

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY: SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS VALID AND CONTEMPORARY



The path to Turkey's revolution will be opened by forming the infrastructure of class positions and alliances starting today, which will be crystallized when the revolution rises. Flexing the class perspective and the class position by considering the narrow social base of the communist movement would only lead to compromises to existing social order.

The fact that Turkey has been ruled by the same party for 17 years does not mean that the Turkish capitalism has reached a political stability. Throughout all this period, tensions within the existing social order have persisted, which sometimes were expressed as coup attempts. The people's movement witnessed in 2013, June Resistance, the broadest one in the Republic of Turkey, was able to shake and tremble the government with the magnitude of the protest, even though it lacked the leadership of a revolutionary political actor. The instability and oscillations that are sometimes witnessed in the alliance policies and ideological discourse of the AKP government should not be explained only by AKP's political pragmatism but also by the slippery ground beneath Turkish capitalism. Considering the structure of the region, it will be observed that Turkey is doomed to be one of the weakest rings in the chain of the imperialist system based on the political, economic or ideological/cultural assessments. This truth lies at the center of the TKP's strategic accounts.

On the other hand, a range of objective and subjective reasons lie

behind the lack of adequate social/political strength of the communist movement in Turkey in parallel with great revolutionary opportunities, despite the difficulties posed in front of the struggle for socialism. The Communist Party of Turkey discusses these reasons during its congresses and conferences, reviews its activities and organizational structure in light of such evaluations, and confronts its own inadequacies and weaknesses. The hitherto limited influence of the communist movement does not arise from the TKP's principles and revolutionary program, or from any strategic gaps. On the contrary, it will be possible to utilize the revolutionary opportunities in the upcoming period only through the insistence on the hitherto political and ideological direction. In this respect, the TKP

will definitely not fall into the trap of relying on the bourgeois democratic concepts and channels that are offered or imposed as the "way out".

The path to Turkey's revolution will be opened by forming the infrastructure of class positions and alliances starting today, which will be crystallized when the revolution rises. Flexing the class perspective and the class position by considering the narrow social base of the communist movement would only lead to compromises to existing social order. The dynamics of a political structure in terms of gaining a mass base always reflect their own original color. Numerous "revolutionary" objects that have negated themselves so as to gain strength compose a pile of tragicomic dirtiness within our proud history.

## WE ARE READY

In line with this understanding of the revolutionary tasks and responsibilities and with the conscious of its historical legacy TKP today demonstrates dedication for further struggle by declaring the slogan "Biz Hazırız! (We are ready!)" which announces that it is fully ready...



## TKP calls on those whose hearts that beat for equality and liberty EMANCIPATION OF WORKERS

*The TKP's assertion to lead the workers and laborers to the social emancipation, to organize and lead them comes from its absolute trust in the fact that Turkey's working class has enough resources and strength to accomplish this historical mission.*

Today's priority is to enable the working class to be visible in political sphere with a revolutionary perspective on the one hand, and to remove the working people from the defensive position they are in and to transform them into an actor that is on the offensive on the other. With the great organizational transformation that it realized in 2018 and the subsequent concrete steps, the Communist Party of Turkey calls on those whose hearts that beat for equality and liberty, as a political party that aims to strengthen the resistance and endurance of the working class' during the existing capitalist crisis, establishes a link between this resistance and the goal of socialist revolution, integrates the struggle against the AKP with the goal of changing the social order, promotes an egalitarian, fair, free, independent, sovereign and developed Turkey against the nightmare which our country is going through today under the conditions of capitalism.



## COMMUNIST PERSPECTIVE: UNITY OF THE CLASS

*The communist movement of Turkey has the experience and capability of pursuing the struggle against injustices, discrimination, racism and militarism completely off the bourgeois and imperialist context.*

Based on the unity of the working people, the communist movement of Turkey should continue to defend common class interests and goals against the divided state of the working class in ethnic, religious, cultural or sectoral terms. This approach particularly makes significant the mission of organizing the Kurdish workers, who have been stuck for years amidst discrimination, imperialist plans, pro-establishment balances and mutual nationalisms, as an indispensable element of Turkey's working class movement. This mission cannot be accomplished under the shadow of the Kurdish national movement that contains liberal, social-democratic and nationalist tendencies at the same time, nor surrendering to any other social democratic opposition. The communist movement of Turkey has the experience and capability of pursuing the struggle against injustices, discrimination, racism and militarism completely off the bourgeois and imperialist context. In this manner, there is no point in alleging that the left-wing people of Turkey have a historical debt to this or that Kurdish political entity. The communist movement of Turkey is responsible solely before the working people.

## TURKEY'S REVOLUTION WILL HAVE AN ANTI - IMPERIALIST CHARACTER

*Turkey's revolution will develop also with a ferocious struggle against the imperialist block that is embodied in the NATO alliance.*

In accordance with the requirements of its historical roots and the tasks that will emerge when it is on the rise, Turkey's revolution will develop also with a ferocious struggle against the imperialist block that is embodied in the NATO alliance. This struggle will rely on the organization of the working people, and it will continue within a broad range from the political sphere to the ideological/cultural one. Furthermore, although this struggle will be waged against imperialism as a whole, it will have a dominant anti-US character in all phases. The communist movement of Turkey cannot trivialize the US imperialism-led historical damage in this region within a general discourse. In addition, it is absolutely imperative not to break the struggle against imperialism and its leading elements off the class context, not to prefer one imperialist country or bloc to the other, moreover, to get alarmed against our country's hegemonic class' tendencies to absolve its practices in both domestic and foreign politics. An anti-imperialist struggle cannot be waged by ignoring the Turkish bourgeoisie's attempts to climb up through the hierarchy of the imperialist system.



# On the Current State of The Republic of Turkey

*The political analysis of this document is gathered from the main documents of TKP (See [tkp.org.tr/en](http://tkp.org.tr/en) for more) and the facts and figures are taken from OECD sources.*

The National Liberation Struggle which started in 1919 in Anatolia was shaped by the revolutionary current of October Revolution, after Ottoman Empire was divided up between victorious imperialist countries following the First World War. This struggle waged under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, thanks to its determined stance against imperialist occupation and obsolete Ottoman institutions became a significant element of the revolutionary front. Young Soviet State got in contact rapidly with the struggle in Anatolia, provided military and financial support to the liberation struggle, advocated for its rights in the international arena. National political power in Ankara showed

respect to Soviet Union's interests and the two governments developed a friendly relationship, despite the difference in their class character.

After the declaration of the Republic on October 29 of 1923, the Anatolian liberation movement evolved into a bourgeois project and leading process of capitalization in Turkey rapidly, in accordance with the class character of its leadership. Although at the beginning the Republic of Turkey was politically and economically relatively independent, after a short while it shared the inevitable end of all bourgeois revolutions as the reactionary character of its capitalist class became more and more dominant. As the bourgeoisie got stronger, the oppression towards the poorly organized working class increased, accompanying the development of economical and political ties with the imperialist system. Besides, the attitude towards the Soviet Union started to change. The capitalist class of Turkey, as a consequence of its class character and obeying the rules of world imperialism, ruined the founding principles of Republic such as independence, secularism, statism,

being on the side of peoples. After a certain point, the political power completely detached itself of all these principles, and employed increasingly Americanist, reactionary and anti-people policies. Following the 1980 coup d'etat, AKP came into front as the culmination of the partnership of Imperialist centers and the capitalist class of Turkey. The result is obvious. The Republic of Turkey was founded by a bourgeois progressive revolution and is defeated by a counter-revolution.

As for today, TKP considers that the Republic is politically liquidated. This liquidation manifests itself not only through complete eradication of the principles of republic that were violated over time but also disallowing the presence of any potential actors who might fight to regain these principles, even partially. Therefore within the social order, ending the authority AKP would not mean returning to the progressive spirit of 1923. In other words, for the role of a steering wheel within the capitalist system of Turkey, an alternative to AKP has and could



not have been developed so far. Recently attempts to reorganize the political representatives of the bourgeoisie class is can be observed from the broad alliance of the bourgeois opposition forces, including the CHP, HDP, İYİP, among others.

Basic statistics of Turkey, 2017	
(Numbers in parentheses refer to the OECD average)*	
<b>LAND, PEOPLE AND ELECTORAL CYCLE</b>	
Population (million)	79.4 (80.7)
Urban (%)	73.1 (71.9)
Life expectancy (years, 2016)	75.3 (76.1)
Urban (%)	8.4 (7.5)
Non-urban (%)	80.7 (83.3)
Urban (%)	2.5 (2.0)
Urban (%)	1.1 (0.8)
<b>ECONOMY</b>	
Gross domestic product (GDP)	770 (814)
In current prices (billion USD)	3 049.9 (3 283.6)
In current prices (billion USD)	2 141.9 (2 173.1)
Least's year average real growth (%)	2.7 (2.0)
Total trade (billion USD, 2016)	207.1 (183.0)
<b>EXTERNAL ACCOUNTS</b>	
Exchange rate (TRY per USD)	3.96 (1.00)
FDI exchange rate (USA = 1)	1.40 (1.00)
Real value of GDP	249 (253)
Exports of goods and services	283 (283)
Imports of goods and services	56 (54)
Current account balance	227 (229)
Net international investment position	535 (535)
<b>LABOUR MARKET, SKILLS AND INNOVATION</b>	
Employment rate for 15-64 year olds (%)	51.8 (57.7)
Unemployment rate for 15-24 year olds (%)	23.7 (25.4)
Non-employment rate for 15-24 year olds (%)	27.2 (27.7)
Part-time rate for 15-64 year olds (%)	1.6 (1.7)
Research and development (R&D) as % of GDP, 2016	0.9 (1.4)
<b>ENVIRONMENT, 2015</b>	
Total primary energy supply per capita (tonnes oil eq.)	1.7 (1.7)
Renewable (%)	12.0 (12.0)
CO <sub>2</sub> emissions (tonnes per capita)	1.9 (1.9)
CO <sub>2</sub> emissions (tonnes per capita)	1.9 (1.9)
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<b>SOCIETY</b>	
Income inequality (Gini coefficient, 2016)	34.4 (34.4)
Relative poverty rate (%)	22.1 (22.1)
Health expenditure (current prices, 2016)	4.2 (4.2)
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## OUR ASSESSMENT OF TURKEY AS A CAPITALIST STATE

In terms of the state of the capitalism in Turkey, the essence of the period commencing with the 1995 customs union agreement was the deepening of the integration with the international capital. This became more evident with the IMF program generally called "Derviş program" following the economic crisis in 2001. The economic policies of that period can be summarized as privatizations (both the sales of public assets and opening state controlled areas to the exploitation of private sector), regulations that facilitated international trade and deepening of Turkey's external dependency by means of the increases in foreign debts, structuring the industrial production of Turkey based on durable goods according to the international division of labor, expanding the reserve army of labor by making use of the great internal wave of migration caused by the collapse of agriculture due to the demands of the food monopolies, reducing the costs of labor force by means of incentives for increases in debts and legal regulations that erased the gains of the working class.

The most important result of this period, in which marketisation in general increased and policies in favour of the bosses, was the increase in proletarianization and impoverishment and deepening of the inequalities. Apart from the decline in average real wages, real increases occurred in all prices except for the price of the labor force despite low inflation and interest rates. Workers started to get lesser share

from the social value they created as external financing increased and was transferred from the public sector to the private, mainly to banks. This also resulted in higher value transfer to capital, mainly to the international capital and finance monopolies.

One should also mark the period of AKP in power has also seen the expansion of the influence zone of Turkish bourgeoisie, with capital export to Middle East, Balkans, Latin America and Central Asia. The political and ideological discourse of "Neo-Ottomanism" found its economical counterpart in this greed of the bourgeoisie towards making greater profit by exploiting natural and human resources of other lands, greatly enmeshed relations between the international monopolies and Turkish ones.

During this whole period, the AKP rule assumed responsibility to develop some additional regulations and mechanisms to solve accumulated problems. When we consider the rule of the AKP for 17 years, we can neither talk about an economic policy based on AKP's preferences nor an alternative policy set of the social order. The very strong consensus of the capital in terms of the economic policies is the most important factor that makes the AKP's rule the most pro-market, pro-capitalist and collaborator political power in the history of Turkish capitalism regardless of the tendencies of Turkish capitalism.

See below for the current figures of the Republic of Turkey from the 2018 OECD.

Lessons from the murder of a young woman

## WORKING WOMEN TO FIGHT TOGETHER NOT TO SURRENDER

The legal case and the related "struggle for justice" for a worker-student who was thrown from the 20th floor of a business center after being sexually abused by her bosses in the capital city Ankara symbolized our fight against violence this year. We organized protests together with the university students from our organization for this young woman, who was killed at the age of 22 and whose death was tried to be made to seem like a suicide. Press releases made in front of the courthouse in all 3 hearings of this case have had wide coverage in the media and the case became known throughout the country. We are determined to follow this case and continue calling on working women to fight together in order not to surrender, while insisting on the need to remind the sources of violence against women.



# COMMUNIST WOMEN: AGAINST REACTIONARIES, VIOLENCE AND EXPLOITATION

In Turkey, violence against women has constituted one of the most important subjects in the women's struggle in recent years. During the 17 years of rule of the reactionary capitalist government, the rates of femicides, sexual harassment, and abuse have increased year after year.



## Women workers on struggle #RESISTANCE IS BEAUTY

"Not Flormar but resistance makes you beautiful" was the slogan of the workers of the cosmetic company Flormar.

On November 25, 2018, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, events were organized for Flormar's women workers who had been fighting to get their jobs back for almost 300 days. The resistance of these women workers who were dismissed from a Turkish-French factory producing beauty

supplies because they were unionized was associated with the slogan "Not Flormar but resistance makes you beautiful". The events aimed to expand the struggle of the women workers of Flormar against economic violence from the factory to other cities and universities. The resistance ended with gains on day 297.



## MARCH 8: FOR EQUALITY AND FREEDOM

On March 8, our written statement titled 'against exploitation and violence, for equality and freedom' was distributed widely in city centers and film screening events were organized in Turkey's three largest cities. March 8 of the year 2019 was at a time just before the local elections in Turkey, when

political parties were intensely engaged in political campaigns in every corner of the country. Our organization considered the

March 10 election rally of the communists as a March 8 rally to voice out the demands of the working women of Turkey and to call the working women to the struggle.

## WITH MEMBERS, VOLUNTEERS, DISTRICT HOUSES... AGAINST THE BOSSES

### PATRONLARIN ENSESİNDEYİZ

"Recently, we try to update the political and organizational structure of the party due to the sudden developments in Turkey and in the world, on the one hand, and we try to enhance the party's strength, combativeness, expansion, the ability to address and motivate the masses in a planned way, on the other. This process is not making progress on a mediatic ground but on real channels. The network of "We breathe down the bosses' neck" began to acquire an important position in the organization of the working-class culture in Turkey. We have opened dozens of "district houses" in the working-class neighbourhoods and continue to open them. New openings are being added on September 10, the date of

our anniversary.

We embarked on a plan to make TKP exist in every part of the country. New members, new TKP Volunteers are joining us. And as I said, we do all this with a discipline of purpose. Turkey can not be handed over to this barbaric order. This is a summary of everything. We progress with this idea. In many cities, within the next ten to fifteen days, we organize meetings and openings, the first of which is in Istanbul. In October, we will host the annual meeting of communist parties from all over the world. A very big event will take place in Izmir on October 19. And above all, we will be a party that responds, moves, reacts faster."

Kemal Okuyan, TKP General Secretary

## THE SCIENCE AND ENLIGHTENMENT ACADEMIA

The Science and Enlightenment Academia is founded in October 2017 as an affiliated organisation of TKP, aiming to be the science academia of Turkey's working class. It currently comprises more than 250 academics, scientists and researchers.

Within the past two years, the main work of Science and Enlightenment Academia has been the following:

- In three metropolitan cities of Turkey (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir) "Science in the Soviet Union" Symposia were organized.

- A quarterly peer-reviewed journal titled as "Matter, Dialectics and Society" has been published, in which the theme "science in the Soviet Union" has been consistently elaborated with several articles.

- Written reports, seminars and conferences aiming to enlighten public on a range of topics, from food safety, to nuclear energy, climate and drug addiction were organized.

- A visit to Moscow was made, to study in the scientific archives and libraries to develop a deeper understanding of Soviet science and technology.

- The Symposium on Socialist Future and Planning, for which several preparatory workshops have been conducted, where the socialist experience has been thoroughly studied, from the aspects of central planning, allocation of resources and how science, education, sports, social activities, etc. were organized for the benefit of people. Together, we aim to discuss our socialist future.

## PEACE COMMITTEE OF TURKEY

barış komitesi

The aim of the Peace Committee of Turkey is to contribute to the creation of a world in which people will live in an egalitarian and free society.

In accordance with this aim, the Committee works for the establishment of a consciousness of peace among the masses; raises the voice of peace against fascist, bellicist, chauvinist, militarist, imperialist propaganda. It organises activities that give information on the source of bellicose policies that threaten the peoples of the world. The Committee defends peace, disarmament, sovereignty of nations; it stands against

nuclear weapons, foreign interventions and foreign bases. The Committee embraces the struggle and its legacy put forward by the Peace-lovers Society of Turkey, The Peace Committee Association of Turkey and the Peace Association of Turkey, all of which existed in the past defending the same aim.

The Peace Committee of Turkey, just like its predecessor organisations, is a member of the World Peace Council.

The Committee defends the idea that in today's world, the way to reach real and lasting peace is through a clear anti-imperialist stance and overthrowing of capitalism.

# Not younger brothers, but members of the party: COMMUNIST YOUTH OF TURKEY



**T**he Communist Youth of Turkey (Türkiye Komünist Gençliği - TKG) is the youth organization of the TKP. TKG members all around Turkey are striving for organizing the youth to the struggle of socialism within the ranks of the TKP in schools and universities. They are trying to raise a communist youth, a youth which makes politics in favour of the labour, which defends scientific thought and free

mind against the fundamentalist darkness, which seeks for the advanced in arts and philosophy, which believes in the possibility of political and social equality among people, and which accordingly undertakes the mission of socialist construction on these lands. TKG rejects the conditions of exploitation and darkness imposed to today's youth. Capitalist plunder, corrupting our world and the humanity, will be stopped and an egalitarian social order will be built!



## YOUTH UNDER THE GRIP OF CAPITALISM

*Today, youth is under the grip of obscurantism, unemployment and futurelessness all over the world.*

Turkey's governmental dormitories can only meet the needs of only one-tenth of the students. Political Islam, hand in hand with the capital, took away the right of the people to shelter and imprisoned the youth in the dormitories of religious sects or made them pay exorbitant prices for private dormitories. The level of youth unemployment rose to 27% because of the greed of capitalists who turn the crisis into an opportunity. The theory of evolution has been abolished from high school curricula, and universities have become a hegemonic instrument of the capital rather than an institution for scientific education.



## SOLCU LİSELİLER

**Left-wing high schoolers**

Solcu Liseliler ("Left-wing high schoolers") is the high-school organization of the TKP, which raises the struggle in schools for a free and scientific education, for raising anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist communist pupils. Since 2008, Solcu Liseliler publish a monthly magazine called Solcu ("the leftist").

TKG and the international communist youth movement



## A STRUGGLE WITHOUT BORDERS

TKG is an active member of the international communist youth movement. It has comradely relations with communist youth organizations all around the world. TKG has been an active member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) for more than fifteen years and is a member of the General Council of the WFDY. TKG participated in the 19th World Festival of Youth and Students with a crowded delegation. TKG is one of the leading organizations that convene each year the Meeting of European Communist Youth Organizations (MECYO). The meeting was hosted by the TKG three times, last time being in 2017, on the centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

## OUR WAY IS THE WAY OF THE WORKING CLASS

The TKG knows that it is this rotten capitalist system which lies beneath all these problems. That is why the struggle against the problems of the youth must be carried out in a collective and powerful way. This can only be partnered on the axis of labour-capital contradiction. Youth is directly affected by this conflict. Young unemployment and the consequently increasing young deaths in working places are the biggest proof of this. The Communist Youth fights against the root of all these problems, which is the exploitation of man by man. This is called the struggle for socialism. The foundations of Socialist Turkey will be laid by the youth works of the TKP.



## IMPERIALISM, WE WILL DEFEAT YOU!

*"Those who don't target imperialism can't defeat imperialists: While they preach, we will be the ones to throw imperialists into the sea!"*

Last year, TKG organized an anti-imperialist campaign, launching an uncompromising struggle against imperialists and their collaborators. Criticising the NATO presence in the region and the ongoing warmonger politics of the Turkish government, TKG condemned the expansionist tendencies of the bourgeoisie, for whom army forces are deployed kilometers away. The campaign was enhanced with political manifestations, theoretical discussions and various activities all around Turkey. The successfully-implemented flash manifestation in İstanbul proved that the conditions of state of emergency do not mean silence and obedience. Another manifestation was organised in front of the Israeli embassy in İstanbul, within the framework of the 12th of March: Action Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People,



which was the result of the joint call of 40 communist youth organisations. TKG members in İzmir held a demonstration in front of the NATO headquarters building located in Buca, which received the great support of the citizens living in the region. TKG and Solcu Liseliler organized a spectacular event in a well-known public park of İstanbul, giving the floor to political speeches and music performances. The Society of Socialist Thought in the Middle East Technical University organized an opening ceremony for the statue of Karl Marx in the Faculty of Architecture and an event about Marx's heritage with the participation of relevant Marxist intellectuals. TKG held a meeting at Dolmabahçe, İstanbul

to commemorate the three patriotic revolutionists, who had protested and driven to the sea from the same place in 1968 the US 6th Fleet anchored at the Bosphorus. Assuming their role of a watchdog for NATO, it did not take long for fascist mobs to react against the campaign. But their organised attacks and menaces against TKG activities in different cities showed nothing but that they were terrified of the demands of the true anti-imperialists. TKG issued a journal dedicated to its anti-imperialist campaign. The journal clearly exposes the infamous history of imperialist collaboration in Turkey and questions the ways of anti-imperialist struggle with lessons drawn from history.