middle East brings together three continents, the most important transport points of the World pass through this area so its strategic

importance grows, and its natural resources, especially petroleum, economic potential and various possibilities all unite to make it an area that imperialism will never give up.

The Middle East is an indispensable weapons market, imperialist weapons monopolies treat it as their playground. They try to keep this market alive by arming the peoples against one another.

As one of the oldest areas of settlement in the world, the Middle East is also a centre of many peoples and nationalities.

In 1916 French and British imperialists used the Sykes-Picot agreement to divide the Middle East into spheres of influence. After the First Imperialist War (World War 1) the German imperialists were defeated as a result of the Ottoman break-up, French and British dominance in the Middle East was also strengthened.

In the Second Imperialist War, thousands of armoured vehicles of Germany entered Egypt. Then nearly all imperialists sought to compete in the area. Again it was time for policies of divide and rule. Lots of small states like Jordan, Lebanon, Qatar, Kuwait and Bahrain came into being as a result of imperialist policies of divide and rule.

In 1948 the Zionist Israeli state came into being as an important strike force and base of the USA against the peoples of the Middle East. Policies of attack and occupation were continually used in the region to force acceptance of Israel. Is-

rael was imperialism's basic support for its terror in the region. In return it received the greatest military and economic support from the imperialists.

CIA-patented secret plans in the region have come into effect much faster, especially after the 1950s. In the 1970s and thereafter, these aggression policies were constantly enforced.

In 1991, the United States attacked Iraq, citing Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and slaughtered thousands of Iraqis.

On October 7, 2001, after the attacks on the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, the United States and Britain invaded Afghanistan with the pretext of this action. NATO forces sent troops to Afghanistan, the US entered Afghanistan.

On March 20, 2003, American and British armies invaded Iraq, using NATO forces claiming support of UN resolutions, as well as using the excuse of "nuclear and chemical weapons being produced".

We will not describe all these policies of aggression and occupation. Because the crime file of the imperialists in the region is somewhat bloated and the time available to us unfortunately does not allow us to cover it all. But we will not overlook this – the region has been turned into a lake of blood. Imperialist vultures have constantly been digging their claws into the soil of the region.

The Collapse Of The Great Middle East Project, Moderate Islam - Arab Spring

What Is The Arab Spring, How Did It Start, What Came Out Of The Spring?

Let us recall the period when the winds of the Arab spring blew. One after another, uprisings broke out. We still recall the images of poor people settings themselves alight. The poor raised the flag of revolt and this was shown live on many TV channels. It was said that these were revolutions. Like dominoes, rebellions occurred in one Middle Eastern country after another. What was going on in the Middle East? There was much argument and discussion. But before long, only the passage of two or three years, it became clear what a bloody spring the Arab spring was, not so much a spring as open imperialist incitement with concocted massacres. The beautiful surface dropped away, revealing the filth. And all this was a part of the USA's Great Middle East Project.

The policies of what the US imperialism called the "Great Middle East Project" were aimed at changing the governments of twenty-two countries, and destroying dozens of insurgent groups. The Project was founded, with the US Secretary of State has acknowledged the need to conceal his corpses of children in Lebanon by calling it "the birth pangs of the new Middle East". While these policies are being implemented, the US has used and continues to use the territory of Turkey in this war. The AKP remains the greatest ally in this regard. All the

"civil wars" and massacres in Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon and later in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya and Syria are the work of imperialism. Such massacres, for example, the execution of Saddam Hussein and Gaddafi's lynching clearly exemplify what they do, and were meant as an "object lesson".

The collaborationist governments have always been the first to be abandoned by imperialism.

Mubarak continued his exploitation in Egypt for 30 years as a collaborator of imperialism.

Zeynel Bin Ali had been in charge for 23 years. Imperialism exploited Tunisia for 23 years in cooperation with Zeynel bin Ali.

The Nicaragua dictator Somoza, Shah Pahlavi, the Panama dictator Noriega, the Tunisian dictator Bin Ali... They served the imperialists for decades and searched the peoples. At the end of the work, the imperialists raised an edge.

Today, the imperialists want to reshape the Middle East and Africa by forcibly overthrowing the powers that stand in the way of imperialist exploitation policies, such as Syria and Iran, just as they did in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya.

Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine Etc.

We continue to emphasize the imperialist policies of aggression. The greatest weapon of imperialism has always been ideological propaganda and

psychological warfare. We will be referring to the actual imperialism of the Middle East today, but before we do, we will be talking about how they are trying to influence the masses and how to legitimise what they do by emptying concepts of all content and using lying propaganda. The 1990s were the years in which concepts were hollowed out and distorted the most.

The action that struck America on September 11, 2001 resulted in the situation taking on even more savage dimensions in which "hoofprints mixed with dog footprints". Unfortunately the left too became snared in the confusion somewhat later. Henceforth imperialism was not called imperialism, military occupation was called bringing peace, bringing democracy... These distortions still continue. In Syria, plunder, lies and demagogy have been continuing for five years.

Whenever the US empire aims at regime change in a country, it outlaws that country's leaders. Imperialism puts forward reasons using lies. "Chemical warfare was used on the people", "Russia and the Syrian government are helping IS", images of massacres and news broadcast that Assad committed the massacres, publishing of photos of torture in Syria published, and then one after another turning out to be lies... All this mendacious news and pictures were part of psychological warfare, an attempt to affect the peoples of the with ideological propaganda. Pictures of murdered

children were constantly used.

Hundreds of news items that were lies were broadcast.

First of all we would like to stress again that resistance to imperialism and its collaborators is legitimate. America is attacking Syria to turn it into a neo-colony. It has used Arab states and the the AKP government as its tools and is continuing to use them. Syrian collaborators have been organised, trained and armed on our soil. This policy is still continuing today.

Because the Syrian government must be changed, as there are no US bases, it opposes American and Israeli policies and it supports Palestine. To destroy the Syrian government, the reactionary and collaborationist forces in Syria were armed and sent to the attack. "They collected stones and turned the dogs loose." Blood flows every day in Syria, they say, and tell Assad to leave his country. Actually imperialism is the reason the country turned into a lake of blood.

Imperialism continues to work on reshaping the region into its Greater Middle East Project framework for its own interests. By creating collaborationist administrations as they are in Libya, the legitimate uprisings by people against the dictators in Egypt and Tunisia must be evaluated, in short every kind of development must be evaluated. Today we can easily say that imperialism in the Middle East and neo-colonial relations and exploitation in North Africa have increased. But the

process is not finished, the process is still running. They are still trying to demolish the Assad regime, which does not submit to imperialism in Syria now, even though the attack is in its sixth year. They try to deceive the peoples of the world with false news. It's the truth. The truth is that imperialism tries to make the peoples turn against one another so it can implement its own policies. So it is the most urgent task of the anti-imperialists, the revolutionaries, to fight against the imperialists who are the murderers of the peoples and to increase solidarity with the peoples that resist.

Evaluation Of Rojava

In 2002, we saw the fall of Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, and in 2003 we saw the fall of Baghdad.

One of the important milestones in this issue is Iraq.

Nationalism began to move away from its progressive nature, at the point it lost support from the socialist system, and rapidly moved closer to imperialism. However, nationalism mainly involves being "national" within its name, and there is a contradiction with imperialism in its nature. Where it is not in contradiction, it means that it has begun to deny itself.

Both Barzani-Talabani and the PKK's policies - the imperialist contradictions, the contradictions between the imperialists and the regional states, and the contradictions among the regional states ...

No matter what their outcomes or discourse say, what they have in common is an imperialist solution. Nationalism brings the Kurdish people to the point of begging for help from imperialism, and needing imperialism. Indeed, the solution of the bourgeois feudal leaderships was to be found in the protection of the United States.

They have become a toy in the hand of imperialism.

The greatest weakness of the Kurdish nationalist movement is that it does not have a Marxist-Leninist ideology. In the 1990s, a serious change began to take place with the removal of the hammer and sickle from their flags. It believes that there will be no solution without imperialism. And it has begun to seek this solution not in the armed struggle but in the interventions of imperialism, in its support and in its presence.

The second great weakness is that it puts the Kurdish question at the centre of everything. Solve the problem, and how to solve it is enough to understand. Because if the Kurdish problem is solved, everything will be solved according to them. It is a non-revolutionary understanding that sacrifices general interests to its own interests. It leads to opportunism. Today, they openly defend this understanding.

In Rojava Kurdistan, what Mustafa Karasu said on December 31, 2011 is quite clear.

"The Kurds are considering their own interests and freedoms in the pres-

ent political environment, and the developments in Syria will determine the face of the Middle East. With the Arab Spring, it is difficult for the classical power blocs to survive, and the political forces shaped in the bipolar world balances have not survived.”

These evaluations clearly put forward the idea that imperialism is invincible. They say the peoples have no chance other than to bow down to imperialism. Saying that the Kurds "are thinking of their own interests and freedoms" is to put the Kurds' interests at the centre of the Middle East. This understanding has brought them to collaboration with imperialism. In the end the same as that of Barzani and Talabani. The Middle East burns, is torn down, the peoples are slaughtered, the region is reshaped to suit imperialism etc... It is of no importance. Now the PKK is aware of imperialism's calculations in the Middle East. And it plays its cards accordingly. Events are examined from a narrow nationalist viewpoint.

Imperialism is for its part aware of the difficulties in putting the Great Middle East Project into effect and the obstacles to be faced in doing so. Of course, the resistance of the people first of all. For this, while trying to repeatedly reproduce the seeds of all the contradictions in the region, they try to carry out their business by using these contradictions. With this point of view, Kurds in Kurdistan, Syria, Iran, Iraq and Turkey in their annexed lands, and

the problems of the Kurdish people who are under pressure to assimilate are only raw material that can be used for the interests of imperialists. Because the history of imperialism is clear. America plays with states and with peoples. It lifts up, then slaughters, then presents human rights reports as if the slaughter was not its own work. It is very clear that the imperialists did not aim at demolishing the dictatorships, and bringing democracy and freedom. The important thing here is to be conscious of this reality and not let oneself be used. It is to have a mind and a conscience. Because someone with sense and conscience knows that America and the imperialists will not act outside their own interests.

In Iraq, Talabani and Barzani are in this situation. Today it is a pity that the Kurdish nationalist movement is starting to follow the same line. The fact that Talabani and Barzani are not completely aligned is merely superficial and connected to the interests of imperialism.

And today, it is not the Kurdish people determining their own fate, it is imperialism. And all "fate" determined by imperialism is conditioned on the interests of the imperialist monopolies alone. This is a very obvious truth.

Regarding the right of nations to self-determination, Stalin says:

“The right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one has the right forcibly to inter-

fere in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to violate its habits and customs, to repress its language, or curtail its rights.

This, of course, does not mean that Social-Democracy will support every custom and institution of a nation. While combating the coercion of any nation, it will uphold only the right of the nation itself to determine its own destiny, at the same time agitating against harmful customs and institutions of that nation in order to enable the toiling strata of the nation to emancipate themselves from them.

The right of self-determination means that a nation may arrange its life in the way it wishes. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign, and all nations have equal rights.

This, of course, does not mean that Social-Democracy will support every demand of a nation.... In fighting for the right of nations to self-determination, the aim of Social-Democracy is to put an end to the policy of national oppression, to render it impossible, and thereby to remove the grounds of strife between nations, to take the edge off that strife and reduce it to a minimum.”

The solution to the Kurdish question is first of all about using this right. However, this has to be the work of the Kurdish people's own will. The balance and contradictions that the region

has in this respect cannot be the justification for adapting to the will of imperialism, using their arms and using their weapons in the way the imperialists wish. Because it is not possible to solve the national question in favour of the people where the will of imperialism is decisive. The solution of the Kurdish question is to create conditions in which the Kurdish people can exercise their right to self-determination. This is not possible without imperialism being driven out, without oligarchic power being destroyed. We must fight for this by giving expression to the free will of the people, not imperialism.

This is what we have already mentioned before the US attack on Iraq. Today, it is an example of the same situation though years have passed since then. This tableau is a summary of a situation that has existed for many years. Nationalism has become a force that is "based on imperialism" and "bullying other peoples in the name of imperialism". Today it has passed the point of a tacit agreement and turned into collaboration. And it is now being defended.

The Kurdish people have been exposed to innumerable massacres for centuries, their lands have been partitioned, language and identity have been banned. As emphasized many times today, they are among the few "people without a land" in the world today. But none of these facts can be an excuse for collaboration.

Rojava is not a revolution, it has not seen a total overturning of society. It is an autonomous region created by the imbalances between imperialist contradictions and countries in the region.

The basic measure of whether any development is progressive is whether it has an anti-imperialist content, whether it pushes imperialism back. In this sense, evaluation of Rojava is obligatory.

The class or national liberation movements involve two important questions that must be posed from time to time and answered. "What road are we on? Where are we going?" must be the questions asked. This is what a revolutionary does. We do not know how far we are, how close we are to our destination, how far we are, if we do not evaluate it from time to time.

Mountaineers have a walking method. You will have to constantly check the location of your exit. Because your foot physically comes from the structure of your body or pulls it to the right or to the left, and you wander around and end up in the same place. For this, climbers or long walkers sometimes look in the direction of the road to correct the existing deviation. If they do not do it, they will never reach the destination. They walk in a circle. Today, these discussions are basically a debate about reaching a goal. How far we have gone, how far we have to go, for the left of the world it is about the liberation of the world's peoples, our people and tearing apart the web of exploitation.

Every power that does not believe in

the people can do nothing but give up in the face of greater power, and can only seek a compromise. "Who are your people's friends and enemies?" – instead of answering such a question correctly, they make the mistake of being dominated by pragmatism and do not trust an ideological line, do not trust their own organisation, the people, the cadres and the fighters, and rely on imperialists' own internal contradictions and their struggle to maintain themselves. We have been making these criticisms before of the Kurdish nationalist movement itself. Unfortunately, however, today these criticisms are at the same time now valid for almost the whole left in our country as well.

In this regard, we declare once more:

"In fact, those who are anti-imperialists and those who trust the people continue their revolt by gathering more strength from the people, even if their countries are totally occupied and they have experienced temporary defeats. But this is a prolonged battle and if they do not have this point of view, compromise with imperialism occurs and this is exactly the situation imperialism wants to create. As soon as they go down this path, one compromise will inevitably be followed by others." (Congress Documents - 1 pages 218-219.)

In today's world there is nothing more just and legitimate than a liberation struggle for independence, democracy and socialism, for an equal, free,

unexploited country, with nations that will determine their own destiny by their own free will.

Victory will be won with confidence, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the people.

Because we are right. The historically legitimate are those who are truly strong.

The target is clear, the enemy is obvious: imperialism. What we are fighting for is: independence, democracy and socialism. This struggle can only be achieved with Marxist-Leninist leadership, and only with armed struggle.

We promise that we will fight again and again and win. Imperialism will be defeated and we will win.

Gianfranco Castellotti
(Italy)

I greet you all. First of all, I send a greeting to Eyup Bas. It is a great honor to come here for us. It is a great honour to attend this symposium in Armutlu. It is very important for us to come here, especially at a time when the Erdogan government destroyed the Gazi neighbourhood – I am also speaking about the general state of the country. When we held a meeting at the end of the Symposium last year, the first issue is: Internationalism is not an option today, it is a duty, but we need to establish a new internationalism. We went to Syria to implement one of the decisions we took then. We came not only to Syria but also to Kurdistan and Istanbul. We will go to Donbass on May 1. I will talk about

Syria long before I tell the situation in the Middle East. It is very important to understand that because imperialism is in a crisis. It says it has developed, but after the war in Iraq, it is bogged down in Syria. When we went there, we formed a delegation. This delegation included friends from Italy, Greece, Turkey, Donbass, Lebanon and Morocco, but we made this visit thanks to the People's Front. After our visits in Syria, we returned to Turkey and we said to ourselves: "We felt like we were in our own country after returning to Turkey." We made various visits in Syria and these were really different from each other. As an example we visited an Orthodox church and the chaplain said: "We are Syrians before we are Christians and Orthodox."

There we met officials of the Syrian government. They told us about the situation there. Later we visited a military hospital. Their condition was bad, they had been wounded and were being treated. And when we visited these wounded soldiers we saw this light in their eyes; they wanted to fight again, to return to the front and save the homeland from the jihadists. The light in their eyes was the light of the resistance we saw today in Nuriye's eyes. On the other side we saw a terrible imperialist attack against the Syrian people. This attack was not only the attack of American imperialism but also the attacks by Gulf countries, European countries and Turkey. As we all know, Turkey gave these jihadists weapons and we saw all

of them. We were most surprised: In a country that has been at war for six years, health services, education services and so on are free. Even the water flowing from the taps in the houses can be drunk - today in Istanbul the tap water is not potable. Despite being a country at war, things are carried out for the benefit of the people. So it is said that we can always turn imperialist wars into revolution. Maybe we do not have the conditions today, but we can support the peoples who endure imperialist aggression.

"Terrorist, terrorist" they always say. Who is the terrorist? Are they resisting the attack on your country or are they attacking it? Che Guevara wanted to establish an internationalism among the countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. An alternative international. That's how we can do it. As Dursun Karatas says, the revolution model of one place cannot be copied and recopied elsewhere. So whichever is applicable to us in this era, we have to think about it and do it according to our logic. We were in Syria, and we have further strengthened the relations we established with Syrian friends in the past, but we have to advance it. The people of Syria are a very honourable people and very brave. They teach us many things. They are a people worthy of support and solidarity. Especially the president, Bashar al-Assad. But we do not know what the destiny of Syria will be. Will there be a new Yugoslavia? Games are continuing there.

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I want to say something about the PKK. They applauded when the Syria was bombed in the recent days by order of Trump. It's very ugly to applaud a people's bombing. We visited Kurdistan on the way back to Syria. We wanted to see the reality of Kurdistan. First we went to Diyarbakir and there we met with Behic (Asci) and then we went to Maras. We saw the traces of the Maras massacre there. Then we went to Gaziantep and visited a family. A wedding in Antep was bombed two days before the bombing of Syria. Islamists used a suicide bomber at a wedding in Antep.

As you know this year, we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the proletarian state. We will celebrate this 100th anniversary, but there are a lot of things we need to do when we look at it. The bourgeoisie has destroyed much in this 100-year period. So we do not have time to complain, we have a great deal to do. Anyway, what we will do is revolution. Already the only way to get rid of this destruction is revolution. It is not necessary to take part in elections, to be preoccupied with elections, nor to participate in peace talks. We just need to focus on revolution. The only road for us is revolution.

DISCUSSION – Question and Answer

First question

(to Nurhan Yilmaz):

The Kurdish people are divided

into five separate zones. In the north, the Turkish state cannot do this without receiving permission from the United States when bombing Kandil or other Kurdish resistance areas. When it crosses to the other side of the border (Rojava), the United States is presented as a saviour. The PKK is a great power. There are millions of votes, millions of supporters, thousands of fighters, its media/propaganda means are very developed and they can easily reach the Kurdish people with this “biji (Kurdish: “long live”) Obama, biji Trump”. How can we explain this distorted situation to the Kurdish people?

Nurhan Yilmaz:

In my view the essential problem we have is one of reaching the Kurdish people. I agree we must tell them. We have a lot of problems reaching them. I worked in Diyarbakir before. Few people know us. Certainly in places where our policies do not reach the only alternative is seen to be the Kurdish nationalists. We must show the people that “they are not the only alternative”. Today there are organisations struggling to win national rights. We too are struggling for the Kurdish people’s right to organise themselves. We are struggling for the liberation of nations and peoples. We must explain this. The more people we reach, the more successful we will be. Our problem is that we do not do a lot of work in the region. For example, the region could use a special Kurdish-language

publication. We have to get our propaganda to wider areas, our real problem is that we are not known.

**Supplementary answer
Behic Asci:**

The matter is not really specific to Kurdistan, but a problem of the whole world. We need to tell about socialism. It is very clear the PKK does not do that. Socialism cannot be described by the PKK anyway. Speaking of it means denying themselves. For this reason, there are different discourses according to their audience. For example, they are socialists when they are addressing people of the left, while they are something else when addressing other people. But still the basic truth does not change. In fact, socialism is not known in Kurdistan. Because socialism is not known, imperialism is presented as a saviour, a friend of the people. It is very normal for this to happen, because the peoples do not know socialism itself.

The peoples do not recognise imperialism spontaneously, nor can the peoples be conscious of their interests. Because the people are under great pressure from many channels to direct their consciousness and preferences. From the moment we are born we are trained by this system. School, press, prisons, police stations, religion and so on... Whatever comes to mind is used entirely for our education.

In Kurdistan, in addition, the Kurdish nationalists have propaganda outlets. Broadcasts, TV, mutual relations,



tors who serve them will have no freedom. The conditions under which everyone can be free may be reached with communism. That is the stage where all classes are destroyed. So, until that stage, socialism will remain socialism. Unfortunately, in Kurdistan, socialism has other stuff continually attached to it.

organisations... All of them either ignore socialism or redefine it in a convenient fashion. Socialism does not change, however, socialism is socialism. There is no other explanation for this. Especially with the rise of imperialist aggression in the world, after the overthrow of revisionist governments, a great attack against socialism started.

Those who have no ideological power to resist that wave of attack have begun to add something to socialism in the end. Concepts such as "libertarian socialism, green socialism, ecological socialism, socialist equality," etc... were created without any scientific reality. The same thing is being done in Kurdistan. Something is always added to socialism. "Libertarian socialism, happy face socialism" are such ridiculous things. They have no scientific reality. Socialism is socialism. In other words, the revolutionaries do not promise this idea anymore: "Everyone will be free in socialism!" There is no such thing! The oppressed peoples in socialism will be free. The oppressors, the imperialists, the collabora-

Our Justice School activities continue in Diyarbakir. We have students from Dicle University Law School. This work has taught me a great deal. One day my student friend defended something like this: "The PKK is actually a socialist organisation but it interprets socialism differently. The PKK is trying to create a stateless society in the era of imperialism. So the PKK is a socialist organisation." Do you laugh at such a theory? Do you cry? What are you going to say? But we also know that our student friend is now the latest victim of this.

I will continue with another strange example. For our studies, we needed the book "Basic Principles of Philosophy". It is usually found in all bookstores where left publications are sold. Amed (Diyarbakir) has a famous publishing house called Aram. We could not find it in the Aram Bookshop. There are hundreds of books on women, Ocalan's ecology, but there was no "Basic Principles of Philosophy" book. That's how they train peo-

ple. When they say they aim for socialism they also pursue the interests of the USA. The struggle for the interests of the Kurdish people is also pursuing the interests of the United States. Those who say that they defend socialism defend collaboration with the USA as follows: "We are not cooperating with the United States but trading. How? We buy weapons from the US, we pay for it. We fight on the instructions of the generals of the US Army, and we call this a fair trade in the name of which we gave them a great deal of our land as bases." All of this is a reality of our day. We can solve this problem by telling them about socialism.

Gianfranco also touched on travel in what he said: "We visited Diyarbakir Bar Association, DTK and Amed Justice School as part of the Anti-Imperialist Front visit. The most fruitful discussions were at the bar association. The presidents of the bar associations told about the violations of rights in the region. When we went to the DTK, instead of recounting the massacres that were going on, the guests were directed to the question 'Are you reading Ocalan's books?' They continued to defend friendship with the USA. In the debate in the Justice School, a student who was a guest and a PKK sympathiser on that day defended friendship with the USA and said, "Now put this Marxist stuff to one side."

That's how their minds work. We are from the Stone Age in their eyes. Is

this their responsibility? No. The ideological power there is the PKK. The PKK is the real and sole responsibility of those living now. But I also add that despite ignorance, the people are ahead of the HDP and the PKK. For example, when we talk about the PKK's attack on civilians in Ankara, they thought that the attack on people is wrong – and this was a period when minds were confused by the state saying "you will see the power of the Turks!" while HDP leaders defended it by saying things like "Kurds are being killed, let Turks be killed". Which, I think, shows that we have a sound basis for talking about socialism. We are responsible for their negativity. We are not in Kurdistan, we have not told them of socialism, so the Kurdish people know only what is being said to them, or what they have lived through.

Second question to Gianfranco

If the USA is presented to Kurds as a saviour in the war in Syria, it seems to the Syrian people as if Russia is their saviour. Russia is not a socialist country, just like the United States it is there for its interests. In Palestine, similar massacres are happening while in Syria they do not help because they have interests. How do you, the revolutionaries, think these conflicts of interest should be made use of?

Gianfranco Castellotti:

Of course we know that Russia does not help with humanitarian intentions, they have their own interests.

But there is something wrong with a wall that collapses. If Syria falls, Iran will fall, and if they fall, Hezbollah will be destroyed. There are two fronts here - American and European imperialism and opposite, Russia, Syria, Brazil, South Africa and so on. Now what should we do? Syria is not a socialist country, of course. We should not abide by these two sides, we should build our own front.

Supplementary answer from Behic Asci

The strengthening of imperialism means the weakening of the peoples. This is why our own aim must be to weaken imperialism. Talking of Syria is needed. There is a people's resistance – to imperialism – and this is conscious resistance. Syria is not just resisting for itself but for peoples to come later. It is a gain for us wherever imperialism is halted. The masters have said, "If you don't know something, do the opposite of what the imperialists say." What is it necessary to do in Syria? If imperialism seeks to build itself up, we must seek to weaken it. This is the only solution we see.

General question

Stress has been laid on internationalism here. The war may grow even wider in Syria. In your view, can we revolutionaries engage in armed solidarity in Syria?

Nurhan Yilmaz:

Every kind of organisational form that supports the resistance of the peo-

ples must be tried. We support the peoples at whatever point they resist, and this is very important for us. We set out from our own country to expose imperialist aggression, and work can be done on this.

Behic Asci:

We can say both yes and no. Building up the revolutionary struggle in your own country already means to push back imperialism. As the masters said, "The greatest internationalist duty is making the revolution in your own country." Both are also possible. Of course taking a weapon in hand and going to fight for a country under imperialist attack – there is nothing against that. Or to build up the struggle in your own country... In my opinion that is the more effective method. Building up the struggle in your own country will reduce the imperialist capacity to fall upon Syria.

Nurhan Yilmaz:

We will be acting more concretely if we think that their basic training takes place in Turkey.

Behic Asci:

The Syrian people also think that way. If we cut off their logistic support, Syria will finish things there inside a year.

Those who know the region know this. The jihadis have medical treatment centres and camps there. Every activity against them pushes imperialism back and will make it possible for the peoples to move forward.

[Question] What is the class situation with Rojava? What is the situation with economic exploitation by imperialism?

Nurhan Yilmaz:

Rojava has his own priorities. They explain that they have provided an ecological equilibrium for these priorities and rejected the existing state structure. Rojava consists of small regions and small cantons. More autonomous than organised. The small cantons are a structure that takes shape in the streets in itself. There are grounds for municipal affairs. It is not possible to talk about a state structure.

As a class structure, each canton has autonomy. They're all different. External relations continue through the Syrian state. Internal relations are based on solidarity. The reason for not calling it a revolution anyway is because of the lack of state structuring and economic activity. Since the economy cannot grow from its inner self, the cantons are trying to create a border by uniting cantons. But they say they oppose it in their declarations. This is due to the fact that imperialism has not made a clear decision about a nation state there. It looks like a buffer zone. There is no class, economic structure in itself.

Behic Asci:

First, it seems that a bourgeois class has not been created. There is no detailed knowledge but as far as we can see, the landlords, the feudal lords are like the dominant class. They are the class that is prone to cooperate with imperialism. The mass force is proba-

bly the villages, the peasantry. An economic structure? They are already in a war right now, and their work is hard. Already the border of Kurdistan has been reached. It is not clear where America will stand. For that reason, I do not think they will put economic structure on their agenda either. The Rojava Constitution - I think it is a dangerous constitution.

- Creating a collective, stateless society – amid imperialism?

-There are things in the constitution that do not seem to be what it is like living an ecological, democratic society. The main danger is that the relation of the classes is not discussed, which is something the bourgeoisie likes. Sovereign classes go unmentioned in bourgeois constitutions. Socialists, on the other hand, clearly state it in their constitutions.

[Supplementary written question – “private property” to Behic Asci] What is forbidden in socialism is the private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership is not prohibited in socialism. In socialism, if people's houses, cars or even economies are developed, it will be written into the constitution. In the case of the Rojava Constitution, this situation is not clearly stated...



2. DAY 1. SESSION

IMPERIALISM'S IDEOLOGICAL ATTACKS AND EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH HEGEMONY

Ali Araci (Grup Yorum)

You are all welcome... Today is the second day of our Eyup Bas 8th Symposium For Unity Of The Peoples Against Imperialist Aggression, on the second day it is our turn to speak and we are here together.

It has been a long time since I started at these symposiums eight years ago. I took part as a speaker in some of them, I took part in some of them as a spectator, but we have friends that come as guests every year and we remain friends. Some of us and our roads became separated, somehow they tended to arrive at compromise policies with imperialism, they did not come to our symposiums. But we believe in them and I at least am happy... I am trying to organise this symposium so that

we do not avoid this in the programme.

For example, in Tunisia, we had our guests from Tunisia in the first period (2011 Symposium) when the "revolution" exploded and the whole Middle East turned bloody. Of course, there was a very crowded audience. There was an audience of nearly 600 people at that time and those from Tunisia insisted on criticising us for not accepting what had happened in their countries as a "revolution". But it was a short time, only a matter of years before we were proved right, and the critics were mostly our young friends. Even our own very young friends saw the events very clearly. Because imperialism, or the hands of the United States, will not be of benefit to the people. Even our youngest children know that...

Today in this session we will talk about the ideological attacks by imperialism, its efforts to achieve hegemony. I would like to share with you what kind of a bond we have in our country. How it is based on Anatolian folk culture, how imperialism uses cultural attacks in its efforts to establish hegemony with imperialist cultural attacks and of course, how important all branches of music and art are. Of course we want to do what all of our friends, all of our artist friends, in our country and in the world, do; poetry, writing novels, producing stories, I will continue to talk about the necessity of this. Of course, every friend of ours will appreciate the area from where he or she is. We also have guests...

First of all, I would like to give the floor to Baris from the People's Engineers And Architects, who wage a major struggle against ideological hegemony in our country. It is a very important, very rooted tradition, and we are following their projects with enthusiasm. Because they are not just projects, never just social assistance, we see how the hegemony of all the people is taken away by imperialism by hiding information from our country and the peoples of the world, taking the knowledge for its own and using it for incitement. But with these projects our people have hopes, our country and the peoples of the world have hope. We make a little effort with very little information and actually see that the projects on which billions of lira are spent

can be very cheaply costed and the People's Engineers and the people's workshops are actually raising hopes and we have seen this today. I give the floor to Baris...

**Baris Yuksel
(People's Engineers And Architects)**

We are engineers and architects of the people. We use our professional knowledge for the people, and we produce solutions to the problems of the people together with the people. To briefly introduce our work:

Senay-Gulsum People's Garden: Imperialist food and medicine monopolies disseminate their poison among the peoples of the world. They feed us unhealthy GMO foods. Seed laws prevent us from making our own agricultural production. As an alternative to this, we established a people's garden in Kucukarmutlu in 2014. We made our garden beautiful with seeds from all over Turkey. The name of the people's garden is the Senay-Gulsum People's Garden in honour of Senay Hanoglu and Gulsuman Donmez, who were Armutlu's martyrs who died in the Death Fast in 2001.

We organise festivals every year in the people's garden. We have a seed planting festival in spring and a harvest festival in autumn. We planted a fountain for Dilek Dogan in the people's garden in the sowing ceremony we held last year.

The people's gardens have reached many places besides Armutlu. A people's garden was established in Cigli-

Guzeltepe and Dogancay in Izmir. In Antalya, people's gardens were established in Diyarbakir. A public garden will be established in Dersim-Ovacik in the near future.

The Ferhat Gercek Walker: Ferhat Gercek was wounded by a police bullet and paralysed when he was selling Yuruyus magazine in Yenibosna in 2007, when he was 16 years old. Because the spinal cord is paralysed, he cannot use his lower limbs. We aimed to produce a walker to lift Ferhat onto his feet and by the end of 2013 we were able to produce it. We raised our comrade to his feet, after the police had made it impossible for him to walk.

On the other hand, the handicapped are nothing but a burden for the established order. As Marx said, "Capitalism cuts down the tree when it cannot sell its shade." This system will imprison people with disabilities at home and will do nothing to integrate them into society. On the other hand, revolutionaries have to solve the problems of the handicapped and to solve the problem of being trapped between four walls. The Ferhat Gercek Walker is a solution for disabled people who cannot walk and are condemned to a wheelchair.

There are walkers produced on the market, but they are very expensive. Sold for 60-70 thousand lira. The capitalist system says that if you are handicapped but have money it has plenty of solutions for you. We produced the Ferhat Gercek Walker ourselves at a cost of 4,000-5,000 lira.

Hasan Ferit Gedik Wind Turbine: Electricity is very expensive in our country. If we receive 100 lira for electricity use, 50 lira go to the state and energy monopolies. In response, we started to work at the beginning of 2014 for electricity generation with the wind turbine, saying that the people could produce their own electricity. In 2016 we were able to produce a turbine in Armutlu to meet most of the needs of a house. We did not use ready-made parts for the turbine, we produced all parts by ourselves. This is also the struggle for independence in our production against the assembly industry, which we are obliged to rely on in our country, a neo-colony of imperialism.

So far we have built wind turbines in three different places. We gave it the name of Hasan Ferit Gedik, the son of Armutlu who was murdered during a march carried out against gangs in Gulsuyu in 2013.

Cayan Gun Water Turbine: Karsel village, connected to Dersim's Hozat district, was evacuated by the state in 2010 as a "terror zone" - they have cut off the electricity and basic needs. Just one single family has stayed. The family has been living in the dark in the village for years.

We went to this village in August 2016. There is a stream near the village. We think that we can get electricity by establishing a water wheel below this stream, we can give light to the village. We worked for the production of this water wheel, we succeeded in solving

the electricity problem by working on it while repeatedly visiting the village in October-November. Again, we produced all parts of the water turbine again ourselves. We gave the name of Cayan Gun, one of Dersim's falcons (a martyred guerrilla) to the water turbine.

Mushroom production: 1.2 billion people in the world go to bed at night hungry. In our country, 20% of the population live below the hunger limit. The reason for hunger is imperialism. What they spend exclusively on cat and dog food is the amount that can end the deaths caused by starvation in the world. The ultimate solution to hunger is to remove the imperialist system altogether, but in the meantime there are solutions to hunger that the people can produce. One of them is mushrooms. Fungus has nourishing properties in relation to red meat. It is easy to grow and produce in a short time. As engineers and architects of the people, we have started to work to produce mushrooms. We are building a mushroom house in Armutlu to produce mushrooms in suitable conditions. We're doing house renovations right now.

On-Site and Local Improvement Projects: Working people's neighbourhoods like Armutlu where the revolutionaries are organised are ones the state would like to destroy. On the one hand, they are trying to destroy our houses, while on the other hand we are working to improve the conditions of our houses in the neighbourhood. We organised an architectural contest in

Armutlu with the academicians and architectural students in the Architects' Assembly. We started the construction of Dilek Dogan Park in Armutlu in September 2016 and put down the foundations of the park. The AKP fascists, in October, uprooted the foundations. In this year we will found Dilek Dogan Park.

Armutlu Cemevi and Culture Centre: The Cem and culture house we are in at the moment is one of the construction projects of the People's Engineers And Architects.

We do not see the work we do as a public service. We do not see it as a social responsibility project. So we are not a group of engineers who run from there to there and establish turbines and set up gardens. We do not have the power to do all these things, nor do we have enough time. We can do nothing if we are cut off from the people and the people cannot strengthen us. Most examples might serve as indicators for projects, but cannot organise the people.

Our aim is to show that the solution of the problems of the people is possible, that the solution is through solidarity and organisation, to show the people their own strength and potential. It shows that the source of the problems of the people is this unjust and exploitative system. It shows that their problems are not independent of the problems of all sections of the people. Most fundamentally - that their problems cannot be resolved within this

system and that the solution is in struggling to set up an independent, democratic, socialist Turkey by overthrowing this system. It shows that it is to pass through an anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchic people's revolution.

Finally: 40 days ago Olcay Abalay from the People's Engineers And Architects was taken into custody in Dersim, where he went to demonstrate the water turbine, and he is currently detained in Silivri Prison. The excuse given for imprisonment is the engineering and architectural work for the people we have just mentioned. Every week for Olcay Abalay, we protest in front of the Taurus statue in Kadikoy on Tuesdays. We will continue our actions until Olcay Abalay is released. Let's write a letter to Olcay Abalay, let's not leave our companions on their own in the isolation cells...

Ali Araci:

We thank the people's engineer Baris. Now, I would like to call our beloved Stefan, who has long been in our symposiums and besides symposiums, follows closely the many political struggles in our country...

[Stefan Petrov - 23 September Movement, Bulgaria] Hello friends. First of all, thank you for inviting us. It is very important to be here. It is very important to share your experiences. I would like to say that I am very impressed here not only with the People's Front, but also with different organisations from many countries of the world. We were here in previous years, and we

are aware of how much effort goes into the civil engineering work at the Cemevi. By building such a place you have shown that there is an alternative to the world capitalist system. And you did it, you put it into practice. It's a small example, but I think it's very important that we show it to all people. I am very pleased to share your experiences here.

I will talk about what happened in Bulgaria. In particular I will talk about the ideological hegemony of imperialism and ideological struggle. First, I want to make a few historical points. Regarding where we came from and where we are going...

After the anti-fascist struggle in Bulgaria, socialism was established. Within a period of 45 years, we would like to state that the production was publicly owned. It was something unprecedented for the Bulgarian people in the socialist state administration. In the socialist era, almost every kind of industry was present in our country. Especially with the help of the Soviet Union, Bulgarians went far, and it was a state that was even able to send people into space. We were the 6th country to send someone into space and at the same time the 20th country according to the human development index of the UN, and at that time it was perhaps the only period in the last century that Bulgaria had national sovereignty.

We had a very large people's army to defend our lands and to defend the successes of the socialist revolution. Of

course, services such as the health system and education were completely free and accessible to all. Since the title of our session is ideological struggle, there was a very serious cultural life in the socialist period in Bulgaria. Almost all the universities we have today were built during the socialist era, and many cultural centres and libraries were opened. At the same time cinemas and theatres were developed by the state, people's theatres were opened all over the country. And at the same time, they built huge concert halls and cultural centres.

In addition, drugs came into the country only with the dissolution of socialism. So we can say that the state created conditions. It created favourable conditions for the cultural development of the people. As you know, in 1956 many serious ideological changes took place in most countries of the eastern bloc. What happened under the pretext of the personality cult, cult of personality and attacking Stalinism was the revision of the environment of Marxism-Leninism, in 1956 it was revised. And the biggest problem created is the denial of class struggle. If you've already won, you do not need a war anymore, they said. And during this period, policies such as living in peace with imperialism were proposed, and it was one of the turning points of this ideological struggle. Because it taught us a very important lesson. Imperialism exists and you cannot reject fighting against it, you have to fight it. And after

a while we can now see where rejecting this led.

After the revisionist development process in 1988, capitalism was restored in 1989 in Bulgaria and in all the socialist countries in the east. As a result, the basic means of production were privatised or completely destroyed. We lost our national sovereignty. And the army we used to have, the Bulgarian People's Army, the army protecting the socialist state was abandoned. It has been transformed into a very small army and is now practically destroyed. The Bulgarian army is no longer able to protect our country. I suppose that Bulgaria is a colony of imperialism at the moment, I guess it will not be wrong for anyone here to say that. And officially there are four American bases in our country. But there may well be more and nobody knows the exact number. And the Bulgarian state has no right to know what is going on at these American bases. These are not even military bases of NATO, but American military bases.

At the same time, the status of the working class is getting worse each year, if we come to that. There is very serious unemployment, there is hunger, there is poverty... Many people do not have houses to live in, the education, the health system, each of these services has passed through privatisation processes. And every day fewer people get access to these services. And, of course, the foreign banks have a very serious impact on our country. Our

country now lives with loans from foreign banks. And we have started to live with problems like alcoholism and drugs and our experience in Turkey is of great importance to us as a society. Drug dealers are selling drugs under state protection. For this reason, the struggle against the prostitutes and drug dealers is very important to us.

All the national culture formed in the socialist period has been wrecked and destroyed. And imperialism has established absolute ideological hegemony in our country.

I want to talk about capitalism and its restoration here. It did not come from below, but on the contrary. The ruling Communist Party was actually the party that carried out capitalist restoration. For this reason, many people have an ideological antipathy to it. They are disappointed by the Communist ideology and more open to believing in the lies of imperialism. They believe socialism is a utopia. They are more open to believing such imperialist lies.

Numerous institutions that follow the ideological line of imperialism are in our country today. These institutions are financed by the West, especially by the United States. I will talk about two of them here.

I will talk about the Association of America and the Open Side Association for Bulgaria. You have heard of Soros's open community project, George Soros gives millions of dollars every year to different media organisa-

tions or NGOs. But the specific American Association for Bulgaria –t his is an American association. An association financed directly by the US government. And the budget is \$400 million. They are distributing this money to different places, creating think tanks. Consumer culture is imposed and disseminated among the people. Society's moral collapse and disintegration is engendered. The biggest thing is anti-Communism. They say everything in the socialist era was bad. They are talking about how bad socialism is and how good it is now that the country is constantly in a soccer game, or any cultural activity, all day long without any reason. They only attack socialism. Bulgaria has very deep traditional folk values. Like solidarity and collectivism... They brought nihilism and multiculturalism instead. The main goal of the ideological fight by imperialism is to hide the truth and the reality that imperialism destroys our country and colonises our country.

I just want to add this. The only solution for us is to break from these terrible material conditions, to get rid of them and to build a revolutionary movement in Bulgaria, to raise the flag of resistance against imperialist oppression. However, we are trying to build an alternative revolutionary culture, the culture of the people. And this is also our goal, to re-orient our lives in the direction of our goal. Of course, we want to express our solidarity with the struggle of the peoples all over the world,

against imperialism. That's why we're here. To share our labour. We will win, we are sure we will win again, because right is on our side. Right is on our side, thank you very much. Victory is near.

[Ali Araci] My dear Stefan was not so detailed about Bulgaria in his own words but he gave a summary in terms of ideological hegemony. In this brief 10-15 minutes, he introduced a brief summary of how he has imperialism enters a country and conquers its people in general. We are in Turkey and we know this politics very well, we have always been encouraged to enter the European Union, Europe for many years we have been told that our people will gain prosperity when we enter Europe. In fact, even big organisations that call themselves left-wing in this country took the lead on this. All the people in our country were given great and false hopes in this regard in the name of the excellence of the European Union. That's why what Stefan said is important. Thank you again.

There is a brief message to our Symposium on worker's resistance in America.

"Solidarity Message from the Workers' World Party...

Dear comrades...

On behalf of the Workers' World Party, we would like to send our revolutionary greetings to the participants in the 8th Eyup Bas Symposium For Unity Of The Peoples Against Imperialism. We send our greetings to the oppressed workers of Ukraine and

Donbass. As the effects of American imperialism increased, in 2006, we witnessed a great deal of action by immigrant workers. Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter in the US - actions such as these have confronted police terrorism.

At the moment, the struggle of the working class in the US has become much more intense with the advent of the far rightist oligarch Donald Trump in the United States. As we have seen in the last weeks, from the People's Republic of Korea to Syria, from Afghanistan to Venezuela, attacks are becoming more and more violent. The global crisis requires from us a more rigorous solidarity of genuine revolutionary forces in every country. This is why we are very happy when we see your initiative.

Today we are in the streets against the war against Syria, against the persecution of our immigrant girls and brothers. We will salute our comrades by massive participation in May 1 in the USA. So let us fight the imperialist monsters once and for all until we have removed them forever.

Free political prisoners!

Free Grup Yorum prisoners!

Down with Sultan Erdogan and US imperialism,

International Solidarity!

Workers' World USA

Greetings from the International Committee of the Workers' World Party..."

Ali Araci:

We also thank our American friends. Now we call on Maksim to speak. Let us hear what he has to say about ideological hegemony in his country.

**Maksim Firsov
(Russia)**

I congratulate you all as it is Lenin's birthday.

Speaking for myself, I will talk about the new methods that imperialism uses to protect and strengthen its own sovereignty. Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Moldova and Georgia.

We Communists regard the revolution as a normal course of the evolutionary process. But if we look at the last 30 years, we have seen "revolutions". We have seen many revolutions. Of course we cannot call them revolution, and we do not, but still a very large number of people participate in them.

Why is it so? How is it that imperialism has taken our method, our revolution, which is ours... I think I need to examine control over societies in order to answer this question.

In 1991, the classical division of the world was completed and many problems began to emerge, with a major demographic departure. The next development was more towards the base.

1- What does this mean to the base, it is the removal of the barriers to capital's progress.

2- Large-scale credits granted by capitalists to people to spend more

money.

3- The destruction of places where money is more like an alternative to socialist states, the subversion of ideological projects.

4- Deliberate brakes put on the social sciences.

5- Far more control mechanisms on scientific technology.

6- The imperialist social aspect is created not only by production but also by consumption

7- Investing in the most conservative movements and ideologies to keep societies under control.

8- Of course, all of these require a bigger approach and major arguments. But let's take a look at what these mechanisms do in our countries...

After the collapse of the Soviets, there was a huge flow of finance into the post-Soviet countries from the Western countries. With this finance, new generations of intellectuals, activists, journalists and civil servants were created to replace the people of the Soviet Union. Books were printed with this money, laws were enacted, art and culture were financed. Imperialism quickly provided a service to itself, and it never grudged spending the money.

I must say that they tried to create an ideological autonomy in all of these states to arrive at what they wanted, and that is, in fact, that they have no international Western values, they only sought to impose their own cultures and values. It is said that the Ukrainian nationality is actually an old nationality



in Ukraine, that it has existed for 4,000 years, even 11,000 years, and that the Ukrainians, even the predecessors of the Ukrainians, have invaded the Black Sea and had even excavated the Black Sea. It was just a solution for them to use against the Russians.

In Moldova, on the contrary, they say that there is no such thing as Moldovans, in fact we are all Romanians, and the Moldovan language was created by the Soviets. They did it to make peoples enemies among themselves and then to use them.

In Russia, those who own Western cultures began to make comments on history. People have begun to talk back and forth about World War II, for example, to be ashamed of their own his-

tory. They were doing it only to make people ashamed of themselves for Soviet times. But now we can say that they have not succeeded.

But the vast majority of the people still miss the Soviets and we have seen it in Donbass because without the participation of any Communist parties people themselves poured out into the streets with red flags. Left-wing people, unionists and some Trotskyists were used by them to domesticate real socialism for today, but not all of them.

Criticisms of the Soviets are always based on the same lies. First they have Stalin, then they go to Lenin. Then they are starting to criticise World War II. In fact, imperialism itself is trying to improve the propaganda methods of the

Communists.

Independent trade unions are included in the International Trade Union Confederation of the Russian Confederation. This Confederation also passed over to the Free Trade Union International Conference in 2006. This organisation was established in the 1940s. The main reason was struggle against Communism. Even today, they organise seminars for workers at trade union meetings, and throw dirt at the Soviets.

With this help, for example, they are able to control union organisations in Russia. For example, if we look at unions in Ukraine, we see that their views are the same as those of international imperialist centres. These are not the unions affiliated with the Ukrainian state but the unions who call themselves independent.

There are two very vital problems facing imperialism today.

1- It does not allow an alternative place for capital accumulation other than the USA. For example, Libya was such a country in North Africa.

2. Taking into account the development of alternative ideological models...

These two issues are in fact very connected. Today we see the work of the imperialist world countries. There is only one principle, no system that does not advance in their view, they will not allow any other ideological and economic system. For example, in some countries we have seen armed groups and things called colour revolu-

tion. Preparations for all of this started in the 1990s. For example, in popular culture, chaotic trends and mainstream media...

The chaos they want to create is not spontaneous, but is created and organised by them, under their control. For this, imperialists have everything. Firstly they have social bases, a middle class base.

There are organisations that receive money for different things, for example, they do very different things, but when they are needed they are all in the same political situation. They have their fights, but although they have very different ideologies, in fact, without looking at their ideological contradictions, we see how they are, and that they are always the same as the liberals of the West.

They keep the national bourgeoisie and civil servants under control, and of course they have access to what they want with the media and the Internet. It must be said that imperialists have their supporters in many parties and organisations throughout the political spectrum. For example, there are imperialist Communists, anarchists, Trotskyists, nationalists and Islamists. They have no ideological constraints, they are open to everything that works for them. It is very important to have external factors to counter a system based on such lies. These factors, for example, were once the socialist countries. They had always been labelled as symbols of evil. After the year 2000, international

terrorism started to happen.

For example, we often see terror in Europe and the United States. By using the Western monopoly on the media, they are actually denying the existing ties of terrorists that we all know. If we watch the news, there are terrorists everywhere... They are everywhere. We do not know which ideology they are involved in, but there is always terror in some places, there is a perception of fear everywhere.

Journalists have become more amateur, so professional journalists do not oppose such things and reveal what is really going on. For example, if we compare today's articles with those of the 1970s, we can see this very clearly.

As I said above, the imperialists sometimes need help from the rightists, Islamists, the religious and even gods, and use them from time to time. Liberal society accepts their thoughts as very normal, which shows how inferior intellectuals are in fact in liberal society. As I have said before, imperialist hegemony is ready to use everybody, without bothering who they are, what kind of components are present. All that matters is what will work for them.

We can look at the issue in Ukraine, for example, the social base of nationalists in Ukraine began to be middle class. This category has different sides. For example, in their own ideology, their interests are always the same as the interests of global imperialism. Their income is mostly from Western organisations. Either they work in indi-

vidual Western campaigns or they are infiltrating the country through other means. When there are crises they have big problems because actually they want to lead a nice life. Because of that, they do not like crises at all. They have social Darwinist ideas. They hate the working class.

These are the petite bourgeoisie who are more financially supported within the country. We can see this in the example of Automaidan in Ukraine. The middle and upper classes of the country joined the organising of Automaidan, and they began to fight Antimaidan, the anti-fascists, anti-fascist people. And they call us the Donetsk Rubbish Dump.

And indeed, the south-east of the country was a complete industrial zone, and they hated us, always trying to humiliate us, and they called us the garbage of the south-east. The identification of the petite bourgeoisie as a support base for fascism was evident here.

The demands of the capitalists to protect their own sovereignty also manifest themselves in historical, scientific and political development. They put a brake on it and it takes the form of conservatism and reaction. We see the flowering of reaction today. A nationalist thinker flourishes and grows... For example, a type of Christian shirt is gradually becoming almost compulsory. This did not happen in the 1990s, the Soviet period or even under Tsarism.

Finally, what must the Communists do in this situation?

We must evaluate our historical position very well. For example, in the last 20 years we lost our avant-garde positions and many began tailing the liberals ideologically. In order not to move away from the popular culture and the pavement, the language of the leftists changed a little. Western intellectual thought from around the middle of the 20th century began to be taught in universities as left-wing thought, and in many places now we can no longer understand what they are talking about.

After that, the reformist parties and the left media came and eventually we could not speak in our own language. We must begin to call everything again by its right name. We must call imperialism imperialism, fascism fascism, armed struggle armed struggle. We can solve this second problem by means of correct understanding and agitation and propaganda.

The second problem I would say is one of preparing the masses of people for the future. For example we can see this in Ukraine, in Ukraine everything could turn in the space of two months and in a country without war, a civil war could begin. Politicians, activists in Ukraine – nobody was ready for this, for example. Only those who were organising it were ready for it and they organised this war.

Of course, these wars and "revolutions", such as the Arab Spring, may also take place in post-Soviet countries.

And for this we should be ready. We must take lessons from the past, we must teach ourselves about all of these events and reclaim revolution for ourselves. Because the revolution is ours and Belarus and Russia are at the centre of imperialist interests, but tomorrow Kazakhstan or some other place might be.

The third issue is to divide up our international solidarity and practices. The issues in Ukraine showed us. It showed that we could get support from neighbouring countries, both politically and in the form of arms. We need to deepen the relationship between us. Because we have not been able to make the associations we established in 2014 in the propaganda of an entire 20-year period. Now we have not only our politicians but our fighters too. These are the people who will protect us when a civil war takes place. For this reason, I am grateful to the organisers of the anti-imperialist symposium for giving us this opportunity. Because they let us make connections with people from other countries.

Ali Araci

First Stefan, then Maksim made reference to their own countries. On the one hand the EU was joined, and then we saw what happened in the EU what exploitation there was and how corruption and division were organised among the peoples.

On the Ukrainian and Russian sides, weapons began to speak, and through a trade union in a country where no war

would ever take place, we saw that George Soros and imperialist nations attacked, using imperialism's enormous financial means, in order to conquer civil society, as it was formed. This is also an important aspect of what Maksim described. In other words, we live in our own country and all over the world, imperialism implements occupation with these methods in an open, secret, military or non-military way. I want to say a few things about non-military methods.

Of course, ideological hegemony is also achieved with political means, but one of the most important tools is art. They engage in artistic ideological hegemony.

How do they do it... For example, the CIA produces 800 culture and art magazines. We know that the American air and naval bases make a culture-art programme for nearly 1,500 radio stations. And they are trying to get their culture and art to the peoples all over the world.

For example, Vietnam... It is known that the Vietnam War is thought to have been won by America in many parts of the world and America itself. In our childhood we grew up with Rambo movies and the heroes were Americans and the "oppressed" were rescued from the bad Vietnamese by Rambo.

But what is real, what is historically true?

The US occupied Vietnam, and the Vietnamese people gave a lesson to the United States with great resistance. It's

the truth, but it's not enough to express it here. We also need to look at ideological hegemony from here. We can express it here, we can talk among us, but millions, billions of people think that America is the victor. How do you do this? Through movies...

The other side is using music for it. For example, 1968 in Europe and in our country in the 1960s... Very big rock festivals were held in America. The Beatles, Rolling Stones were so big. I was surprised when I read it, something very funny...

The British group Beatles would fly to America, and a concert will be held in America. They have a very greedy manager. Someone named Brian Epstein is the Beatles manager.

They hire 2,000 young people in America, the Beatles are going to land in America, they are destroying all the airports, they are tearing them down... They do not know the Beatles, but they are a new group, but they are on all TV channels, the cameras and all the reporters are there, what is it, what is happening... Artificially they get peoples' minds worked up when the artist arrives, we have to cry like this, we need to tear at ourselves... This is all deliberately stirred up.

When we look today, we have a star named Tarkan who is a mega-star (in Turkey), and we are waiting for him too... Tarkan goes to the airport at midnight, there are 40-50 young girls at midnight... We too arrive at the airport but we have never seen anything like

this... For example, nobody knows we are arriving... Where do you get the money to hire the cameras, have the young people ready, Tarkan has come to my country... Of course, there will be no money to bring 2,000 people, but they can gather probably 40-50 people. That makes a mega-star. In other words, they need a star, but in fact, they artificially put up a barricade between artists and people.

On the other side, millions of people are encouraged to live that splendid life. Then every word that comes out of them is made law, a rule all over the world. Drugs were marketed through them. For example, Amy Winehouse was a female artist. She lost her life at a young age. But on all TVs and newspapers it was told in full headlines how to use narcotics, how to live such a life and it was encouraged.

With these, our young people, millions of people, Amy Winehouse is missed. It is a shame, of course, that a young person dies. But it is the producers, the big money men that provoke such that when the musicians get huge amounts of money, they get millions of people used to drugs and they lose their lives. It does not just occupy with arms, millions of people are injecting poison into our bodies, injecting drugs. On the other side, Europe is making America's propaganda.

Our friends from Turkey now know these things, and as far as I can tell, many of our guests know about foundations. For this reason, I do not want

to say too much...

I want to touch on this. So what are we going to do, what do we have to do?

We are very confident that despite all the means possessed by imperialism, the possibilities for money and their great technical capacity, the socialists have produced the greatest and most powerful works of the world. They have produced greater artists.

For example, to counter Picasso they bring out a painter named Dali famous for his thin moustaches... You know he was a fascist. Salvador Dali is fascist and says that I wake up today and how I, the wonderful Salvador Dali, will create beauty... This is what he said when interviewed. A person who produces such an image cannot be permanent. They cannot make art for the people. For this reason, they can produce something through possessing great material means during a period, but nothing that can last. It is impossible for them to compete with artists of the people.

We have the world's greatest novelists again. They cannot produce. People who write lots of novels get money, invest money and even get Nobel Prizes for Literature. Who do they give such awards? Nobels, Oscars... They give them to those who betray their own people.

For example, Iranian films are also described. But which films from Iran receive Oscars? Of course there is Islamic (government) pressure, it is bad, but why do they get Oscars all the time.

We see that Iranian films that say the Iranian regime is bad are promoted by America. No, let's look at it from the point of view of the people. Let us look at films that have people's values. Let's not praise the films that praise America, and end by showing the US flag. They are not actually people's art in a true sense. But it is assumed that it is good if it gets an Oscar... If it has a Nobel Prize it must be good for the people.

Instead let us say this: socialists in the true sense produced the great works of the world. Maksim Gorky is ours, Pablo Neruda is ours, Nazim Hikmet has produced some of the world's greatest works, and this poet is ours.

Before coming here, we had a chat with our guests. A Greek musician friend gave us a small example. In Athens, the military junta supported folk music, traditional music. For this reason, the progressives, the leftists always stood apart, they made a different kind of music. They played a folk song, and when a person passed by, their eyes gleamed and they formed a connection. In fact, the people have taught, and the people teach us. We should develop it. We have to expand on the emotion that comes from the people.

I think each of us has to be responsible for what our minds produce. There is no special group of artist created by Allah. If we think that then we will be racist, friends. There are no special artists created by God, we are creating with our labour. And we all have political ideas... Who will write poetry,

who will compose music, who will produce cinema, photography. Somebody else will not come, dear friends, we will be the ones who must do it. We will do it here in our country, and we must build it together with our guests.

Mayakovsky said something similar in his own language, his own country. Hasan Huseyin in our country also described the same thing... Hasan Huseyin was criticised by the youth of his time, you are engaging in art, you are not interested in the fight, they said. Today they tell us in Grup Yorum too, sometimes very young friends, you are making art, but we fight on the street, you sing songs on stage. Of course we have to be in the fight. That is what Hasan Huseyin says...

Poem

Poetry is not water in the flask,

It is not bread in the bag.

Poetry is not a roll of coins attached to the belt.

True, if these are not present in the fight, humans cannot survive...

But, of course, poetry can remain alive if there is no more water in the flask, no bread left in the bag, and no rolls of coins on the belt.

Returning to the topic, we stand by the songs of Grup Yorum, the songs of Ruhi Su and our masters' poems. No torture can take us down.

Torture because it is something carried out primarily for the mind, not for the body. All torture is inflicted to affect the mind. And our history is keeping our minds alive. These songs are our

history. For this reason, we have to produce. We have to teach the art of the people.

And of course we cannot write for this reason either. Perhaps it is not like that for our guests in their own culture, but there is something like this, this is how we grew up. We are peasant children, children of the people... We are ashamed to get up and sing somewhere. We are ashamed to string two words together...

Even then if you read poetry... Reading poetry is the work of melancholic, petit bourgeois lovers.

Is that so, really? They told us that poetry is not like that, we are just learning this all over again.

We have a problem like this, friends, we have to write poetry, we have to compose music, we will sing.

We share our work, it may be bad, we tell each other here we can do better. Never, in no experiment, in the first experiment did the best work emerge. No scientist ever developed their invention from the first experiment alone.

We believe that art will emerge this way, we will criticise each other, but as our artist experts come from the people, even if imperialism attacks with all its power, we will still produce art with our people by learning from our people.

Let me finish here... We have printed thousands of invitations, we have a concert tomorrow.

Our concert is banned, we do not have any media monopolies, we do not

have access to the press.

But those invitations are not big money. Our people are very interested in these invitations. Of course you can go and close the Yenikapi Square with TOMA (water cannon) military vehicles. But no state has such power, there are not hundreds of thousands of TOMAs. We sing these songs in our own houses, we sing these songs in our squares and will continue to do so. For this reason, even if there are no large amounts of money, we will go to the people, no power can succeed without the people. We will put on our concert tomorrow. Nothing can prevent it. Everybody will perform our concerts wherever they are.

In our own country we must also have links with foreign artists in terms of art. Imperialism is organising concerts at festivals and it is doing so with huge amounts of money. We do it with solidarity. We will learn from our people, learn from our guests and share it. For this reason I think the organisation here is very important.

I hope that we can build a similar organisation with artists in many countries. Let us come together as artists against imperialism in the Artists' Front (Sanat Cephesi). Let us produce, and produce works much better than those of imperialism. And let them reach everywhere.

Imperialism will be defeated, the peoples that resist will win.



2. DAY 2. SESSION

TERROR AND TERRORISM DEMAGOGY AS IMPERIALIST POLICY OF IMPEDING THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Selçuk Kozçağlı

In this session we will talk about the opposition which is being done away with by accusing them as terrorist, by terrorist demagogy and tagging them as terrorist. Apropos of opposing people, organisations and associations. All of our guests who will speak today here, will talk about the stories of political organisations, countries or organisations that were being abolished by the imperialism or its political powers in different countries by tagging them as terrorist. I too will try to make an evaluation of the political and legal situation of the terrorist labelling.

Fikret Akar:

I will try to relate briefly our struggle with the drugs which opened the way to the fascist raids we were exposed to as Centre for Struggle and Liberation of Drugs “Hasan Ferit Gedik“, an organisation which took its share of the fascist assaults by the means of terror demagogy.

First of all, I would like to welcome our guests and everyone present. We, Centre for Struggle and Liberation of Drugs “Hasan Ferit Gedik“, are a centre that offers free treatment for our people that got addicted. However, we adopted a completely different under-

standing from the one the other treatment centres established with the same objective had, both in the sense of the the method and in the general sense of the struggle against drugs.

Our centre was opened on 15th of July 2014. I will explain the difference in our understanding of the treatment with the other institutions in the period since that day until today. This explanation shows the way to the better understanding of the process which was nearly three years long.

Other therapy centres linked to the state carry out the drug therapy by purifying the body from the substances. As a matter of fact, the addiction is psychological. The body can be purified from the substance in a few weeks. However, due to the lack of treatment for the psychological addiction, after the therapy the patient begins to the substance again as soon as he returns to the normal life. For this reason, the treatments that are intended to be carried out in those centres cannot be successful. In addition, due to carrying out those therapies mostly with other drugs, the patients becomes addicted to them. Basically, we carry out the therapy for the patient's addiction by resolving the issues which open the way to it. While repairing the patient's relations with its family and surroundings as much as possible, we try to be of assistance after the therapy in order for him not to start using again. During the therapy we do not use any addictive medicine, we use therapy

without drugs as a base. Collective life, and especially the life based on solidarity, helping one another and sharing, dominates our centre. Shortly, we define this as a therapy based on the human virtues and on love for the people and the fatherland.

Again it is necessary for us to clarify that we know that this problem cannot be resolved only by providing therapy for our people that came in the situation of addiction. If it's necessary to explain the circumstances by widely used example: to be satisfied with the treatment of our people addicted to drug substances is to think that the problem is solved by killing flies while sitting in a bog. Whereas, if the bog does not dry up, we know that even more people will wither away in it. Because the problem of drugs is not a problem that exists and spreads by itself. On the contrary, it is a policy of the state and the system which has been carried out in a systematic way. It is estimated that there are 5 million addicts in our country. The age of commencement of drug use has dropped to 11. The drugs are being sold in front of the secondary schools and even in the school canteens. Every other day the drug abuse increases. It is virtually being spread as quickly as an epidemic disease and takes away from us what we love. For this reason, as it is understood from the name of our institution, while we treat addicts, together with our people we actually aim at organising the struggle against drugs and dry-

ing up this swamp. With this goal we are trying to involve our people into the struggle.

We never charge our patients in any way. We provide a free therapy. As for our requirements, we are meeting them with the assistance of the people and solidarity. It is principally small shops that explain our goals to the every section of our people and we see that our people is very sensible for this topic. They are certainly helping us according to the possibility. That way our people has joined the struggle. In the period of nearly two years we have treated over 400 people with this understanding. We had successful results with our understanding of the therapy which we tried to develop and which we are still developing. We could say that we developed an example in this field and obtained an influential position.

Here, the rulers who impose drugs as a policy got uncomfortable due to such development and got seized by anxiety. By making our people addicted, they hit two birds with one stone. While it is necessary to rebel against the system of exploitation and oppression, when the struggle for rights and justice is needed, they block this struggle and get rich from this policy by reducing millions of people to addicts.

They attacked us a number of times because they did not want to have their plans spoiled. They threw hundreds of tear gas bombs into our institution. Fi-

nally by taking the advantage of the emergency state, on August 31st 2016. they raided our institution in the middle of the night and occupied it. Our patients were detained and threatened. Today we continue to treat our patients in an apartment flat. However, small area and possibilities with caretakers make the therapy difficult with the quality that we wanted. In spite of all impossibilities, even if it's necessary to do it in a flat, while we are trying to show that the therapy will be possible to carry out, we are trying to organise a struggle to build a treatment centre by showing that we will not be stopped by the fascist occupation and taking over of our institution's offices. We will bring this treatment centre to life that will cost us millions of lira with the aid, solidarity and support from our people.

Here I want to speak out to all our friends: we desire and wait for everyone to help out with this campaign. We want them to assist not only in the material sense, we want them to be workers on our campaign as well. In order to show our friends and enemies and everyone else that will will grow our struggle with greater determination against the intent to block us by occupying our therapy centre again, we will open Centre for Struggle and Liberation of Drugs "Hasan Ferit Gedik" in many places all over the country. The places where we will open the therapy centre in the first phase are: Okmeydanı, Çayan, Sarıgazi and Gaziantep.

The struggle will continue with the slogan “Drugs kill, the struggle brings to life” and in order to overcome all obstructions, we will dry out this bog by ensuring our own struggle and solidarity and support from of our people. Thank you all.

Selçuk Kozagaçlı

We also thank you dear Fikret both for this presentation, and we thank the therapy centre which put all of its strength into the struggle against the drugs while waving the flag with the name of Hasan Ferit.

I would like to remind you of two things understood from the speech which draw the attention. The first one of these is seeing how this work is being blocked by the terrorist labelling of the people who struggle to resolve this issue instead of solving the drug problem that the world accepted as formally in words and paper and which couldn't find any supporter nor advocate. This is one of the most important topics which this session wanted to draw the attention to.

The second one is related to the reason why it was not possible to seize this very brave and creative movement which transformed a public building for the use of such a fruitful labour, a building that was used in a bold and extremely brave initiative, then taken aside for useless work. I went to the Centre many times and I was witness of people who live next to it saying: “No, let them stay here, let them appropriate this place. They defend our

lives and our children”. If you make it part of the people sufficiently, the terrorist state propaganda cannot achieve any kind of labelling. The centre is a very powerful example of this and it will continue being so. Now we will talk about a country. Naim recently came from North Korea. North Korea is a faraway country that the imperialists strive to proclaim a terrorist and threaten with wiping it and it's people away. However, they resist with the force, will and honour... Naim will share with us the impressions related to them. Welcome Naim.

Naim Eminoğlu

First of all, in my speech I will give answers to what we did and why did we go to Korea. What we did in Korea? In fact, we went to Korea during a very difficult period. That's how it looked like from here.

The aim of our visit was the 105th birthday of the founding president Kim Il-Sung. The people of Korea celebrate this event every year in the form of a national holiday. They invited us in the honour of this birthday and we went there in the name of People's Front. Just in the time of going to Korea, a rumour appeared: America sent the ships which will attack Korea, it prepares the missiles and such... Also it was being rumoured about the state of emergency in Korea and China. Right at that time, we still did not pass to Korea, we were in Beijing, China. While we were in Beijing, everyone was looking for us.



We quickly went to the embassy in Beijing and asking the embassy officials if such situation exists. “Such rumours always appear. Those rumours always benefit our national holiday, because America only shows they are afraid of us”, they said smilingly. I will explain a bit the reason for fear shortly. Why did we go? Actually, we worked on getting closer to Korea for years. For years we tried to establish a contact with our comrades with regards to the anti-imperialist struggle. In order to have the opportunity come our way... took a lot of pain, in fact. For this reason, it was very important for us. I think we got the result from Korea that we were waiting for.

I will talk a bit about what we did there. At the moment we went there, principally group information activities within the scope of Juche ideology took place. Apart from us, 24 other

countries came. People from 24 other countries came. But, the situation is like this: Korea receives political groups and groups of tourists from outside twice per year. We went there as a political group and 24 other countries came the same way. However, people from China comfortably come to Korea through their companies, especially in order to observe this state ceremony.

We went there and the first day those activities related to the Juche ideology took place. They explained to us why they are making nuclear weapons, how the politics reflected on the ideology, and why they felt the need for nuclear weapons. Later, on the second day, the big military parade ceremony which was transmitted here on the TV took place. They are usually performing this ceremony in a memory of something; that day was a national hol-

iday and the military parade ceremony was made in memory of Kim Il-Sung's 105th birthday. They showed various weapons there. There was a pink appearance that we saw on the photos, just as the people who were there... People, in a very organised way, had pink objects similar to balloons... At the moment of our arrival everything was empty and it filled in 10 minutes. People came in a moment, took out their pink objects and wrote slogans. In one moment slogans are appearing, in another moment Korean flags are appearing.

Later, we visited the president's mausoleum. We also wrote a message in the guestbook, that we supported the struggle in the name of anti-imperialism and that we will always stay on the road paved by the struggle. Actually, I wanted to talk about what can we do together with Korea, about anti-imperialism and Korea, and about how does Korean people look on the developments in the world... Because for us, this is an important point...

We established Anti-Imperialist Front, you know that. It is taking place within the scope of Eyüp Baş Symposium. How are they looking at the anti-imperialism over there? Anti-Imperialism is of course very important because they consider that America occupied their land. They consider that North Korea is under occupation and they are right about it... Because when Korea was established, and we didn't know this, it was established as a result

of a guerrilla war. In 1945. Korea suffered Japanese occupation. Later, by the means of guerrilla war under the leadership of Kim Il-Sung it proclaims independence. Following that, after the Korean and Chinese revolution, USA starts the Korean war in 1952-53 in order to attack socialism. After that war we call them North Korea-South Korea.

I think we should not use the concept of "North Korea" because Koreans do not like it at all. They tell us to say Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They consider that they are a single country, there is an occupation, there is no such thing as South Korea and that there are US soldiers over there. There is also the objective to take it back. This is such animosity towards America and the ideology firmly establishes this. Such is the opposition to America, a historical opposition. That's why they are so hard on America and they are right at the same time...

At the same time, the following needs to be stressed. Mutual animosity does not come out of nationalism. That's how I saw it. On the flight back, there was a person sitting next to us—an American, so we had a chat with him. American citizens can comfortably enter and leave the country, and definitely there is no situation that someone would come up to him and say: "You are an American, go away from here". There is a struggle against the American government and Ameri-

can imperialism. Of course, we asked them: "Why are you giving such importance to the nuclear weapons?" They told us this: "At this moment we have a lot of nuclear weapons. America is within its range. If America is not attacking us now, it is because of this. We run this development in a very secret manner and America cannot enter here. They are not attacking us because they think we can harm them." That is, this is why Korea is producing it: so that America does not attack us and if they do so they pay the price of doing it. This idea is in everyone's mind.

Of course, there are many rumours about Korea and I wanted to touch upon that a bit. For example, before I went there I read on the Internet articles such as this: "If you can go to Korea you can see it but you will not be allowed to talk to the people, you will be under isolation." There is no such thing. I asked directly if I can walk around in the hotel's neighbourhood? "Of course you can," they said. After the military ceremony, the soldiers, people and us mixed together and went out through the same door. We observed that people over there.

I also want to draw attention to this. I didn't come across an unhappy person in Korea. There are especially this kind of rumours saying that they want to escape to South Korea but they can't. I said that I wonder if there are any unhappy people as I couldn't find anyone who is uncomfortable with the

government. There are no people that have a problem or a trouble which takes the smile off their face.

Such is the life in Korea: there are no unemployed, everyone works. There is order, you can feel it. In certain hours the streets fill up with people that go to work. During the working hours, the only people outside are the ones that have work to do. We can notice on the people's faces the labour the work has given them. That is, people spend their labour for some things, they are aware what they do is for the benefit of the Korean state, and they take more than enough in the compensation for their labour. Anyhow, since it is being directed by the socialist principles, the education, transport and health services are free. They also receive some money apart from the work they do. They said that they use this money for more cultural activities. Of course, Korea is being under socialist direction for 70 years, you can see that very easily.

We only noticed this when passing through Beijing on our way back together with the committee we came with: after leaving Korea and arriving to Beijing, the people over in Korea are really morally upright. They remained so clean. There is no decadence. They have high cultural level and give it a lot of importance... For example, they give a lot of importance to the pink colour and everything pink. Pink was important before socialism and after socialism they still love it.

There are very different dances. They had us watch it. Yet there is no such thing in China. We got really upset upon getting to China. Because as we know there is a history of revolution in China. Yet, especially after the death of chairman Mao, China opened. “We cannot do it”, they said, they turned away from the ideology and opened up themselves to the capitalism. Currently, the same way there are beggars in Turkey, there are also in China. Starbucks and McDonald’s are also present in China in the same way. We saw the differences between those two cities in a very clear manner from the expressions on the people’s faces, from the kind of anxieties they carried... For example, the only worry of Koreans is this: how can I develop myself more, how many more movies I can watch, theatres to go to...

Let me clarify this as a conclusion: we wanted to do things together with Korea, we made it clear. There is Korean Academy of Social Sciences that invited us. It’s an institution which arranges foreign affairs. We had an interview with their president and we said that we wanted to establish contact for years, that we finally managed and that we are anti-imperialist. They are also anti-imperialist, so we spoke about what can we do against our common enemy. It was very fruitful...

We invited them for our the next Eyüp Baş Symposium. They accepted it gladly, however they said this: “We do not have relations with Turkish gov-

ernment. We could have visa problems. If you solve them, we would gladly come to your country...” Especially, on 10th of October there is an anniversary of the founding of the Party and they invited us again.

I wanted to mention how their ideology is because we do not know much about it. It’s a different ideology. We did lectures on Juche ideology and performed debates. They see it as Marxism-Leninism. Kim Il-Sung was a Marxist-Leninist. However, later they establish an ideology specific to their own country.

In the Khrushchev’s period Soviets turned away from Marxism-Leninism and revisionism appeared. That’s why Korea chose the way of establishing Marxism-Leninism specific to their country. Because Korea, in terms of the strategy of the revolution, is a country close to Stalin, it is Stalinist. It possesses the characteristics of what Western sources call Stalinist. In order not to lose their own independence and independent policies, in order not to turn to revisionism, they created Juche. Of course, this ideology has clear principles. For example, according to this ideology, every country is self-sufficient. That is, after the revolution it uses it’s internal sources, and definitely does not trade. Military class is very important according to this ideology. They see the military as an important class against the occupation. At the moment, there are 1.5 million active soldiers officially, and 10 million hid-

den soldiers. There are also militia organisations. The country is continuously in a ready position, that is. America will come, they will occupy, so what can we do about it, how can we get rid of them...

Then, this ideology also defends nuclear armament. "Those weapons are important, we keep them for defence, for the peace. Because there is a balance in the world, if we do not adopt nuclear weapons, they will use them against us."

Separately, an Italian reporter wanted to do an interview with us in Korea. He asked: "Do you fear those nuclear weapons that Korea owns?" As a response we said: "There are tens of countries today with nuclear weapons and the biggest portion is in America. America has enough nuclear weapons to wipe away the world ten times over. Don't you fear that? If it doesn't make you uncomfortable that there are nuclear weapons in America, why does it make you uncomfortable if they are present in a socialist country?" In fact, if it is necessary for the independence of a country, of course they will have it. We answered it so. This is all I had to say about Korea. Thank you.

Selçuk Kozağaçlı:

In order not to use the word "jealous", we'll use "craving". Cravingly for our young revolutionary we listened to the news from the pink hearted comrades that he found on the other side, thousands of kilometres away. If it is necessary for you to be

proclaimed as a terrorist in order not to sell your country to the American interests, then you will be proclaimed as a terrorist. And after that, in order you protest you country, you try to hold ready whatever is available to you including nuclear weapons. The terrorist label is like a plague or leprosy of modern times. If your country, your organisation or you personally are being called a terrorist, then they want to do away with you while leaving you all alone. Was it successful before? Yes, both armed and unarmed organisations in many places in the world that were carrying out revolutionary struggle were exposed to this type of labelling, they lost their strength. Some of them vanished, some of them continue with the struggle. Now, let us listen to what our dear friend Jean Franco has to tell us.

**Jean Franco Castellotti
(Italy)**

I will show you a few photos now. Maybe the photos have been made by two revolutionary artists. One of those who made them is our friend who made Berkin Elvan image on the wall in Sarıgazi, the other one is Red Brigades prisoner. This is the image, you can see here the image of our friend Pablo on the wall. This is the image we did on the wall of Berkin Elvan Cultural Centre—in a city in Italy, a city close to Libroni. The first sentence is linked with Şafak, the second says "proletarians do not have a nation, internationalism" in Italian. This wall

image has been dedicated to Bahtiyar, Şafak, Elif and to all our comrades. The last image is an image that we made in memory of Berkin Elvan on December 20th in the Cultural Centre “Berkin Elvan”, during a commemoration that we organised. It is not a very nice image but it is our contribution. They call us terrorist and we draw this on walls.

Now, I will mention the dramatic situation in Italy and in Europe where Italy is located. If you remember there was an ISIS attack in Turkey. Immediately after this attack the journalists in Italy started drawing parallels between this attack and Red Brigades. That is, this shows that they want to break the socialist ideas in the consciousness of the people. That is, in fact, while reaching socialism it cannot be reached by the way of elections, by the way of pacifism, it has to be reached via armed struggle. If you take a look at the situation in Europe, we’ll look into the situation of France, Belgium and Musa Aşoğlu. Musa’s situation is a really important event. Three of our comrades are in a prison in France and two of them are under a threat of being deported to Turkey by the French government. Belgium also has this on its agenda. Here they also want to deport political refugees.

There is a new law in Italy called “Decreto Minniti”. Minniti is the name of a minister who controls the police. By the means of this law they are making raids on the homeless immigrants.

Minniti comes from the Italian Communist Party. And he was in the Italian Communist Party and he was a person in charge in factories. And that Minniti’s police in the factories gave the names of the persons connected with the revolutionary movement, to the state. So they give the names of the revolutionary workers to the government, they make them public and send those comrades to the prison. We live under such difficult circumstances. Here the secret services do a job in the parliament. And those secret services disclose to the state the relationships between the Italians and the revolutionaries. While doing this, giving the names to the state, they say they are terrorists. We are saying it is not like that, the real terrorists are the other ones. In our cultural centre, while we carry out activities such as music and art, we are saying that the comrades on the images are not terrorist and perform our cultural activities on this subject.

They are making black lists according to their opinion and we push all of that back. In Italian prisons today, there are revolutionaries who stay there for 30 years. Those imprisoned comrades will be very happy if they receive our support. They would be very happy especially if they receive letters from the free prisoners in Turkey. In the coming days, we will do a campaign for Musa. We’ll put our attitude there and we will say that defending revolutionary ideas does not make one a terrorist. Now,

while finishing, this is what we want from you: let's write a letter or a postcard to our prisoners, to Olcay, to Şakir in France, to Musa and to free prisoners over here. If we do not write anything, let's write at least 2 lines and let's support them, let's be by their side. We need to do this for those that put their lives on the line for freedom, we need to do this so we do not forget them. It is necessary not forget the ones who paid the price for freedom, who are forced to stay abroad, who are banished, who have fallen prisoners, who lost their lives, who fought for freedom.

Selçuk Kozağaçlı

We thank very much to Jean Franco. I also wanted to share my ideas on this three meaningful and nice talks. I give my thanks to our dear Lerzan and our friends who translate.

Dear friends and comrades, while waging the struggle against the imperialism, there are two things which should not be taken off our minds. We should know that the imperialism has two different meanings and two different aspects. The first one of them is extremely theoretical concept. Imperialism is highest stage of capitalism, the imperialist stage. It has been studied in an extremely detailed way, especially in the very nice Lenin's book of the same name. It was explained when the capitalism will arrive to the highest stage. In the epoch of the worldwide imperialist capitalism, this capitalism has some characteristics pe-

culiar to it. Since the imperialist stage of capitalism and bourgeois revolution within it until today, the historical reality has brought many context with itself. I am trying to say the following: constitutions, trials, objections and complaints, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, trade unions, they are all within capitalism, they were born inside of the capitalism during the struggle between the classes. That is why in all countries that carried out the bourgeois revolution or countries that continue being under the influence of the bourgeois revolution, there are trade unions, constitution, parliament and the others. It develops together with them. We should never give up on the weapons and the means we developed while waging struggle against the imperialism. The labour we developed together: strikes, meetings, associations, marches, actions, boycotts, trial complaints, persecution complaints, press statements, the labour we developed against the bourgeois programme. Here we can step back, here we can choose what's appropriate, here we can make a political evaluation because those are in fact historical means, means that were created by our struggle.

When we make a step back here, when we evaluate the policies, when we approach it from another angle, an error in the line in our struggle against the imperialism should be considered a strategic error. Let's come to the second meaning of imperialism: we are

talking about the physical wealth that was pulled out by the soldiers, banks, weapons and bombs of a big consortium of a big block of capital which armed itself and concentrated the capital in it's hands for the purpose of exploiting all natural resources and people in the world, the block headed by the USA, England and EU members.

We are talking about the enemy historically. Those two meanings are that of imperialism. There is no reconciliation, there is no change of strategy or tactics here. In this sense, the imperialism is an absolute enemy. Either the imperialism will destroy you, or you will destroy the imperialism. There is no solution other than resistance. There is no other way or method other than no reconciliation and resistance against the imperialist block which is the enemy that pointed it's weapons, culture and capital against us. Since it is necessary for us not to mix those two together, I am explaining with the peace of my heart. In Turkey you suffered from injustice, you went to the court, and the court rejected it. Should you go to the constitutional court? Would you like to go to the court of the rulers, the European Court for the Human Rights? The court of the parliament of the European imperialism. Of course you will go. Whatever we won with the struggle: complaints, audits, investigations, law actions for damages, we'll do all of this. We will renounce some of them from doing, we

would select the appropriate ones, there would be no harm in it, in our struggle with the imperialism.

However, when the imperialism takes the weapons and starts attacking the people, when it takes the weapons and starts attacking countries, then, then we will not get it's second meaning off our minds. It's an enemy, absolute enemy, we do not have a chance to step back, to produce a strategy, to reconcile with it in any way. In the moment when we do this, we would lose and we would be erased from the historical stage as a political subject. Because of this, I wanted to say this from the point of view of the relation between the imperialism and the law: can we complain about those who commit crimes against us, against the people and take it to the International Penal Court, International Court for War Crimes, Geneva, Hague, European Court for Human Rights, Intercontinental Justice Councils? If their old partners want to accuse them and put them on trial, they will accuse and put on trial. But we know this: the people in our world cannot not have any business with their peace forces, their armies, the armed units that claim that will bring their democracy. We cannot act together with them, we cannot attack together with them, we cannot defend any value with them. It's an enemy in an absolute sense. The other thing is, the gains we got throughout centuries. If you do not want to collaborate with the imperialists, then do

not use the TV either. It was also invented by the imperialism. Then do not use the telephone, do not use the Internet. It's all in the hands of the imperialists... Then do not deposit the money in a bank, do not use the bank card. You will feel the things like that. But yet, you have said something very clear to your collocutor, you said: do not fire at the people together with the imperialists, do not trust the imperialist and surrender people's lives, property, and future to their armies, armed units and gangs. You have said: do not reconcile with the imperialists, do not make agreements with the imperialists. Then as well have said to you: those courts are imperialist, banks are imperialist, telephones, everything is imperialist, the hospitals, then we shall not use anything? There, that's why I did this double differentiation.

Then you should confidently say this: everything that was won by the working class, the oppressed people, the poor, and those who fought, we shall use all of this until the end. All the courts, complaints, requests, all the law actions for damages, until the end... We will petition until we lose the last one, we will sue, we will make protest, we will demonstrate... But when we lose the last one and if they say: "Come, stay a bit by our side, do our work a bit, talk with our words, take the weapons against our common enemy...", then, whoever that common enemy is, we will know that we cannot reconcile with the imperialism,

that is our undebatable absolute enemy. Yet, by waging struggle against it, we can attain success, historical success. Comrades that are being labeled as terrorists, our friends everywhere in the world, from every country, of every political line, like many persons that wage struggle against imperialism... We are seeing that soon European law will try to pressure our dear comrade Musa Aşoğlu with the same label.

Just as Korea is not accepting being labelled and says "I will resist even nuclear power", as Centre "Hasan Ferit Gedik" is not accepting being labeled and says "Never! We will resist together with the people, together with the people dragged into addiction", they are saying "We do not surrender", as our comrades are not accepting being labeled in any way as terrorist, we will not accept it either. We rely our work on European and world's socialists and our comrades, we trust our comrades everywhere but we will not give the permission to European democrats, European parliaments, European constitution and campaigns against Musa and other comrades. We will not give permission to the terrorist labelling and branding for the ones who resist, for the ones who wage struggle for the people. You can give prison sentences, prison sentences are given and served. Here, great number of people was sentenced to prison and served, over and over again. You can not intimidate one from the trial and from the struggle with prison sentence.

However, we will never allow this branding. We know who is terrorist. Terrorists attack people. We know who is terrorist. Terrorists openly kill children. We know who is terrorist, terrorists are the governments of big countries, its capital and its enterprises. We too will always expose them and wage struggle against them. Maybe it would be good to end where I started. If some day USA does something that would benefit us very much, just think "I wonder how would we feel". Once it happened to me. I will tell you about it and finish my speech in that way.

The trial our comrade Berdan who was killed during torture was opened by us with great difficulty years after it happened. The trial did not progress for years... Witnesses and many other tasks finally came to a point. At that moment, a tension appeared between Turkish and American governments. US Foreign Minister Colin Powell was a retired general. We was very annoyed by the Turkish government and asked his men: "What can I do to bring it into a tight position?" They said: "That there is a young university student who was killed by torture. That the government is not punishing it's killers in any way. That the lawyers are waging struggle. If you want, put it on agenda." "OK", said the man. On a press conference in the White House he said: "At the moment Turkish government is not behaving democratically. With particular attention, Berdan's killers must be punished. It's

a crime to kill people with torture in democratic countries."

"I am calling Turkish government's attention to this", he said. Next day the hearing is being held, what do you do? This is what we did, we tore up all the papers, documents and the defences we prepared. Right next day we did a single defence: if a Foreign Affairs Minister of a government which institutionalised torture and vulgarity as much as America, says such a thing then there is another low-down action, by no means get mixed into it. We will defeat our enemies on our own. We do not know you, we do not want your help and support. "In fact, you are doing this with bad intention", we said. Years later, the president of that court told me he was very confused. 10 years later, he said: "It was a convenient atmosphere for you, if you had come and suddenly shown up, maybe the government would have fallen in a difficult situation. The first time 15 journalists came to that hearing to hear your statement. Look, USA blamed you a lot, they called for democracy. 15 journalists and cameramen had come to the door to hear your statement." "Never, never" we said, neither in order to call to account for our dead, neither to rescue the lives of our living, neither in any kind of struggle can we be in the same place with the imperialism. This is the basic rule that must be on our mind always. I embrace you all and I call you for the TAYAD's press statement. I thank everyone who participated in this session.



2. DAY 3. SESSION

STRUGGLE METHODS AND RESISTANCE TO IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM

Dilan Uludag

If we are ready, friends, let us start our third session. First of all I would like to welcome you all to the 8th Eyup Bas Symposium. This is our last session. The name of our session is Struggle Methods And Resistance To Imperialism And Fascism. In our session our comrades from Ireland and Greece will have the floor. Last year we presented our revolutionary criticisms of FARC, but this year FARC could not come. Our friend Muslum will read out a message from FARC.

(in the name of FARC)

The signature is the FARC-EP opposition

Comrade organisations of the 8th

Eyup Bas Symposium in Turkey

Accept our heartfelt salute, from the the guerrilla mountains of Colombia.

We who send this greeting are all those guerrillas of the bases and commands betrayed by a Secretariat which has turned its back on the guerrillas and reached agreement with our class enemy, those wh had confronted for 52 years, under the direction of the comrade Manuel Marulanda Vélez and the comrade Alfonzo Cano, the first of whom died of natural causes at the age of 80 (with 67 years in the guerrilla struggle) without giving up a centimetre to the enemy, and the

other hunted in an immense operation by 6,000 soldiers, but he did not surrender to his killers and died on his feet like all the authentic sons of the people...

As said before we will make a small summary of what brought about this treason on the part of a Secretariat distant and alienated from the guerrilla base.

In 1953 the General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla concluded an armistice with the liberal guerrillas (the beginning of the FARC-EP), and after the demobilisation of the guerrillas the commander Guadalupe Salcedo was murdered.

Our commander Marulanda engaged in peace talks in 1982 with the recently elected government of President Belisario Betancur, from these talks arose the political movement Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union), the year following its foundation its head and about 3,000 of its grassroots were shot.

The government of Virgilio Barco (1986-1990) also held a programme called "Initiative for Peace" but these negotiations also failed.

Between April and June 1992 under the government of Cesar Gaviria there were talks in Tlaxcala, Mexico with the Guerrilla Coordination Simón Bolívar (joined by FARC, ELN and the EPL). Nothing was agreed either.

Under the Andrés Pastrana government (1998 and 2002) the San Vi-

cente del Caguan talks took place, these also failed, as always the reason being that the enemy imposed the condition that arms should be given up – a subject on which Marulanda gave no ground.

Then there was the severe clash leading to the death of the comrade Raúl Reyes (Santa Rosa de Yanamaru, Ecuador, 1 March 2008), the targeted murder of the commander Iván Ríos (Sonsón, Antioquia, 3 March 2008), the death of comrade Marulanda Selvas del Meta, 2008), the death of the commander Mono Jojoy (La Macarena, Meta; 2010), in a ruthless bombing of his encampment, and finally the death in combat of Commander Alfonzo Cano when he was besieged by 6,000 of the best-trained troops in the Colombian army (Suárez, Cauca, 4 November 2011).

After these heavy losses to the movement, it must be wondered why the appointed Commander in Chief Timoleon Giménez began meteoric and rapid peace talks behind the backs of the guerrilla base, and suddenly we were surprised by talks about which we were informed from Havana and in which information was given but there were no consultations (as was declared by the members designated to take part in the talks) and in which conditions that were never discussed were imposed on the collective of combatants.

In what has been referred to as a peace process, the repression against

the revolutionary and progressive sectors has not ceased. The figures speak for themselves. Of 117 social leaders murdered in Colombia in 2016, 57 of them, that is, 66%, died in the southwest of Colombia (9 in Nariño, 43 in Cauca and 5 in Valle). And according to a ranking published by the NGO Somos Defensores, of the five departments the most killings of leaders, three are in southwest: Nariño, Cauca and Valle del Cauca. This is a tendency that appears to be confirmed by the first three months of 2017, for out of 34 leaders murdered in the country, 13 of those were in the southwest and seven of them in Cauca.

What the majority of the killed have in common is that they were members or leaders of social and political processes like the Committees of Common Action (Juntas de Acción Comunal - JAC), the Guardia Campesina (Rural Guard) and indigenous protectors. They also belonged to known associations of the left like Coccam, Fensuagro, Marcha Patriótica, Congreso de los Pueblos, the Communist Party or the Unión Patriótica.

We have always made clear that the guerrillas are not the cause of the war but the consequence of it.

Now, every fighter who refuses to accept the "peace" of the enemy is called "a drug trafficker" "a criminal acting under the cover of revolution" and they even go so far as to claim that we have allied with paramilitaries

to engage in drug trafficking.

Everything that has been expressed is the price for not accepting this Roman peace imposed by the government and those under its control (if they are known to have been bought).

Now we are vilified by the press, the government and by our own ex-comrades who have dedicated themselves to the task of denouncing us and fighting us.

Let the world know that we continue the struggle, and that the objective for us is to achieve socialism, for the only real alternative that is Revolution, arms in hand

We greatly desire that the work of the Eyup Bas Symposium in Turkey should achieve success.

*Not a moment of silence for our dead, but a full life waged in combat!
Peace is won by fighting!*

Front 1, Front 5, Front 3, Front 10, Front 32, Front 34, Front 43, Front 57, Front 58, Bolivarian Militias of Bogotá, Bolivarian Milicias of Medellín, Bolivarian Militias of Cali, Bolivarian Militias of Barranquilla, Bolivarian Militias of Meta, Bolivarian Militias of Vichada, Bolivarian Militias of Putumayo, the Daniel Arana Column.

The jungles and insurgent cities of Colombia.

We are FARC-EP,

We are not an exception, we are the people in arms.

Dilan Uludag:

At the beginning of the session, as we said, as in previous years we we had presented our revolutionary criticisms of FARC, we had friends over from Colombia. Last year we had said that disarming left the people defenceless and we were against this, we said. Today we have reached the point where the FARC leadership have given up weapons. But there are still units in Colombia that continue the armed struggle and to resist. We support those units that have not given up weapons and surrendered to the enemy, however many weapons may have been given up by FARC. Before I make my speech I would like to give the word to our comrade Diarmuid from Ireland.

**Diarmuid Mac Dubglais
(Ireland):**

I want to begin by thanking you for the invitation... Yesterday I did not thank the friends of the People's Front for my speech, sorry about that.

Irish Republicans have been fighting against imperialism for centuries. In recent years we have been struggling against fascism. In the Great War tht started in 1914 we took a stand in relation to both sides. We evaluated it as a war of imperialist Powers. (Referred to the First Imperialist War.) Irish revolutionaries and the Irish people took part in the anti-fascist war and in the Spanish Civil War.

Over the years we have seen widespread popular movements fighting

against the imperialist classes and nations. Today we have heard examples of the struggle that has been waged in many ways by the People's Front and other groups and members of those groups.

As for fascist groups and reactionary groups, they continue to talk with great enthusiasm. They argue that it is included in the freedom of expression. We know that in Ireland, as Irish Republicans, the imperialists will never give back what they have taken voluntarily. This can only be recovered by force. I came here with a suggestion to other revolutionary groups. There is no problem joining peace talks, but giving up weapons is totally beyond the pale.

And the imperialists will get the weapons and they will not give you anything. If we will talk about what we have done before, who is the terrorist and who is not the terrorist, we have to look back a bit, maybe a long time has passed but not too long... Imperialist nations commit genocide against indigenous peoples. Belgium and the Congo come to mind. They killed people, sold them as slaves, Britain drove our people to hunger in our country and left Bangladesh to starve. I look at the USA, I look at Australia, I mean I look at New Zealand, I see that indigenous peoples have been massacred for centuries. I see even their children being stolen from them on the pretext that they can be raised properly. I see fascism on the rise in Europe and the United States, I see the rise of the right-wing groups.

The discussions that took place in England over the past two years, the debates that took place between the imperialists to abandon a union of the imperialists, I hear these discussions over how the EU has completely deprived migrants of their own homes and jobs. I look at the EU in Europe, I see the rise of fascists, the right-wingers in Ukraine, I see the rise of the National Front in France, and after Trump came to power, which we all saw in America. We see how the right wing has risen before it comes to power, and then it arrives in government. We see the freedom with which the right-wing groups move around, fascists and other fascists of the United States are able to walk around the streets comfortably, while the Native American people are exposed to the armed police violence.

Recently we saw Trump bombing Syria under the pretext of a chemical attack. However, Trump's America has forgotten the chemical attacks against the locals in the Iraqi regions. They seem to forget about the chemical attacks they had organised in Vietnam in the last century.

The process that has developed in our country over the last 30 years is that the great Irish revolutionary groups have given up their weapons and turned reformist. A lot of things have been promised, but we are witnessing that the British are still in power today and that the Irish language is still a forbidden language. Finally, ultimately, I would like to say

that as long as the English dominion persists, there will always be armed revolutionary groups that oppose the occupation of my country. Thank you.

Dilan Uludağ:

I thank our comrades and would now like to give the floor to our comrade Konstantina from Greece.

**Konstantina Kartsioti
(Greece)**

First, I think it is very important to specify this. I think it is very important how the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggles can be organised at the international level. In this way, we can share our ideas and share our experiences, in the name of our struggle, in the name of our struggle in our own countries. In other words, for us, the struggle against imperialism and fascism first requires a political analysis and then a practical strategy of resistance. That is why, without revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary movement, the same applies to the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle. Having the theory, our analysis has to be one that ensures you can fight.

It is a time when capitalism and imperialism systems are in a very serious crisis. And now a period when the open face of imperialism has been revealed. Imperialist occupations of the Middle East, occupations organised by the United States and invasions organised by France, Libya, Syria and at the same time in Ukraine, show us the killer face of imperialism. And at the

same time it shows that imperialists are those who will do anything to acquire more profits. For this reason they occupy the countries, bring down the governments and kill the peoples of those countries.

For this reason, I think at this our strategy for the struggle in this period must take account of imperialist propaganda. Here I want to talk about the struggle and situation in Syria and Ukraine... I would especially like to talk about these, because I think that these two imperialist occupations are very important for the revolutionary movements. You will ask why? Because in this situation imperialist occupation, especially the US occupation, differs from the occupation process in Vietnam and from the occupation process in Iraq and Afghanistan. Because this time they do not send their true armies, the same is true for Ukraine; they send weapons and money to the armies in those countries. It could be Al-Nusra, it could be Free Syrian Army, we could say the same thing, maybe even the same thing, we see that the same thing happened in Ukraine too. We see that the fascists in the Maydan Square moved from acquiring weapons to bringing about the fall of the Yanukovych government and now the government in Kiev is a fascist government. And we testify to the heroic struggle of the Donbass people, a very beautiful example of this anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle. I think comrades should concentrate our

attention on this process because the relations between the imperialists are very difficult and very intense and getting worse every day.

I would like to talk a little about the situation in Greece... In Greece, the Greek bourgeoisie is under the EU and NATO umbrella. Now, however, the workers in Greece are becoming more and more pauperised, and unemployment continues to increase very quickly, all at the hands of the EU, especially the powerful nations within this imperialist mechanism. At the same time, the Greek bourgeoisie, the Syriza government, was a new democratic government a few years ago.

As you know, Greece is a NATO member country at the same time, NATO and the USA have the most important bases in our country. Suda Bay on the island of Crete is an American base. This base is a very important base for the USA, because bombardment of the Syrian people, carried out by the Americans, took place using this base in Crete. The attack was directed from here. In this case, our country, the Syriza government offered congratulations to the Trump government after the attack. He said it was logical to attack Syria because he said that Syria had chemical weapons. He mentioned that there was a dictatorship in Syria, which is exactly the propaganda that all Europe has used, and is always making such propaganda. For Greece, we must think about it, we must fight against this propaganda as must be the

case in other countries.

At the same time, the Greek government, the national security ministry, all of them are in the Aegean region for NATO, which shows how much they love American imperialism. All these reasons and the reasons we can add to it further demonstrate to us how we should fight against EU imperialism. And at the same time a debate is needed over how we understand this anti-imperialist struggle as it touches on Israel, Turkey, Erdogan, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and allies.

On the anti-fascist struggle, I want to say something more. I would like to say something about the fascism in our country as relevant to the anti-fascist struggle; In Greece we have a very serious anti-fascist tradition. As you know, when the Second World War broke out in the 1940s, Greece was occupied by Nazi Germany. First it was occupied by the Italians and then by the Nazis. In contrast, Greek communists and democrats have fought a very serious, very high-level fight against fascists, fascism and Nazism in Greece. It is a really great tradition for us and we are very proud of it and of those who lived during World War II. As a result of the emancipation of our country from the Nazis, a civil war broke out in our country. On the one hand the fascists had Greek friends, the Greek government and the Greek army and the help of British imperialism. On the other side, there were communists in Greece who wanted to seize power

and carried out a very serious armed struggle. They carried out a very serious armed struggle in the cities and in the mountains. But they did not win and we were first occupied by British imperialism and then by American imperialism. And during those years until 1960 and then again in 1967 the military junta took over in our country. The junta had a fascist character, killed people, tortured many people involved in the struggle, Communists and democrats were massacred. And the people of Greece, the youth, the people of Athens, student youth fought, and on November 17, 1973, the resistance was passed on, and one year later, on 17 November 1974, the junta collapsed. I have covered this very quickly, but it is only against the back-drop of the anti-fascist struggle in our history. This is our situation in terms of the fight against fascism.

There is a huge anti-fascist movement in our country in recent years. I think that I can see that the fascists do not walk around the streets like they did a few years ago. The fascist party in Greece is also the third largest party in parliament, Golden Dawn. The Golden Dawn has a certain power, especially within the parliament. But a few years ago, they had a certain power on the street. But the anti-fascist struggle won the streets for anti-fascist action. Every day the fascists were beaten in the streets.

Two very important, very special events happened during these years. I

would like to talk about an event that took place in September 2013. A fascist, a member of the Golden Dawn, killed an anti-fascist on the street. This created a very serious conflict environment. Fascists and anti-fascists. The killed anti-fascist was named Pavlos Fyssas. A Golden Dawn member was killed by someone. And the anti-fascist movement went out into the streets as a whole, organised actions, conflicts against fascists and police. Afterwards, in harmony with the anti-fascist democratic movement and in accordance with the movement in the streets, the revolutionary movement in Greece killed two members of Golden Dawn, two fascists. Right in front of their office... The killing of these two fascists gave serious momentum to our anti-fascist movement. And all the people, all the people have seen what fascism is and what anti-fascism is. This revolutionary organisation also gave hope to the anti-fascist movement.

I want to add something. Our anti-fascist comrades have attacked the headquarters of the Golden Dawn party this month. A large-scale bomb attack. I wanted to talk about these in general for the fascists and anti-fascists in Greece.

I want to sum up... With all the methods of struggle, we have to use everything we can in the struggle. From the smallest-scale to the largest scale, to the most major action. We must use democratic propaganda methods, use legal propaganda meth-

ods, organise actions, make publicity, issue publications, make posters. We must do all of these, but we must also carry out sabotage actions at the same time. And we must use the armed struggle.

This is our opinion on the struggle in general, to carry out the armed struggle. It is our view on the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle. Now I want to talk about the anti-imperialist struggle we have waged. Against the European Union and the memorandum process, we organised certain actions in Greece. And at the same time we organised actions against ECOFIN. This is an action like the G20 for the European Union, a meeting like the G20. Two years ago we carried out a very serious action in front of the Consulate General of Germany. It was a very wide-ranging action. And this year during Obama's visit we were in the centre of Athens where we organised a very wide-ranging action. There have been very serious conflicts. Over the past decade, the armed organisations have entered into very serious actions against the imperialist consulates. The American Consulate General, actions against Germany, Israel and the Consulate General of France – there were actions against all of them at the same time. This is very important, because we are a European country. At the same time we are a country with revolutionary armed organisations. This is a very important thing. It is very important that this direction of struggle



exists in our country.

I want to mention one more thing. It is very important to begin with it. Because we discuss certain things at the international level. At the same time international solidarity is very important. Last year we organised events for our comrades in Turkey and Donbass. We organised very effective events.

When Grup Yorum was imprisoned, we organised a solidarity campaign with a huge concert. We put up posters all over the city. At the same time, after the capture of Serif Turunc and the martyrdom of Bilgehan Karpaz and the murder of 11 guerrillas in the Dersim Mountains, we carried out a very big action in front of the Turkish Consulate General. At Syntagma (Constitution) Square in the centre of Athens, we marched from there to the Turkish Consulate General. And we

showed people in Greece what they can do about the AKP, told them about Erdogan, the government and about our comrades, imperialism, revolutionaries, fighting people and people resisting this terrible system. At the moment we are talking, our comrades in Greece are in an action against the Israeli Consulate General. We are in solidarity with Palestinian hunger strikers. More than 1,000 Palestinian prisoners are hungry in Palestinian prisons. It is happening in prison. And now we have an action for it. It was something I wanted to add.

I think it's very important to discuss such things. Because this Symposium is taking place at a very good time. We are all together for discussion and putting some things together. I think we should all work together and raise our voices to raise the fight against imperialism and fascism among the workers

in our countries. This is a duty. We need to talk about it. Thank you so much. This is not a crime but a duty.

Dilan Uludag:

We also thank our comrades from Greece. We want to talk about some of our comrades who greeted this symposium before we started talking. They are the Cephe fighters who have been martyred in recent years when they seek an account from the killers. We heard their voice. We heard it from the mountains of Dersim. We heard it in the room of the prosecutor who did not prosecute Berkin's murderer in Caglayan. We heard their voices in front of the Rapid Reaction Force building in Bayrampasa. We heard it from Bilgehan Karpat, who fired a rocket launcher at the Vatan Security Directorate. We heard from Mahir, Leyla and Oguz that their weapons were recovered after a bombing and they continued their fight. So while talking about armed struggle we have to say today that we are not talking about a struggle that is a part of history, buried, like the bourgeoisie said, or by the reformists who filled their brains with bourgeois ideology. Today we are talking about a forceful and living struggle, armed struggle.

What kind of world do we live in and why must we fight?

Actually, we have to look at this. It's a very simple statistic, but it's like a sword. Why we fight is a matter of why we should be armed. Every five seconds in the world, a child dies of curable diseases and starvation. Drug trafficking, prostitution, gambling, everywhere in the

world and they now affect children, children aged five to six. Five million people live under the poverty line [presumably in Turkey]. And all the people who died are the children of the people. They live amid starvation, poverty and lack of education. They're dying from malnutrition. It is always the children of the people. This is the tableau created by imperialism. Imperialism is arming more and more every day to make more profit for its own interests.

Imperialism has created an unjust world. Imperialism has attached the whole world to itself. Imperialism exploits the peoples of the world and knows that it is guilty. Because it is not legitimate. Because it is guilty, imperialism is arming more and more every day because it is afraid of the people's struggle. The money it spends on the army, police forces, intelligence services grows greater every day. Because imperialism is afraid of the people. Imperialism is in a frayed state like an octopus that has its tentacles around the whole world. In Latin America, in the Middle East, in Afghanistan, and in our country, our peoples are exploited by it. And in the face of this power, we must be armed ourselves to confront this armed force. For it is armed and has declared war on the peoples of the world. It is very clear that the parliamentary road will not be able to take power, the concepts like peaceful transfer of power, freedom through the parliamentary road and democracy will never be able to be embodied in the face of such power.

I want to talk about some facts. Some very striking facts that show why armed struggle is the only valid way against imperialism. There is a documentary called "The Peace of Guerrillas" that we have seen. A documentary by Metin Yegin. Metin Yegin travelled across Latin America. El Salvador, Guatemala and many other countries. He went to many countries where there are organisations that gave up their weapons. At the moment he interviewed former guerrillas, the old guerrilla commanders, the villagers and the people. There is something remarkable in these interviews; old guerrilla commanders, parliamentarians today, explain how correct the parliamentary peace is, how well the countries have evolved after the peace process, after the peace process. But the people do not tell it, the peasants and people who used to be guerrillas in the mountains. Now I want to read their words. Some commanders even have words to say. Some commanders tell truths that do not hide facts. I want to read some of them.

A commander - El Salvador 1989: When we sat at the negotiation table for the first time, the first thing the soldiers demanded was that we disarm. The international general secretary in Guatemala said that in 13 years after the peace treaty the oligarchs have not kept their promises. More poverty and drug trafficking began. Again a former presidential candidate said the poor are poorer and the rich are richer. A former guerrilla says that here in Guatemala,

it is not true to say there is peace here, there is hunger, poverty, murder, robbery, occupation, we only have a community. A shantytown inhabitant says: Now there is peace, but more people die. They used to be scared when they used to kill us, they did not want it to be heard, but we live in worse conditions now. Rights are only found in books. Again a former guerrilla: We had our ideals, now everything was just business, money, there was a struggle for life. This is the situation of organisations that are included in the capitalist system, who give up their arms and who sign the peace treaty with imperialism. In Latin America, people are trying to live on less than \$1 a day. In hunger, poverty, prostitution gangs, drug gangsters take peoples' heads. The people who died fighting for a time, the warriors who died fighting, now are killed by gang bullets fired by unknown people in the streets. More deaths, more slaughter, more corruption.

We look at our own country, the Kurdish nationalist movement speaks of these peace talks from 2013. A lot of noise and great claims were made. Lice, Sur, Idil have been destroyed. There is no stone on top of another in Kurdistan. There was talk of peace but they built more kalekols (fortress-like police stations built by the Turkish state). They talked of peace yet every day now they kill more guerrillas, more people, destroying their cities, destroying villages and exiling Kur-

dish people from their land, Kurdistan.

Peace means more slaughter, more tears mean more exploitation. The peoples of the world have experienced this painful experience, unfortunately. Organisations that have fought for a while but surrender to imperialism have experienced these bitter outcomes. And all hope is lost. All the resistance dynamics are lost. We also say: we are ideologically sound, we are Marxist-Leninists. We say that we will continue the struggle against imperialism until the last drop of our blood. In some conversations we were talking about protecting our assets and protecting our prisoners. The Party-Front movement was said to have physically disappeared in 1972, and it was said that the Mahirs had been killed in Kızılder. But today the Party-Front is a force that affects millions. Today, the fighters of the Front are still demanding a reckoning in the mountains of our country and in the cities of our country. The third most celebrated May Day in the world takes place in Turkey. And there are about 300 prisoners and 700 martyrs of the Front.

But there is something different in Anatolia, something different from the wave of despair that surrounds Latin America today... There is hope in Anatolia, because there is a Front in Anatolia. In the face of such a massacre, in the face of executions we are still able to smile. It's not a blind stubbornness, it's not a blind revenge. Reformists say, Violent revenge is a personal revenge. No, that is not the case, to demand an

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account means revenge, it means to fight socialism today. For Dilek, Berkin, Gunay, for our children murdered last week in Gazi, it means demanding an account. It means to ask an account for the murdered Kurdish people, the murdered Turkish people and the people of the world.

We are very hopeful because we are Marxist-Leninists. Because we continue to sit in our Marxist-Leninist chair. We call upon all the organisations of the world that give up their weapons to resume struggle against imperialism; it is a call to arms. There is no other solution than to take up arms against imperialism. As we said at the beginning, there is a force armed from top to bottom, and this force is committed to destroying the peoples of the world, the vanguard of the peoples of the world, the socialists. We have our case to make, and we say we will destroy them. We say that we will erase imperialism from the land of Anatolia and from the earth even to the footprints. We say that we will continue this fight with the vanguard Dev Genc. We will dismantle them and remove them from all our bases. That's why we are determined to fight today with this belief. Even if we remain the only organisation in the world, we will fight against imperialism even if there is just one Front member in the world.

**HAKLIYIZ, KAZANACAGIZ!
(WE ARE RIGHT, WE WILL
WIN!)**

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FINAL DECLARATION OF THE 8TH INTERNATIONAL EYUP BAS SYMPOSIUM AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION

On April 20-23 (2017) in Istanbul's Küçükarmutlu neighbourhood, a Symposium was held in the Armutlu cemevi * and cultural centre with participants from Bulgaria (September 23 Movement), Ireland (Republican Sinn Fein), Greece (Class War), Ukraine's Donbass (BOROTBA), and Italy (Anti-Imperialist Front – Italy).

On the 20th visits were made to revolutionary institutions in Küçükarmutlu, Gazi, Okmeydani and Cayan neighbourhoods and the people who live in them, and foreign delegations were told about the repression used against the people by the imperialist-collaborationist AKP, especially since the state of emergency was declared. There was a visit to the Hasan Ferit

Gedik centre for liberation from drugs which hosted the 7th Eyup Bas Symposium.

In the conditions of the state of emergency, in which all democratic associations have been closed down, democratic activities declared illegal, in this process the Symposium discussed all political prisoners in the world, the role of imperialism in the Middle East and Rojava, the terrorism demagoguery of imperialism and the legitimacy of armed struggle in the world.

Our Symposium greets all the world's peoples who resist every kind of attack by imperialism and its collaborators and supports the legitimate resistance of the people to massacres.

The Decisions Taken By

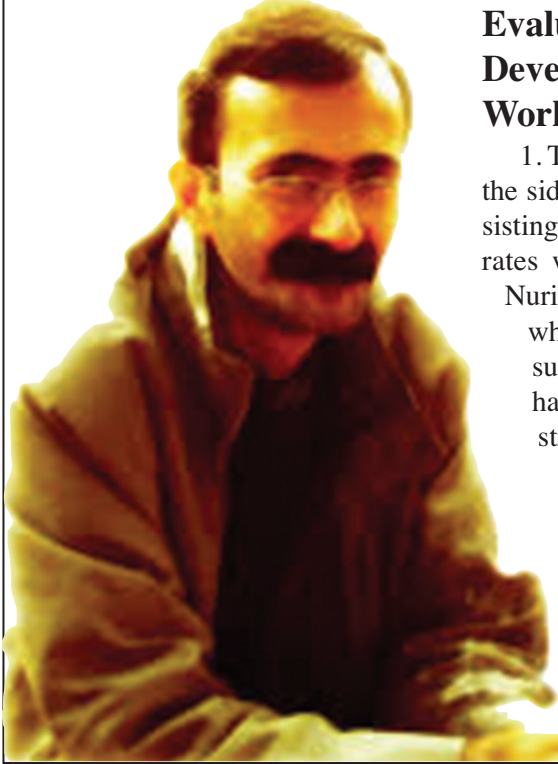
Delegates to This Symposium:

Concerning the work and activities of the Anti-Imperialist Front

1. To establish a committee to place the Anti-Imperialist Front on a more institutional footing, and determine statutes, principles and rules for the Anti-Imperialist Front.

2. To hold meetings at four to five-month intervals to evaluate the work of the Anti-Imperialist Front.

3. Developing the Anti-Imperialist Front website to include all the actions and programs of all the components and issuing a monthly Anti-Imperialist Newsletter.



4. For all the components of the Anti-Imperialist Front to organise campaigns in their own countries to obstruct imperialist aggressiveness. A detailed programme for such a campaign to be evaluated at a Second Meeting.

5. To strengthen solidarity with political prisoners... In all countries the struggle also takes place in prisons, for cards to be written for solidarity with other prisoners all over the world, and support is given to the prison resistance all over the world with statements made in front of consulates as a way of showing support.

Anti-Imperialist Evaluation Of Developments In The World:

1. The Anti-Imperialist Front is on the side of the peoples of Turkey resisting AKP fascism, which collaborates with imperialism. It supports Nuriye Gulmen and Semih Ozakca, who were fired from work as a result of the state of emergency and have started an indefinite hunger strike.

2. The Anti-Imperialist Front supports the demands of Kemal Gun who is at a critical stage of an an indefinite hunger strike, wanting the remains of his children to be turned over to him after a bombardment of a shelter on November

7, 2016, in which a DHKC Guerrilla Unit in Dersim was staying.

3. In Colombia, the ongoing negotiations by the FARC Secretariat for conciliation and peace have left the poor people of Colombia disarmed and defenceless against bloodstained killers. For this reason the 7th International Symposium For Unity Of The Peoples Against Imperialist Aggression greets and supports FARC guerrilla units in the mountains that do not surrender their weapons and continue their just war.

4. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea arming itself against American imperialist aggression cannot be made into a pretext for a possible imperialist intervention in Korea. The chief enemy of all the peoples of the world, America, has armed all the peoples of the world against each other and turned the world into a lake of blood, especially the Middle East. It is the most legitimate right of the Korean people to arm themselves against imperialism and we, the Anti-Imperialist Front, are on the side of the Korean people under all conditions.

5. The war that imperialism started in Syria has caused millions of people to emigrate to die in the Mediterranean and those remaining in their lands were brutally murdered, having their throats cut by jihadist gangs like IS and Nusra and women and children were sold in slave markets. Imperialism started to massacre in Syria by using gangs like IS, and when they could not control

them, they found different allies and used going to war with IS to bring them under control.

Through the YPG, the Kurdish people were brought arm-in-arm with the imperialists, and the relationship they entered into with imperialism was presented under the name of internationalism as the freedom of the Kurdish people, trampling underfoot the whole history of Marxist-Leninist struggle. Imperialism is the enemy of the peoples, no freedom of the people can be achieved through cooperation entered into with the imperialists, with the weapons received from imperialism.

The only salvation of the peoples is to fight against imperialism and their collaborators. Therefore, the YPG's policies, which open Syrian lands to US imperialism and seek to solve the problems in Syria by relying on imperialism, will also strengthen US imperialism for new massacres in the Middle East. We call on the YPG to end this dirty partnership with the imperialists.

1. We are on the side of the Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails who are resisting with hunger and an indefinite hunger strike. The Palestinians who do not surrender to Israeli Zionism and do not give in to torturers are our honour.

2. In countries that experienced socialism like Ukraine and Bulgaria, those who collaborate with imperialism curse socialism and try to destroy all the values of the peoples. Against the cultural

attacks of imperialism on values, we will continue to build up socialist values with the Anti-Imperialist Front. We will build up international solidarity against imperialism.

3. The Greek people continue their rightful struggle against the economic and political attacks of the European Union. The European Union is continuing to apply its economic imperatives with SYRIZA, which came to power by using the hopes of the people. In Greece, the peoples of all the world have seen that resistance to imperialism is not in parliament but in a legitimate struggle. We are with the Greek people who are struggling against economic policies that compel them to undergo hunger and poverty in Greece.

Imperialism Will Be Defeated, The Peoples That Resist Will Win!

The 8th International Eyüp Bas Symposium decided to salute the resistance of the peoples of the World and show solidarity with them.

- While the Symposium was going on, the indefinite hunger strike of Kemal Gun ended in victory on its 90th day. He had started the hunger strike for the return of the remains of his son Murat Gun, who had been in a shelter bombed on November 7, 2016, and Kemal Gun's voice was heard all over the world, and it showed that even under a state of emergency, those who resist will win.

- 1,700 Palestinian prisoners started resistance to torture and tyranny in the jails of Israel. They started a hunger strike on April 14 and all the peoples of the world supported them. Their determined and mass hunger strike made the Israeli Zionist state accept their demands. And once again by resisting, peoples scored victory with their hunger.

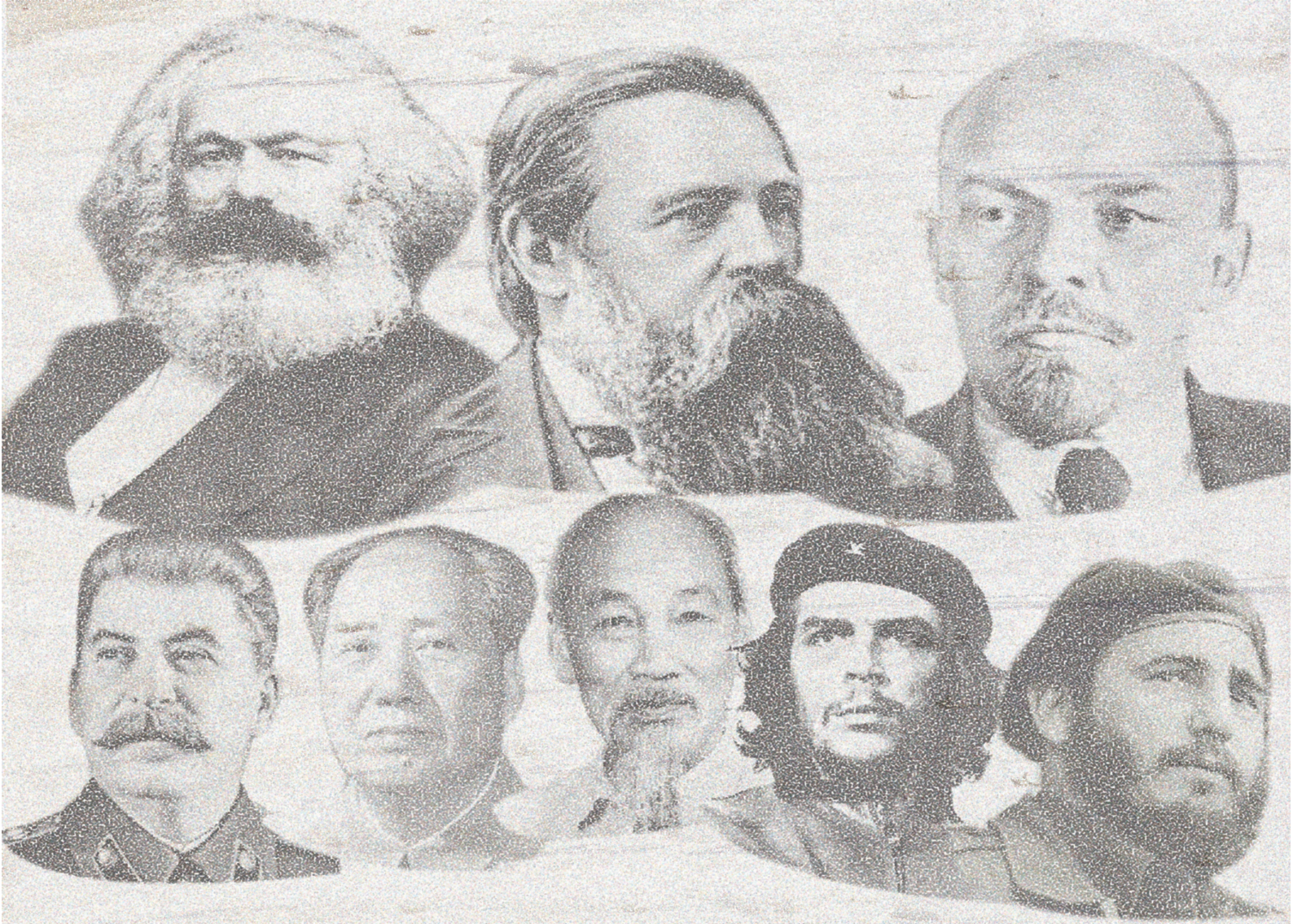
- In Germany, Yusuf Tas also started an indefinite hunger strike in April after Turkish-language letters and publications were not given to him. After 60 days of the hunger strike he also won victory, publications and letters in his mother tongue began to be given to him.

- Nuriye Gulmen and Semih Ozakca, who attended the symposium as speakers, were arrested on the 70th day of the indefinite hunger strike resistance. Their hunger strike still continues today, under the threat of force-feeding. We support this resistance and call on all the peoples of the world to follow the court case in Ankara on September 14.

All these acts of resistance which have resulted in victory have shown to us that the peoples can only triumph by resisting. In the whole world, we have to resist and fight by putting ourselves on the line. But it is those who resist who are able to stand up to imperialism.

**Cemevi – Alevi place of worship in Turkey.*

20-23 Nisan 2017 - Küçükarmutlu



Emperyalizmin Saldırıları Karşısında Devrimci Enternasyonal'i Kuralım!

