

**Central Committee
Communist Party of Turkey**

APPRAISAL OF THE CURRENT SITUATION

WORLD

1.The world socialist system is rapidly collapsing while the world communist movement is disintegrating just as rapidly. This situation is mainly related to the Soviet Union. The situation in the Soviet Union is connected, on the one hand with the objective conditions under which the revolution took place and, on the other hand with the mistakes made by the party after the revolution.

2.The revolution in Russia developed on the basis of minimal preconditions for socialism. This brought about a historical dilemma. It was impossible for a society established on the basis of the existing productive forces to overtake the imperialism in economic competition without exploiting others.

Far from the Soviet Union overtaking imperialism in the economic race, it was extremely difficult for it to withstand imperialism and avoid the danger of liquidation, if it could not provide its population with a standard of living similar to that existing in the advanced capitalist countries.

3. The inability to overcome this difficulty is connected with the second point: the party made one mistake after another. The great mission of the Soviet Union was to use every possible means to assist the development of revolutions. Nevertheless, more and more since the death of Lenin, the only mission of the Soviet Union has been to overtake imperialism in peaceful economic competition. This even led to dates being set by which "we will produce more steel and milk than the USA" or "in 1980 we will reach communism". The channel of world revolutionary development was diverted into a wrong direction.

As further mistakes were made the measures adopted by the party became more and more alien to Marxism. Straining of the economy in the name of socialism, nationalist quarrels among the socialist countries, the conversion of Comecon from an organ of socialist integration into an organ of nationalist separation: each of the socialist countries, small countries except for the Soviet Union, attempted to have their own separate steel industry, electronics industry, etc. They continued to be bogged down at a point which had already been left behind even by the world bourgeoisie.

Lack of active mass democracy, lack of a place in political power for the working class in its own state, and the fact that it lived under a naked dictatorship in its own system, were decisively important. The failure to implement proletarian active mass democracy prevented both the overcoming of historical insufficiencies and the establishment of a tight rein over the bureaucracy. In the final analysis, this also prevented the functioning of the *main economic law* of the socialist mode of production.

4. All of the mistakes and injustices of course had to be paid for. This is not the bankruptcy of Marxism, but the bankruptcy of those who did not put Marxism into practice. However, what is taking place today in collaboration

with the imperialism, in some places openly, in others behind a veil of appearances, is counter-revolution. It is not the leaders but the working class of the socialist countries which is paying the bill.

This will have world-wide consequences. A worldwide period of counter-revolution and reaction has been inaugurated.

The resistance of socialism, in such countries as Cuba, Albania and China, albeit together with their mistakes, is not powerful enough to withstand this international process. Teetering on the brink of life and death and under attack from reaction, these countries too are entering a very difficult period.

5. The general world balance has been upset by the tottering of the Soviet Union and the socialist system. The balance within imperialism has also been upset. Inter-imperialist competition is increasing rapidly.

Today, the socialist countries are not very suitable for high-technology investments. The labour force required by advanced capitalism is limited in these countries. Work discipline is low, absenteeism is widespread. Transportation is backward and infra-structure is inadequate. The order of the day is more labour-intensive investments. For imperialism to invest large amounts of sums in these countries is first and foremost a necessary means of taking them out of the socialist system more quickly and easier. The sharpening of inter-imperialist competition is mainly because of the withdrawal from the scene of imperialism's main enemy.

Nevertheless, these countries constitute a large sphere for imperialist investments. This is also a factor in sharpening the competition among imperialist countries. It is obvious that this great market will influence inter-imperialist rivalries and the class struggle in the metropole countries.

6. The extent of the damage will become more apparent as the effects of the great collapse sink into the consciousness. However, even now it is clear that the ideological offensive has extremely intensified and will continue to intensify. The mentality of people will become more conditioned. It is those who deviated from Marxism, who are collapsing, but across the world the mass media is shouting "it is clear that socialism did not work". Let us not think that this brain-washing will have no effect. Throughout the world, the revolutionary movement will experience a great crisis. Objectively, *a war of attrition* will prevail in the world for a period.

7. As in every world-wide period, the period of counter-revolution and reaction which we see as developing today, is only a *trend*. Developing in a world in which there are many economic, social and political differences between countries, counter-revolution and reaction cannot have the same consistency and dominancy as counter-revolution in a single country. Therefore, it is not a period similar to fascism in a single country. This difference is reflected in the fact that the battle waged is not an "orderly retreat" but a "war of attrition".

Nevertheless, it is inconceivable that naked counter-revolution in one half of the world will not affect the development of countries in the other half.

8. Today the characteristics of counter-revolution and reaction as a world-wide trend, are rather different.

First of all, it is aimed not at crushing a concrete developing revolutionary upheaval, but at crushing the revolutions which have already taken place by changing the economic, social and political structures of the socialist countries. It aims to convert the bureaucracy which has had the right to use the productive forces "on behalf of the working class" for a long time, into an exploiting "class", by supporting this *strata* that despises the workers, with new sections which are being created.

In addition, this counter-revolution, with the enormous assistance of imperialism, displays a rather controlled, evolutionary and gradual development. Precisely for this reason it can be halted at various stages.

9. On the other hand, in the past few years world capitalism has been slowly but steadily entering into a general, system-wide crisis (recession).

Every penny which has to be invested in the socialist countries will bring this crisis closer.

10. World developments in the near future will be determined by these two factors. (a. collapse of the socialist countries and counter-revolution, b. the crisis into which world capitalism entering.)

TURKEY

11. For Turkey, the path taken by international developments in the recent period will create a great difference between external influences and the internal dynamic.

The concepts of external factors and internal dynamic are relative ones. They have to be reconsidered at every new stage arrived at by the capitalism. In a world which has become so integrated in production and telecommunications, it is not as easy as previously to say "the internal dynamic determines, external factors influence". Depending on the size of the country, its geopolitical situation, social structure, organised forces, etc., one of these two principles could have the stronger influence.

How and to what extent will these world events affect revolution in Turkey? In order to answer these questions, we should closely consider developments in Turkey.

The internal situation in the country is very tense. Turkey's stability which has in any case been balanced on a knife-edge, is rapidly being eroded. Today a government in which Sunni sectarianism predominates, is in power. The president is of the Naqshbandi sect. If tomorrow an independent Azerbaijan republic were to be formed, many unexpected situations might arise. In addition, problems with all Turkey's neighbours have been aggravated.

We should anticipate that the opening up of the socialist market to capitalism would reduce investments by internal and external finance-capital in Turkey. This means that the working class will suffer more impoverishment, and greater unemployment and be subjected to worse conditions of exploitation. The objective conditions of the class struggle will be enhanced.

12. However, this internal situation is emerging at a time when the revolutionary alternative in the international arena has been crushed and communism has been reduced and will be further reduced in people's estimation. The revolutionary movement as a whole, but especially the sections loyal to the Soviets will enter into a deep crisis. The developments taking place in the world are making it difficult for communists to assume the leadership in the struggle.

PARTY

13. In spite of all this, our party still has the chance to emerge from even these most difficult days for communism, from this *war of attrition* which is beginning on a world scale and in Turkey, with its strength enhanced many fold. For the revolutionary movement is entering into a crisis and the answers to these questions are not being given randomly. For repression and exploitation will become more ferocious, will become less restrained. For our party does not have a single member who will resign under the influence of the world-wide crisis of the revolutionary movement. We overcame these problems when we evaluated living socialism ten years ago.

14. However, this development can only be achieved by defending and developing Marxism in the most orthodox manner, by displaying the flexibility which is required by life in politics, and in daily practical work, by developing active work beyond the accustomed patterns and by taking mass-psychology into account.

Flexibility is in regard to the methods used. It is the aspect of the struggle related to tactics. Our cadres have shortcomings in this respect.

15. The war of attrition requires a revolutionary, audacious and aggressive work. By war of attrition we do not understand secluding ourselves or working as if we were under fascism. Fascism is a period of protecting one's forces, retreating in order. The war of attrition is a struggle to win the hearts and mind of the masses, one in which there may be many losses. It alters the spheres in which the party concentrates its work and changes the emphases in its tasks. We should begin to take the necessary measures today.

16. First of all, this crisis cannot be overcome without developing Marxism. The idea of "either forward or backwards, we cannot stop where we are" which explains the point at which the Party organisation has arrived today, is also true for Marxism, for world revolution and revolution in Turkey. As devoted Marxists, this mission is on our shoulders as well.

Developing Marxism, first of all, is related to learning Marxism better. There are still many aspects of Marxism we should learn and adapt to present conditions. There are many aspects which need to be advanced and systematised in accordance with the recent developments. If a war of attrition is approaching, ideological soundness will be the most important offensive and defensive weapon. Developments require us to give *primary* importance to ideological work.

This involves increasing the small number of cadres who have shouldered the ideological work, to place capable comrades into ideological work... reorganising the party school with new and larger capabilities, educating a significant number of party members every year.

Secondly, we must place our financial resources on a sound basis. The war of attrition requires great financial strength.

Thirdly, we must publish as much as we can for those sections we wish to win over and pursue an aggressive publications policy.

Fourthly, we must open up externally, create extended relations nationwide and on the international level. An external relations bureau must begin to operate very shortly.

Making our ideas available in foreign languages is an important need and task.

In brief, during the war of attrition four spheres are of crucial importance: Ideological work, finances, publications and external relations.

17. Within this general framework, we must have a good understanding of the specific situation of our party. There is much work to be done. We must direct our party and mass organisations more effectively into the fight and our legal units to press upon bourgeois legality.

17.1. There are great shortcomings in the duplication (not illegal printing, but duplicating the issue received by each unit) and distribution of the central organ by party organisations. However, the link between the principle of making the central organ the backbone of all party work and the ability of each party unit to duplicate the central organ and to *distribute it by hand*, not by post, is very clear. We must work vigorously to correct the understanding of the party organisations in this respect.

The problem is not lack of technical capabilities. The problem in essence is the failure to understand the importance of this task. The exchange of experience accumulated in this respect within the party has also been insufficient.

The failure to duplicate and utilise the central organ adequately is, in the final analysis, identical with being afraid of the central organ and of the idea of an illegal and free communist party. The same fear reflects itself in the tendency of not forming cells and committees but instead working in one-to-one relations, a tendency which is rather common in some areas. We must see that this is due to the influence on us of legalism which is getting stronger day by day spreading in Turkey and for this reason duplication of the central organ by every organisational unit is of crucial importance for the party.

In order to correct this situation, the Secretariat of the Central Committee must closely supervise all party organisations in regard to the extent to which they fulfil the task of duplicating the central organ. At the same time, the central organ must again give place to articles stressing the importance of this matter.

17.2. Some of the legal mass organisations working under the leadership of communists do not sufficiently reflect the party's ideas and attitudes in their work. This is another reflection of the mentioned fear above.

However, the four main tasks of communists in mass democratic work carried out through legal mass organisations are:

- a. To pursue *a striking publications policy* which forces the limits of bourgeois legality in their sphere of work, concerning the issues, they deal with,
- b. *To be an organisation of militant action* on the basis of agitation which connects democratic demands with the struggle for revolution,
- c. *To conduct education to teach the communist ideas* among the working-class rank and file of the organisation without being squeezed within limits acceptable to intellectuals and the petty-bourgeoisie,

d. To conduct organisational work which *builds the communist party within the legal organisations*.

17.3. There are still many failures in sending regular reports to the centre. It has been forgotten that organisational reports hold a very important place in the flow of information from bottom to top. These failures are reflections of our shortcomings in systematic work and show a lack of focus on the main tasks. The problems of the Secretariat of the Central Committee are also having an adverse influence in this respect.

In order to correct this situation, a system of comprehensive monthly reports which are comparable with the previous months' reports, must be applied unfailingly.

17.4. The commencement of the publication of the legal newspaper brought new problems. It is very obvious that in a situation where the central organ is not adequately duplicated and utilised, the legal publication will feed wrong tendencies, conformism and legalism. An important way of overcoming this weakness is the gradual differentiation of the legal publication from the central organ. We will turn the central organ into such an organ that *reading it will be a must* for every party member, for all communists, but especially for the leaders.

The central organ must be published rather for the party, with its content aimed at directing organisations with emphasis on theoretical aspect, the legal newspaper is directed towards advanced workers.

17.5. In the distribution of the legal newspaper, subscription campaigns and street selling are more important than the other options.

17.6. Today especially we must prevent people joining the party as groups. This is also principally wrong. Party organisations must be very careful in this respect.

18. One of the key issues in the struggle of the working class in Turkey is that of solving the trade union problem of the metal workers. This solution requires an active and militant struggle with the fascists of Türk Metal union.

Party organisations must seek out organisational possibilities in the metal working trade and choose them as focusable points.

The main link within Türk-İş Confederation, within the trade union movement in Turkey and for the militancy, is to exert pressure upon Türk Metal. This is, at the same time, a main link in exposing the new social-democratic United Communist Party of Turkey (TBKP).

19. The coming period is also a period in which the struggle of the Kurdish people will intensify and in which the weight of workers' organisations in this struggle will increase. For the last decade, our party, the CPT, has had close and unbreakable bonds with the Kurdish national-revolutionary movement. In the coming period too, we must actively work both to support the brave resistance of the Kurdish people, and to train the working class of Turkey in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

20. In the coming period, all party organisations are responsible for defending the legitimate and democratic demands of the Alevi community and strengthening the links between the working class

movement and Alevi working people. The rate of success in the fulfilment of this task, will profoundly affect the result of the war of attrition.

21. May Day is approaching. It is highly probable that May Day will be legally celebrated in Turkey either under the lead of Türk-İş or under the lead of various unions. There may be marches in more than one city. Our party and its sympathisers must be gathered in one city and under a single banner.

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We have proudly noted that despite the shortcomings in the work, important successes and lasting gains have been achieved in the last six months' activities. The coming period will be a very complicated and difficult one. Let us prepare ourselves well.

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