

**We shall not pay your crisis, we shall not pay your wars !**

April 2009

**DISSOLUTION OF NATO !**

**T**wo worlds will be confronting in Strasbourg in April.

On one hand, the representatives of big powers and some of their allies, protected by battalions of police and army: they will discuss about "security" and about "worldwide war against terrorism" and they will congratulate themselves under the spotlights of the international mass media. The star will surely be B. Obama, the representative of the biggest economical and military power in the world which had created Nato 60 years ago, which is still controlling it totally. This big power which continues to devote one billion of US\$ per day to finance its wars, is at the same time in deep crisis. If Obama speaks more of "dialogue" and "diplomacy" than his predecessor, the war criminal Bush,

its precisely because US imperialism is in deep crisis and needs to "share the burden" with his allies that are at the same time rivals. Share the financial and military burden of the wars yet engaged, especially against Afghanistan and all those that are prepared by the headquarters, in order to secure the access for the monopolies to markets and raw material. Nato is one of the military arm of the neoliberal order in crisis. Thousands of demonstrators will denounce that logic of war, in Strasbourg, Baden-Baden and many other cities of the States members of Nato.

Because the mobilisation is international ; from Washington to Madrid, from Istanbul to Rome..., everywhere Nato is present.

Sarkozy as chief of a military and martial power, member of the club

of nuclear States, has decided the reintegration of France in the military command of Nato. The Croatian and Albanian governments want to integrate Nato ; those of Georgia and Ukraina are eager to do as well. The enlargement of Nato, the "globalization" of its fields of intervention means increasing danger of wars, increasing of militarization which swallows huge sums of money. If weapons manufacturers are delighted by this perspective, workers and peoples say "no" and are struggling for refusing to pay the crisis of capitalist system and its wars it is instigating everywhere.

**This dossier is a contribution of the parties members of the International Conference of Marxist Leninist Parties and Organisations, to the mobilisations which will mark this 60th anniversary of Nato.**

## ***NATO: an organisation of war and terror***

**N**orth Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was formed 60 years ago by the Western capitalist alliance led by the U.S.A. as an organisation of encirclement, harassment, attack and war against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies of Eastern Europe.

This alliance launched a new order of war through the IMF and the World Bank in the economic field

and through regional organisations in the political sphere, as well as strengthening its system in the military field through NATO. Contrary to the adverse claims and assumptions, Nato was not formed in response to the Soviet threat but rather as a threat itself six years before the Warsaw Pact.

It had a dual purpose: to encircle, harass and destroy by force if necessary the Soviet Union and

the peoples' democracies, and to smash the opposition within the western capitalist countries themselves.

One of the most concrete evidence of this is the gladio (1) (counter guerrilla) organisations which were overtly formed in almost every Nato country, some of which still exist today. Under the protection of Nato and US these forces organised provocations, sabotages, murders and coups to pre-

vent the development of the workers' and popular opposition in the European countries.

Nato was formed in 1949 by 12 countries initially as a "regional defence organisation" which then enlarged into 16 members. Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, with further participation from these regions it has become a 26-member strong "global" organisation.

The "Strategic Concept for the 21st Century" document of the 50th anniversary summit in 1999 states clearly that Nato is a "global military organisation", thus revealing the fact that this organisation had a purpose (against socialism and the USSR), that it was formed in clear violation of the UN principles, and that it was more of an organisation for aggression rather than regional defence.

With its 1.5 trillion euro budget, 22 thousand personnel, and 60 thousand strong military force Nato is now a giant war machine which undertakes, since the above mentioned change of concept, military operations and interventions outside its territory - Afghanistan, former-Yugoslavia, Somali, and in an indirect way Iraq and Sudan. It is the military wing of the global war waged by the capitalists.

Nato today has hundreds of nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons in dozens of military bases stationed in various countries. It aims to enlarge continually so it can establish its order in every corner of the world by

#### Notes

(1) Gladio; secret structure set up by the NATO, CIA and MI6 ( British secret services) in several countries of Europe at the end of the second world war. Armed groups were supposed to lead a fight of guerrilla warfare in the countries which would have been "invaded" by the red Army. They led attacks and operations of destabilization in countries as Italy of the "lead years". It is moreover Italian Prime Minister Andreotti who will reveal to the public their existence (1990)

force.

The ever deepening financial, economic and social crisis that engulfs the world today leads to increasing tension and brings onto the agenda the danger of militarism and war. The world's total military spending reached an enormous 1.335 trillion dollars in 2007. It is obvious that such large scale of weapons is not being accumulated in stock for the sake of it. There are serious discussions going on about the idea that a war could be an answer to this crisis. Also obvious is that at Nato's 60th anniversary summit the big imperialist powers will be talking about all these possibilities as well as the issue of enlargement to the east, stationing missile shields in Poland and the Czech Republic, and new plans to attack the workers, peoples, the oppressed nations as well as the rivals.

We, the ICMLPO, call the workers and labourers of all countries to

take part in all anti-Nato activities on its 60th anniversary and in the joint demonstration in Strasbourg, France, on April 4, 2009.

We demand:

- **an end to the arms race and war spending ; funds for the needs of the people and the youth ;**
- **the lifting of all military bases; a world free from nuclear weapons ;**
- **the withdrawal of all occupying Nato forces in various countries;**
- **the dismantling of Nato, an aggressive organisation of war and terror ! ★**

**International conference of  
Marxist Leninist Parties and  
organizations**

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## France

# France's return to the NATO command structure: a threat to all peoples

Even before he was elected as president, it became increasingly evident that Sarkozy wanted to draw closer to US imperialism and the policies of Bush. That had even earned him the nickname "Sarko the American". The election of Obama has not tempered Sarkozy's pro-Americanism; on the contrary, he is now pretending it will make Euro-transAtlantic dialogue easier.

During the election campaign, he carefully avoided announcing his plan to put an end to France's special status within NATO's command structure. What is more, when he finally announced it, in March 2008, he chose to do so in a speech to the British parliament, together with a commitment to increase the French contingent taking part, under NATO command, in the dirty war on Afghanistan. He reiterated his decision during the April 2008 NATO summit in Bucharest, a few months before the war in Georgia broke out. That war, which almost set the Caucasus aflame and could have spread to Europe, did not cool down his pro-America stance: while holding the 6-month EU presidency, he made repeated statements about the "military complementarity of the EU and NATO", thus taking up one of the most contested elements of the European Constitution which, after being rejected by the French and the Dutch, was replaced by the so-called Treaty of Lisbon.

## French imperialism has always been a member of NATO

And an active member: the second largest contributor of troops and the third largest in financial terms, the French armed forces have taken part in all of NATO's war operations, notably in the war against Serbia, when French planes bombed targets chosen by the US military. French power-pro-

jection forces wear the NATO label, and the military doctrine of French imperialism in the coming years, as set out in the 2008 "White Paper on Defence" borrowed the main lines of US military policy: the war against international terrorism, and securing the major powers' supply lines for raw materials, oil, etc. We already see the evidence in the imminent opening of a large French military base in Abu Dhabi. This base, combining the army, air force and navy, will face the coast of Iran, in order to control the Straits of Hormuz through which 40% of the oil passes. This is one of the regions of the world with the highest presence of armies, warships, and bases, most of which are American. The Arab Emirates of the Gulf, important clients for French arms dealers, possess more Leclerc tanks than the French army does.

## Sarkozy's decision runs into multi-faceted opposition

Some on the right are evoking the spirit of De Gaulle, and crying treason. They blame Sarkozy for not having gained anything in return from Washington, apart from posts for a few French generals and 1,000 military officers.

This objection is not shared by the French people themselves, whose chief concerns are:

- participation in the dirty war on Afghanistan, whose major achievement has been the destruction of a country. The deaths of French soldiers killed in combat has only strengthened this opposition.
- fear of seeing France embroiled in an opaque system which can lead it into wars: many stress that, had France been part of the NATO command in 2003, it would have participated in the total destruction of Iraq.
- opposition to the EU reinforcing its military links with NATO.



- opposition to Sarkozy's overall policies, which are beholden to the bankers, major shareholders and the employer class.

- the economic crisis, and the government and employers' desire to make the workers and the popular masses pay for it. We reject that our taxes are not only used to pay out billions to the banks, but are also paying for this militarisation. Our slogan is therefore "We won't pay for your crisis, we won't pay for your wars: No to NATO!"

One of the unforeseen consequences of Sarkozy's decision is that the NATO issue has now become part of the political debate: there is now public discussion about NATO's real purpose, and the dangers it represents for the peoples of the world, given its expansionist aims. The enlargement of NATO means the increased danger of wars designed to protect the imperialist capitalist system now in crisis, wars against liberation movements and against the emancipation of peoples and the working class.

The workers' and popular movements are increasingly calling for NATO to be dissolved. ★

Workers' Communist Party of  
France - PCOF  
[www.pcof.net](http://www.pcof.net)

**Denmark**

# Burning flags

**T**he Danish prime minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen is frequently mentioned by international media as a favourite candidate as the next secretary general of NATO. For the first time an acting prime minister might resign from his post to become the figurehead of this imperialist grouping, originally created to 'counter the danger from the Soviet Union', but presently active in Central Asia - and all over the world. The appointment of an acting head of state would indicate the increased importance attached by US and the big EU powers to the development of NATO as their joint military instrument.

The inveterate war criminal and neoliberal militarist Fogh is no doubt suited for the job. He has from 2001 been the leader of the worst rightist government in Denmark since the Nazi occupation, and has systematically turned Denmark into a front runner of imperialist aggression, racism and islamophobia. An echo of George W. Bush, Fogh played a major role in the run up to the illegal war against Iraq, even surpassing his master, stating: "Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction. This is not something we simply believe. We know it for a fact."

Defeated and under fire by the Danish anti war movement Fogh withdrew his soldiers from Iraq in 2007-08, sharply

increasing the number of Danish combat troops in Afghanistan. 22 of them have been killed until now, proportionately the greatest losses among the NATO occupiers.

Fogh, the friend of Zionist Israel, supported the islamophobic intrigue of Jyllands Posten, Denmark's most reactionary daily, that published the Mohammed caricatures, designed as a provocation against Arabs and Muslims. In the 30's of the last century this newspaper supported the policies of neighbouring Chancellor Adolph Hitler towards the German Jews. Fogh promoted the caricatures as 'the Western value of freedom of expression', while hundreds of thousands of Muslims took to the streets, burning the Danish flag, rightly depicting Fogh as the running dog of George Bush and U.S. imperialism.

During his time in office the Danish so-called welfare state has itself been reduced to a caricature.

This is the kind of man, who is said to be the present favourite of the big EU-powers France, Germany and UK as the next secretary general of NATO. Whether Fogh will be appointed or not, the figurehead of NATO will be an accomplished militarist and imperialist. Fogh's candidacy has created a major parliamentary crisis in Denmark, and in any case his days as Danish prime minister and leader of the war party

will be numbered.

In the period of Obama, Sarkozy, Merkel and Brown NATO will not only be an auxiliary tool of the US wars, but the primary instrument of US and EU-imperialism for joint world hegemony. The European Union of old colonialist powers is not a 'progressive counterweight to US unilateralism'. No illusions should be nurtured. Of 27 EU member countries 21 are also NATO members. Five are members of 'Partnership for Peace'. Only Cyprus is still not involved, and only Malta has no military force in Afghanistan. Out of 26 NATO member states only the three Non-European states (Canada, US and Iceland) and one European country (Norway) are not members of the European Union. NATO is planned to become the '21st century alliance for global dominance'. Of course a majority of the Danes were and are against the imperialist wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the barbarous Israeli subjugation of the Palestinians. Great protests in the streets and elsewhere have been staged against Fogh and Danish participation in the criminal aggressions. Now the anti war movement is also focusing on combating the NATO build up. ★

**Workers' Communist Party  
of Denmark - APK**  
[www.apk2000.dk](http://www.apk2000.dk)

**Spain**

# Spain in NATO

**I**n 1981, the government of Spain, headed at that moment by Calvo Sotelo, supporter of the fascist Franco, announced its intention to ask for the membership to NATO. The so-called socialist Felipe Gonzales, echoing the popular feeling opposed to the imperialist military organization launched a campaign in order to gain the popular vote in the elections of 1982. We say hypocrite, because the slogan launched by the PSOE (socialist Party) could be interpreted in different ways. It said "Nato, reluctantly No"; from this moment the big betrayal has begun, a betrayal that

was in fact the continuity of the rightist position of the social-democracy, even before the death of Franco.

As an example, we can point that the actual leader of foreign affairs of NATO, Javier Solana, was as far as now, member of the leadership of the PSOE and that in his student's years, he participated to demonstrations against NATO. This individual has been afterwards named as general secretary of NATO and as such, he ordered the criminal bombings of Yugoslavia.

The big demonstrations against NATO, some of them gathering one million of people, have obliged the PSOE, when

Felipe Gonzales was president, to organize a referendum. The "socialist" government made campaign in favour of the integration in NATO, with three promises: the participation to NATO would not signify participation to its military command; nuclear weapons' storage would be forbidden on Spanish territory and US military presence would be progressively reduced.

The referendum took place the 12th of March 1986. The PSOE government developed a campaign of intimidation against the opposition to NATO. Prestigious intellectuals have been boycotted by the public television and

other means of communication related to the social democracy and the right parties, because they were opposed to the felony of Felipe Gonzales and denounced it, his promises never fulfilled, his agreements with the right party which was still dreaming of the system of Franco, etc. In spite of the pressure, the menaces and the dirty tricks of the government and its allies, the result of the referendum was 52,54 % in favour, 38,83 % against and 6,54 % blank. Some regions were in majority

against, as, for example, in the Basque region, in the Canarias. Not a single promise has been fulfilled, neither by the government, nor by the PSOE, nor by Bush's partner, Aznar : Spain is completely integrated in the military structure of NATO. For instance, the Southwest headquarter command is situated in Retamares (near Madrid) ; there are many nuclear bombs deposits in Spain (of course, secret) and for the US military presence, its worth noticing the big land and marine bases (some of them

underground) of Rota and Moron, in Andalusia, of Zaragoza in Aragon, Torreon, near Madrid, apart from the all the different installations, like oil tubes.

The anniversary of this imperialist alliance will be "celebrated" in Spain, as in other countries; with big demonstrations, denouncing it, that will take place the whole month of July. ★

**Communist Party of Spain  
(Marxist-Leninist) - PCE(ML)**  
<http://www.pceml.info>

## *Greece*

# ***Nato, a tool of US and European imperialists***

**T**he aggressive military alliance of NATO - a tool of the monopolies of the USA and the European imperialist countries - which has this year its 60th anniversary since the day it was founded, continues the military involvement in other countries and plans to include new members like Albania and Croatia.

The entry of Greece into NATO was decided in the NATO summit held in Ottawa, Canada, at 20th of September 1951. On February of 1952, it became a full member.

Almost a year later, on the 12th of October 1953, the Papagos government signed a military agreement with the US that eliminated all traces of national sovereignty and made the country a bridgehead of the imperialists since, NATO, at any time, could use (and it did use) highways, airports, ports without any obstacle.

NATO constructed military installations and, later, established military bases in many places of the country.

### **The entry and the participation of Greece in NATO:**

**From political point of view**, eliminated all traces of national sovereignty, converted the country into a protectorate of the American-NATO imperialists, and resulted in constant interferences in the country's internal affairs that culminated with the imposition of a military-fascist dictatorship on April 1967.

**From economical point of view**, it has been a burden to the Greek people due to the expenditure of great sums of money related directly with the NATO membership and, in general, for ever increasing military armaments.

**From military point of view**, it has resulted in the full control of the

country by the American-NATO imperialists and the conversion of the Greek army into NATO division. The Souda, and Aktio military bases were fully utilized during the Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973 and during the recent imperialist wars against Yugoslavia and Iraq.

The Greek people have struggled for decades to achieve the removal of the military bases from the country's territory and the exit of Greece from the aggressive military NATO alliance.

The Movement for the Reorganization of KKE (1918-1955) will actively take part in the anti-NATO demonstrations and rallies that will take place on April in various cities of Greece. ★

**The Movement for the Reorganization of KKE (1918-1955)**  
[www.anasintaxi-en.blogspot.com](http://www.anasintaxi-en.blogspot.com)

## *Italy*

# ***A country with a limited sovereignty, Outpost of imperialist aggressions***

**O**n April 23, 1949 the Italian government controlled by the Christian Democrats and other anti communist forces, signed the North Atlantic Treaty. Since then up to today, the Italian national territory has been transformed by the USA into an "integrated system" of more than hundred of naval air and logistic bases for land

troops: Aviano, Ghedi, Vicenza, Camp Derby, Camp Ederle, Gaeta, Brindisi, Sigonella, Capo Teulada, etc. (see map with the 113 bases). In some bases nuclear arms are stocked. In Naples there is the General Quarter of NATO Southern Area. And so the Italian territory has become -in the Mediterranean area- a privileged point of departure for

the USA imperialism aggressive operations, by itself or associated with the other European imperialisms (including the Italian one), directed against other peoples and countries, first of all the Middle East ones. This in flagrant violation of the art. n° 11 of the Italian Constitution. In Naples and Vicenza there is now being planned the installation of

the new Africom command for the military control of the continent, which would make of Italy a real outpost for new imperialist interventions and aggressions in Africa, Red Sea and Persian Gulf.

The consequences of the Italian participation in NATO in domestic politics have been very serious.

The presence of CIA has always conditioned the Italian governments' politics since the Anglo-American troops landed in Sicily in 1943 with the Mafia help. There are additional "secret protocols" of NATO treaty, never disclosed to the Italian people; this highlights the condition of "limited sovereignty" of our country and the heavy interference in its domestic affairs.

It is well known the role that the USA and NATO, with the cooperation of the Italian secret services, played in the massacres and criminal outrages in the years of the "strategy of tension". A strategy directed at destabilizing the political situation, at repressing the advance of the working class and communist movement, and at assuring the membership to the system dominated by the

USA. From the economic point of view the political and military obligations undertaken with NATO have caused a continuous increase of military expenditure, to the detriment of public expenditure for education, health and other social purposes.

The opposition to NATO has always been strong in Italy. In the '50s, a lot of anti imperialist forces took part in the World Movement of Partisans for Peace, which had as its aim the ban to atomic arms. Many were the manifestations of struggle of pacifist and anti imperialist movements in front of the USA and NATO bases in Italy since the '60s. Particularly important was, in the 80', the great popular mobilization against the installation of the USA missiles at Comiso, in Sicily. In the 90' there developed the struggle against the aggression to the former Yugoslav which started from our country, at the time governed by social democrats.

In the last years, there has been a large mobilization of political, trade

union, social organizations, of local movements, for the withdrawal of troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. against the enlargement of the USA military base in Vicenza, against the expansion of the base at Sigonella and the Mediterranean radar system at Nisemi in Sicily, against the increase of military expenditure and the building of the "missile shield". Instead, Berlusconi's reactionary government, faithful servant of the USA, wants to support and increase all these projects.

Withdrawal from the warmongering and imperialist alliances as NATO and UE, closing of all the USA and NATO military bases in Italy and all over the world, drastic reduction of military expenditure, active struggle against the war of imperialist robbery, freedom and independence for peoples: these are the aims for which the communists fight and, together with them, all the revolutionary and anti imperialist forces ! ★

**PIATTAFORMA COMUNISTA**  
[www.geocities.com/scintilla\\_mail](http://www.geocities.com/scintilla_mail)

## Norvège

# ***NATO is a threat to liberties and national sovereignty 60 years in NATO are 60 years too many***

**T**he formation of NATO in 1949 was aimed directly at socialism, at the Soviet Union and the people's democracies in Europe that had emerged victorious in the aftermath of the anti-fascist WW2. It was aimed at infringing the influence of the strengthened communist parties all over Europe, and simultaneously subduing all the European member countries and curtailing their sovereignty under the thumb of US imperialism. The Marshall plan was the main economic and financial instrument of US imperialism to subdue the "benefici-

ary" countries to US tutelage. In 1955, West Germany was included in the NATO alliance, thus breaching all agreements between the WW2 allies on never accepting the remilitarization of Germany.

The dominating Social Democratic party (Labour Party) in 1948 played the primary role in paving the road to Norwegian NATO membership through attacking and pursuing the Communist party (which had won great authority throughout the war of anti-fascist resistance and published the second largest newspaper

immediately after the war). By ways of lies, intimidation and persecution, the protests and resistance from communists and democrats and a large section of opponents within the Labour party itself were silenced, and the way was paved for NATO and US.

For almost half a century Norway has been a potential battleground and manoeuvre area for thousands of NATO troops, and has been a hub of espionage. The North and Arctic Sea has been NATO's playground, with Norway playing an important

role in surveillance and intelligence. Although Norway pretended to have official "objections" to the NATO nuclear strategy, supposedly not permitting nuclear weapons to be stationed on its territory, this was a hoax. In the 60'ies NATO had actual plans of devastating most of Northern Norway by use of nuclear mines as a measure of "defence"!

NATO is an instrument to suppress internal unrest and opposition in any member country. Years ago, it was revealed that NATO exercises in Norway were targeted at handling social unrest among workers and students. Tens of thousands of progressive citizens, including their children, have been under surveillance from the 1950'ies onwards. NATO is sure to give a helping hand to imperialist governments fearing the increasing rage of their own workers and peoples who are victimized by the consequences of the evolving grave economic crisis. The "new concept" adopted by NATO

in the 90'ies has corresponded to a grave and aggressive change in the foreign and military policy of Norway. As a small, but ambitious imperialist country, Norway is eager to defend its assets and investments in energy resources in the Caucasus and the Middle East. The war on Yugoslavia in 1999 was the first time Norwegian soldiers were involved in external military operations not sanctioned by the UN. Since 1999, Norway has been active in several illegitimate wars. Currently some 6-700 troops are taking part in the murderous occupation of Afghanistan. This is occurring under a government coalition calling itself "red and green", consisting of the Labour party, a rural party and the Socialist Left Party (SV). The latter originated from and has been founded on opposition to; yes, NATO!

Nowadays there is much talk of a closer Nordic Defence Cooperation between Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway and Iceland. While the two

first countries are not members of NATO, the two latter are not members of the EU. The main intention of this plan, presented as a positive bolstering of the traditional Nordic cooperation, is in effect quite different. The intention is to pave the way for Swedish and Finnish integration with the aggressive NATO alliance on the one hand, and Norwegian and Icelandic integration with the EU on the other. If the Danish prime minister Fogh Rasmussen becomes new general secretary for the NATO, this plan will be sustained.

NATO and EU both threaten the sovereignty and the freedoms of our own peoples and of other peoples and nations worldwide. Both of them must be rejected and defeated by the peoples and the working class. ★

**Marxist Leninist Organisation  
Revolution of Norway  
[www.revolusjon.no](http://www.revolusjon.no)**

## **Turkey**

# **NATO and Turkey**

**T**urkey joined NATO in 1952 on the grounds that it would advance its joint defence skills and would benefit from it when its territorial unity, sovereignty and security was at risk or under attack. This reasoning was in line with the articles 3, 4 and 5 of the NATO treaty but was an insidious tactic to deceive the masses.

The Menderes government expressed their desire to join NATO by sending a 5000 strong troop for the Korean War in support of the US and South Korean forces. Turkish administration wanted to use their "sacrifices" in Korea as a basis for their NATO membership. They had proven their loyalty. With a protocol agreement dated 17 October 1951 the membership of Turkey and Greece was given the green light. Turkey's membership became official on 18 February 1952. Seven months later (8 September 1952) an Allied Land Forces HQ (Southeast) was formed in Izmir with a US lieutenant general at the top. This military base was

enforced further with the participation of the French, British and Italian forces in 1954. Us military presence in Turkey became an acknowledged fact with the signing of the "Treaty on the Status of the NATO Forces" on 10 March 1954. The number of NATO "facilities" (bases) in Turkey reached 112 in 1966 and kept increasing in time. Turkish administrators were not allowed in these bases without permission from NATO and US commandments. The "Turkey-US Defence and Co-operation Agreement" of 1976 guaranteed the right for the US to use some bases such as Incirlik and Kargaburun on NATO's behalf. Another "Cooperation Agreement" signed by the military coup government in 1980 agreed the use of 12 military bases by US on behalf of NATO for five years. Despite the fact that the agreement is expired it is still in effect because of US demand. The number of NATO and US bases in Turkey has increased in time and technically become more sophistica-

ted. The Incirlik air base in Adana is the most important one and being used as the 39th main jet base of the US Air Force. It is being used as the head quarter for the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and the attacks on the regional countries. The NATO Air Base in Cigli, Izmir, is the oldest base in Turkey. It is administered by US Air Force (USAFE) and contains I-HAWK and Roland rocket systems as well as 42 fighter bombers and military personnel. NATO's LANDSOUTHEAST HQ was moved from Naples to Izmir on 11 August 2004, followed by the stationing of the US 16th Air Fleet from Ramstein, Germany, to Izmir on 1 January 2006.

Among other main military bases in Turkey are Sile for the Stinger rockets; 3rd Jet Base Commandment in Konya for AWACS; 9th Jet Air Base in Balikesir for the "vault" rocket launching pad (6 in total); as well as Mugla Aksaz naval base, Ankara-Ahlatlibel, Amasya-Merzifon, Bartin, Chanakkale, Diyarbakir-Pirinclik,

Eskishehir, Izmir-Bornova, Izmit, Kutahya, Luleburgaz, Sivas-Sarkisla, Iskenderun, Ordu-Persembe, Rize-Pazar, Erzurum, and Mardin containing "CAOC6", NATO's joint air operation centres.

What determined the conditions and the framework of Turkey's membership to NATO was the fact that it was a product of the military policies of the big western powers led by the US as well as resulting from the Second World War and the post war conditions. This membership brought further dependence to Turkey and enlarged NATO's sphere of influence and military activity as far as the Soviet Union, while resulting in the neighbouring countries to see Turkey as an outpost of the US and NATO and giving way to tension in regional relations.

At a time when NATO considered the USSR and the peoples' democracies in Eastern Europe as a military target Turkey became one of the two main forces, the second being the Shah's Iran, of NATO's capitalist encirclement of the USSR. The fact that NATO's LANDSOUTHEAST HQ was stationed in Izmir was a clear sign of the role given to Turkey.

Through NATO the US guaranteed its conventional and nuclear military presence in Turkey, just like in Europe. NATO membership meant being a subcontractor of the policies of western big powers led by the US. It became public that during the 1960-61 "missile crisis" between the US and the USSR, the US atom missiles were stationed in the Incirlik base in Adana. In the name of "requirements of being a NATO member" Turkey presented its "cultural and historical relations" in the Balkans, the Middle East and the

Caucasus into the service of the American strategy: it strived for the governance by the collaborating forces in these regions; manipulated Islam and the "Turkic culture" to this end; organised overt/covert lobbying activities in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece and Albania; played a part in the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the seizure of power by pro-American forces in the Balkans and the Eastern Europe; attempted to take part in the organisation of a coup in Azerbaijan and other countries; sent military troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosova and Somalia. As a NATO member Turkey now has military presence in 23 countries. Because of this membership Turkey was used as a base for the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan by the US and British military. The government reasoned the deployment of troops to Afghanistan with the requirements of this membership.

NATO presence in Turkey and Turkey's membership to NATO has led to the strengthening of the reactionary forces, military coups and increased tension and conflicts in the country and the whole region. It was under the auspices of NATO and US that those dark forces organised their sabotages, murders and coups in order to suppress popular opposition and maintain the rule of collaborating forces. Turkish counter guerrilla forces as a state organisation and as a variant of Gladios organised by the US-British secret services as part of NATO activities have been active for nearly 60 years.

One of the main obstacles before Turkey becoming an independent and democratic country is NATO and the continuation of Turkish mem-

bership to this military offensive organisation. Turkey is chained with its NATO membership as well as the military cooperation agreements with the US. In order for Turkey to break this chain it has to get out of NATO, cancel all bilateral and multilateral cooperation agreements with the US and other imperialists as well as the military bases, and destroy all American nuclear-biological weapons and ammunition in its territory. Turkish, Kurdish or from any other nationalities, all progressive workers and labourers in Turkey and their revolutionary party, and progressive intellectuals are fighting for this end. This is a fight which has been going on since the 1960s. The 2004 NATO Summit in Istanbul was protested strongly.

Putting an end to Turkey's NATO membership and the policies designed by the military agreements with the US would strike a blow to American imperialist strategy in a wide region, from the Balkans to the middle East and the Caucasus; it would also lift an obstacle to the advancement of friendly relations among the regional countries and strengthen the peoples' struggles for independence and democracy. It is for this reason that this year, which marks the 60th anniversary of NATO and the 57th of Turkey's membership, is set out to be the year of fight against and break away from NATO. We will see strong protests, numerous panels and meetings to educate the masses, and struggles for the closure of NATO and US military bases. ★

**Revolutionary Communist Party  
of Turkey - TDKP**

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